



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

### Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

### About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>



B

966,378





BOOK BINDERY,

Ann Arbor, Mich.





AP  
4  
ITLS6



BOOK B

Ann











THE

7201

*brown*

NORTH BRITISH REVIEW.

MARCH AND ~~JUNE~~, 1869.

VOLUME L.

—  
AMERICAN EDITION.  
—

NEW YORK :  
PUBLISHED BY THE LEONARD SCOTT PUBLISHING COMPANY.

140 FULTON STREET, BETWEEN BROADWAY AND NASSAU STREET.

—  
1869.



THE TROW & SMITH  
BOOK MANUFACTURING COMPANY,  
46, 48, & 50 Greene Street.



# INDEX TO VOL. C. L.

ARNOLD, Matthew : his "Culture and Anarchy" reviewed, 100 seq. See Man.

CHRIST, Dr. Hanna's Life of, 167 ; success of the two earlier volumes, 168 ; Dr. Young's "Christ of History," ib. ; the problem as to the religious significance of the life of Christ, one of historical philosophy, 169 ; the idea of rewriting the life of Jesus a modern conception, ib. ; Socrates and Christ, 170 ; psychological and critical study of the Gospels, 171 ; early efforts—Jeremy Taylor, ib. ; Hess, Herder, Paulus, 172 ; Schleiermacher, Hase, ib. ; Strauss's "Life of Jesus," 170, 173 ; his treatment of the supernatural, ib. ; the mythical theory, 174 ; the works of Neander, 175, and Renan, 175, 176 ; the latter replied to by Edmond de Pressensé, 176, 177 ; Ellicott's Bampton Lectures, 177 ; Dr. Kitto's Illustrations,—work of Rev. Isaac Williams,—and Ecce Homo, 177, 178 ; prerequisites to an adequate biography, 178 ; characteristics of Dr. Hanna's work, 178, 179 ; the influence of Nature on Christ, 179 ; Dean Stanley, ib. ; break and sequences in the Evangelical narratives, 179, 180 ; the soundings of moral evidence in Dr. Hanna's work, 180 ; indirect signs of the supernatural in Christ's life, 181 ; its consistent harmony shown, contrary to Renan, De Wette, Paulus, 181, 182 ; instances of Christ's unparalleled assumptions, if only human, 182, 183 ; the Great Commission, 184 ; problems underlying the narrative, 184, 185 ; the nature of our Lord's resurrection body, 185 ; the fundamental feature which distinguishes this life from those by Strauss and Renan, 186 ; the question of the miraculous, 187 ; the natural and supernatural, ib. ; the essential nature of a miracle, 188 ; the Ideal realized in One Human Life, 189.

DANISH Literature ; see Holberg.

EARLY History of Man: His antiquity—Ancient Egypt, 272, 274 ; China, 274 ; the "mother-tribe" of the Indo-Europeans, ib. ; archæology, 276, 277 ; Primitive state, 277 ; definition of civilisation, 278 ; the grouping of men in societies, 278, 281 ; Sir George Grey's hypothesis, 281 ; progress in arts and sciences, 282 ; language—its origin, 282, 283 ; systems of religion, 283, 284 ; method of studying early history, 286 ; inequalities of development, 286, 288 ; symbols of law and ceremony, 288, 289 ; summary, 290.

English language, revolutions in its history, 84 ; the great creative period of English literature that of the Reformation, 35 ; contrast between it and the productive epoch of our literature, ib. ; spirit of nationality expressed, 86 ; reign of Henry VIII., ib. ; influence of the Reformation on our language, 37 ;—through translations of works by Continental Reformers, ib. ; and by the controversies it provoked—Sir Thomas More and William

Tyndale, Bishop Bale, and others, 37, 38 ; our early printers chiefly occupied with works in the vernacular, 38 ; translations from the classics, 39, and their influence on the language, 40 ; Shakespeare's dramatic works, ib., 44, 45 ; changes affecting the language during the period of the Revolution,—English literature after the Restoration, 40 ; fashionable Gallicisms, 41, 42 ; literature of Queen Anne's reign, 42 ; alleged refinement of the language, 43 ; Dryden, and his criticism of the Elizabethan dramatists, 43, 45 ; Addison and his writings, 45 ; his criticism of Milton's language, 46, 47 ; and protest against neologisms, 47 ; Alexander Pope, 48 ; Johnson, and his criticism of Shakespeare, 48, 49 ; Dryden's version of "Troilus and Cressida," 49, 50 ; influence of the events in the latter half of the eighteenth century on the literature of the nineteenth, 50,—exuberance of original poetic genius, ib. ; contrast between the close of the sixteenth and that of the eighteenth century, 50, 51 ; expansion of social and political interests, and its intellectual effect, 51 ; the work of reflective expansion in our native vocabulary, 52.

European Morals,—History of, by W. E. H. Lecky, 202 ; object of the work, ib. ; apparent inconsistencies in it, 202, 203 ; moral condition of the Roman Empire, 204 ; mortifying result of the teachings of Pagan philosophy, ib. ; contentions between the Stoics and the Epicureans, 205 ; influence of the conquests of Alexander, ib. ; the dogma of universal brotherhood, 206 ; Christianity in the Empire, ib. ; position of women under its influence, ib. ; success and ultimate triumph of Christianity, how accounted for, 207 ; two of the most important human causes—(1.) Doctrine of future life, 207, 208 ; (2.) Formation of a strong character, 208, 209 ; Constantine the Great, 209 ; the progress of moral ideas and practice in the first ages of Christianity, 210 ; excesses and perversions of its real force, ib. ; misapprehension involved in the charge brought against Christianity as to its discouragement of patriotism, 210, 211 ; the toleration of the Roman government, 212, as exemplified while conquering and triumphant, 212, and under reverse, 213 ; persecution of the Christians, ib. ; the full effect of Christian principle on domestic life under the Empire, unrecorded, 214 ; the history of European morals leaves no impeachment on the claim of Christianity to be divine, 215.

GEOLOGICAL Time, 215 ; trade-unionism in science, 216 ; Hooker on Lyell, ib. ; use of mathematics, 217 ; the anonymous writer in the Pall Mall Gazette, ib. ; the grand question in geology, 218 ; the Uniformitarian school, ib. ; Dr. Hooker's Address, 219 ; place assigned to mathematics in this controversy, ib. ; resistance to planets' motions, 220 ; resistance offered by the tides to the earth's rotation, ib. ; tidal reaction on the moon, 221 ; how



- this bears on the speculations of geologists, *ib.*; argument from earth's figure, 222; the Uniformitarian hypothesis disproved, 222, 223; examination of Professor Huxley's Address, 223 *seq.*; British popular geology, 225; Sir W. Thomson's Reply, 226; periods required by Uniformitarians, 227; general survey of the subject, 228 *seq.*; Thomson's three arguments, 228, 231; answer to Huxley's charge of inconsistency, 231, 232; the reasoning in Thomson's arguments strictly cumulative, 232; triumph of scientific truth, 232, 233.
- Germany, Reconstruction of, 133; the battle of Sadowa, and its results, *ib.*; exceptional position of Germany amongst her neighbours from the first dawn of her history, 133, 134; the French Revolution, 134; history of the Confederation of the Rhine, 135; its contract with France, *ib.*; the battle of Jena, *ib.*; the history of Prussia between 1807 and 1813 the turning point in the history of Germany, 135, 136; the war of liberation, *ib.*; Prussia and Austria, 136, 137; Prussia at the Vienna Congress, 137; King Frederick-William III., 138; neither freedom nor union for Germany gained at Vienna, *ib.*; Baron von Stein, *ib.*; Act of the Germanic Confederation, 139,—its distinctive character, *ib.*; the Frankfort Diet, 139, 140; policies of Austria and Prussia subsequent to the Final Act of 1820, 140; Germany's political professors, 140, 141; the "Stantenbund," 141, and the "Bundesstaat," *ib.*; the discussions of 1848-49 in the Frankfort Parliament, 142; the crown of Germany offered to the King of Prussia, but declined, 143, 144; the new Confederacy proposed by Prussia, 144; Austria summons the Diet to meet at Frankfort, *ib.*; the subsequent conflict, 145, 146; the Italian war gives the signal for the resuscitation of the German question, 146; the campaign of 1859, 147; the attitude of the several governments interested in the solution of the German question, 147, 148; incidents of the political campaign between the Great Germans and the Little Germans, 148, 149; the programme of reform issued by the Würzburg Coalition, 149; replies of Austria and Prussia, 150; formation of the Bismarck ministry at Berlin, 150, 151, and the legacies bequeathed to him by his predecessors, 151, 152; the two lines of policy taken up by him, 152; aspect of the conflict with the Würzburg Coalition at this time, 153; eventful conversation between Bismarck and the Austrian Minister at Berlin, 153, 154; interview between the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia, 154; a Congress of Sovereigns proposed shortly afterwards by Austria, *ib.*, declined by Prussia, *ib.*; the Austrian programme, 155, 156; reply of the Prussian cabinet, 157; independent action of the two great Powers, 158; the controversy interrupted by the death of the King of Denmark, *ib.*; subsequent events till the battle of Sadowa, *ib.*; reconstructed Germany, 158, 160; examination of the North German Constitution, 162, 166.
- HAMILTON, Sir William,—Memoir of, 251; birth and parentage, 252; early studies, 253; at Glasgow and Oxford Universities, 253, 254; intimate friends, 254; Mr. Christie's Oxford reminiscences, 254, 255; additional particulars by Mr. Traill, 255, 256; final examination for his degree at Oxford, 256; studies for the Scottish Bar, and passes as advocate, *ib.*; adjudged heir-male to Sir Robert Hamilton of Preston, *ib.*; the patrimonial estate, *ib.*; notice of his ancestors, *ib.*; career at the Bar, 257; his merits unrecognised, 257, 258; life in Edinburgh, 1813 to 1820—*anecdote of this period given by Professor Baynes*, 258, 259; candidature for the Moral Philosophy Chair in Edinburgh, 259; election to that of Civil History, *ib.*; his marriage, and its influence on his character and subsequent career, 259, 260; researches in Phrenology, 260; Mr. Carlyle's reminiscences of him, 260, 261; his first appearance as a critic, in 1829, in *Edinburgh Review*, 261, 262; subsequent contributions to that Journal, 262; contest for the Chair of Logic in 1836, 263, 264; opening of the class, 264; description of the class-room, 265; sketch by Professor Baynes, 265, 266; reminiscences by Dr. Cairns, 266; work of the class, 266, 267; courtesy to his students, and the general effect and value of his teaching, 267; influence of his writings in America—passage from a paper by Professor Porter, 268; his edition of Reid's Works, *ib.*; honours conferred on him from abroad, *ib.*; small recognition of his claims in his own country, 269; struck by paralysis in 1844, *ib.*; the pension, 270; Sir William in his latter days, 270, 271; his edition of Dugald Stewart's Works, 271; unfinished literary labours, 271, 272; last years, illness, and death, 272.
- Holberg, Ludvig,—the father of modern Danish literature, 233; no national literature before him, 233, 234; parentage, 234; visit to Holland, *ib.*; visits England, and studies at Oxford, 234, 235; returns to Copenhagen and lectures on his travels, 235; publishes his first work, *ib.*; his visit to Rome, and return to Copenhagen, where he is appointed Professor of Latin and Rhetoric, 236; period of literary activity, 236, 237; his illness and death, 237, 238; his simple mode of life, 238; distinctive features of his genius, *ib.*; his desire to found a national literature, 239; his strength as a moralist, and his weakness, 239, 240; his influence on the language, 240, 241; his three principal works—"Peder Paars," 241; "Niels Klim," 242, and the Comedies, 243; comparison between Holberg and Molière, 244; translations, from one of his comedies, "Erasmus Montanus," 244, 249; charges brought against his comedies, 249, 250; the "Epistles," 250; influence of his works on the minds of his contemporaries, 250, 251.
- Hudson's Bay Company, The: origin, history, and present condition of the Red River Settlement, 83, 84; Sebastian Cabot—Henry Hudson—Prince Rupert, 84; nature of the Company's title, 84, 85; Parliament petitioned in 1690, by the traders, 85; the Company's failure, 86; the first legislative inquiry into its affairs, *ib.*; the North-West Fur Company, 87; rivalry and warfare between the Companies, and their subsequent amalgamation, *ib.*; the Charter of the Company denounced as illegal—opinion of counsel as to its validity, *ib.*; Lord Brougham's opinion, 88; Right Hon. Edward Ellice, *ib.*; misgovernment of Red River Settlement, and grievances of the settlers, 88, 89; the Hudson's Bay dispute, 90; the Company's pretensions, *ib.*; the portion of territory styled the Fertile Belt, *ib.*; the character of the country misrepresented by the Company's officials, *ib.* *seq.*; Sir George Simpson's paradox, 91; expeditions to explore the country, 91, 92; route to the Rocky Mountains, 92; testimony of the independent explorers, Lord Milton and Dr. Cheadle, *ib.*; change of opinion indicated in the Company's last prospectus, 93; the Company and the Stock-Exchange, *ib.*; agitation in the Dominion of Canada as to the acquisition of the Company's territory, 94; Canadian forests, *ib.*; definition of the footing on which the Company was to stand in relation to the Dominion, 95; Mr. Gladstone's propositions, 95, 96; the "Rupert's Land Act, 1868," 96; Colonial administration, 96, 97; desirability of extinguishing the claims of the Company by



an immediate payment in cash, 97; our imperial policy, 98; Canada as a field for emigration, *ib.*; route to the East through the Dominion of Canada, 99; importance of having this controversy with the Hudson's Bay Company finally settled, *ib.*; probable issue of its settlement, *ib.*

INDIA.—Public Works in: want of roads, 119; application of the term "Public Works," 120; the means available for work,—forced labour, *ib.*; the idea of "Government" to a Hindu, *ib.*; compulsory labour under the Mogul Shahs, 120, 121; peculiar position of the British Government in India, 121; its results—much writing, little working, *ib.*; difficulties and drawbacks to the operations of the Public Works department, 121, 122; responsibilities of the officers, 122; their work, 122, 123; financial arrangements, 124; the American blockade and the supply of cotton, 125; need of assistance for works in India, *ib.*; inducements to lay out money in improving India, 125, 126, staff of the Department, 126; engineering Colleges, *ib.*; labour and labourers in India, 127; Major Chesney's "Indian Polity," 127, 128; State versus private enterprise, 128; operations connected with irrigation, *ib.*; road-making hindered by the want of suitable materials, 129; railways, tramways, and bridges, 130; the contract system, *ib.*; what is necessary to make the Public Works department really useful, 130, 131; administration of the department, 131; consequences of the minute system of supervision at present exercised, 132; the question of Russian invasion, *ib.*; importance and necessity of enlisting on our side the interests and sympathies of the people of India, 133.

Irish Church Measure, 300; Lord Salisbury on the functions of the House of Lords, *ib.*; his advice with regard to its present action, 301, 302; it is more than a Senate, 302; the attainment of equality between the confessions the present problem, 303; policy of Gladstone and Bright, *ib.*; the Irish Church Bill and its object, 303, 304; its character as passed by the House of Commons, 304, 305; examination of Mr. Disraeli's speech on the second reading, 305, 306; the question of endowments, 307, 308; position of the Church as contemplated by the Bill, 309; arrangements for the employment of the surplus, 310; Maynooth and the Regium Donum, *ib.*; tithes, *ib.*; general justice of the measure, 310, 311; present state of Ireland, 311; effect of the large majorities in the House on the great body of the people, 311, 312; the new Irish Lord Chancellor, 312; to what are the recent outrages in Ireland to be attributed? 313, 314; liberation of the Fenian prisoners, 315; the banquet at Cork, 316; demonstrations against the Bill in the North, *ib.*; amendments to be introduced in the House of Lords, 317; generosity and justice, 318.

LONDON, Walter Savage,—Forster's biography of, 290; birth and parentage, 291, 292; his waywardness as a boy, 292; at Rugby school, 293; his year at Oxford, 294; Dorothea Lytton, *ib.*; becomes an author, 295; writes political articles—visit to Paris, 295, 296; residence at Bath—"Ianthe," 296; raid into Spain—purchase of Llanthony, 296, 297; marriage with Julia Thwaites, 297; settles at Florence till 1835, when he returned to Bath, 297, 298; acquaintanceships formed there—Forster, Dickens, Eliza Lynn, 298; death at Florence, *ib.*; description of his person, *ib.*; his love of children, 299; remarks on his genius, *ib.*

Lunacy, Increase of, 65; statistics of the asy-

lums in England and Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, *ib.*; nature and causes of the increase, *ib.*; the numbers admitted into asylums during the last ten years, 65, 66; discharges and admissions unequal 66, 67; private and pauper lunatics, *ib.*; different classes of the discharged, 67, 68; the curable and incurable, 68; the question as to the possibility of providing for some of the insane poor otherwise than in asylums, with probable benefit, 69, 70; the Report of the Scotch Commissioners on this question, 70; desirability of providing for this class less pretentious buildings, 71; the additions in constant demand in County and District Asylums, 71, 72; remedies proposed: (1.) transference to buildings intermediate in character between work-houses and asylums, 73, 74; (2.) transference to the workhouse, 74; condition of the insane in workhouses, *ib.*—in England, 74, 75—in Scotland, *ib.*—and in Ireland, 76; (3.) transference to private dwellings, *ib.*; state of pauper lunatics so disposed of at present, in England, 77—in Scotland, 78; seq.—and in Ireland, 79; results of the examination of the three proposed outlets for the chronic insane in asylums, 79, 80; recent provisions of the law to keep down undue accumulation in establishments, 80, 81; other considerations affecting this question, 81; mad-houses and asylums, *ib.*; reform in treatment of the insane, 82; importance of early treatment of the disease, *ib.*; the relations between mental and bodily health, 83; importance of the whole subject, *ib.*

MAN, Early History of; see Early.

Man's Chief End,—What is it? 100; Mr. Arnold on "Culture and Anarchy," *ib.*; the ideal of culture and its realization, 101; thesis to be proved,—that culture prosecuted with a view to the entire perfection of our manhood and the reflex glory of God, is the one absolute and untransferable end of human existence, *ib.*; what are the essentials of human nature? 101, 102; "man's chief end" as defined by the Westminster divines, 102, 103; the educational schemes of so-called "practical men" vitiated by a fundamental flaw, 103, 104; this doctrine of culture not separative and exclusive, but intensely social, 104; a well-educated mind sympathizes with other departments of study than those it is specially acquainted with, 105; ideal of an educated life, 105, 106; the religious faculty, 106, 107; the relation in which religious culture stands to human perfection, 107; operation of the law of intellectual and moral habit, 108; three results of recognising the ideal, as here defined, 108, 109; can this ideal be realized? 109; obstacles and objections, 110, 111; summary of the laws of culture, 111, 112; Mr. Arnold's teaching on this subject, 112; Hellenism and Hebraism, 113; contrast between the two tendencies so designated, 113, 114; Mr. Arnold's doctrine lays too much stress on thought, and indefinitely postpones action, 114; his anticipations of the future somewhat sad, 115; and why, *ib.*; his range of culture unduly narrowed, 115, 116; his antagonism to "machinery," 116; the austerity of his attitude towards his own generation, 117; his classification of British society, 118; "whence do we come?" "whither do we tend?" 118, 119.

Milman's (Dean) "Annals of St. Paul's," 52; his early life, and literary labours, 52, 53; careless editing of the "Annals," 54; notices of early Deans, *ib.*; and Bishops of London, 55; the humour and urbanity of his writings, *ib.*; his style compared with that of Gibbon, 56, 57; characteristics of it, 57, 59; controversies in which he was engaged, 59; his "History of the Jews," 59,



60; his "History of Christianity," and Dr. Newman's review of it, 61, 62; his distaste for pure dogma, and preference for the devotional over the controversial, 62, 63; not chargeable with indifference towards his order, or carelessness for the religious truth he was pledged to teach, 63, 64.

REVOLUTIONS in the Queen's English; see English language.

Robinson, Henry Crabb,—Diary and Correspondence of, 189; his early life, and studies, 189, 190; visit to Germany, 191; interview with Goethe, 191, 192; residence at Frankfort, 192; matriculates as a student at Jena, *ib.*; life at a German University seventy years ago, *ib.*; notable personages whose acquaintance he made, 193; Madame de Staël, *ib.*; death of Schiller, 194; narrow escape from expulsion, *ib.*; Mrs. Barbauld, and Charles Lamb, 195; narrow escapes from capture on the Continent, *ib.*; becomes special correspondent of the Times during the Spanish Revolution of 1808, *ib.*; sketches of notable writers in the Times, 196; legal studies, *ib.*; Coleridge as a Lecturer, 197; anecdote of Lord Chancellor Thurlow, *ib.*; Wordsworth's dogmatism, 198; Robinson's opinion of Waverley, *ib.*; practice as a barrister, *ib.*; Brougham and Queen Caroline, 199; notices of Carlyle, *ib.*, and J. S. Mill, 200; Walter Savage Landor, *ib.*; Emerson's Lectures, *ib.*; old age, illness and death, 200, 201; the author's character, 201; his connexion with the Unitarians, *ib.*

Royal engineers, The: recent diffusion of the knowledge of military matters, 1; power of the newspaper, 1, 2; our military skill in modern campaigns, 2; Lord Napier and the Abyssinian expedition, 3; present position of our artillerymen

and engineers, *ib.*;—is it a just one? 4; Lord Napier invited to Chatham by the officers of the Royal Engineers, *ib.*; the Royal Military Academy at Chatham, 5; and the training received there, *ib.*; occupations of the corps in the time of peace, *ib.*; their work on service, 6—siege of Delhi, 6, 7; Sir Hugh Rose at Jhansi, escalating, 7, 8; disabilities of Engineers, and the unjust treatment they have received, 8; instances of services rendered by them in the field, 9; lessons to be gathered from the last struggle between Austria and Prussia, 10; necessity of army reform,—sale of commissions, *ib.*; social position of officers,—cost of a cadet at Chatham, *ib.*; injustice of excluding ordinance officers from commands, *ib.*

Russian Literature; see Turguenief.

TURGUENIEF'S Novels: literature in Russia, 12; Turguenief's characteristics as a writer of fiction, 13; serfdom as depicted in "A Sportsman's Notes," 13, 14, *seq.*; illustrations of the dealings of proprietors with their serfs, 14, 17; manners and customs of the peasantry in their relations to each other, 17, 18; his descriptions of scenery, 19; stories illustrating various phases of Russian society—"Moomoo," 19, 20—"The Tavern," 20, 21; pictures of the higher ranks of society—"Faust," 21, 22; special merits of his novelettes, 22, 23; "The Diary of a Superfluous Man," 23, 24; plot of "Lisa," 24, 27; the new school of Radicals as depicted in "Fathers and Children," 27, 31—Nihilism in Russia, 28, 31; the novel entitled "Smoke," holding up to ridicule the patriotic party who have no need of Western culture, 31, 34; Turguenief's other writings, 34.



THE  
NORTH BRITISH REVIEW.

NO. XCIX.

FOR MARCH, 1869.

ART. I.—1. *The Royal Engineer.* By SIR FRANCIS B. HEAD. 8vo. London, 1869.  
2. *Professional Papers of the Royal Engineers.* London.

IF the art of war has made no marked progress of late years among those of us who are soldiers by profession, it is certain that a considerable knowledge of military matters has recently been diffused through our community at large. Armies—their organization and their evolutions—are subjects which, little more than a dozen years ago, were surrounded with a halo of mystery penetrable by none but men bearing arms.

Few of those who held Her Majesty's commission ventured to express an opinion on such matters. The only literature in which they were noticed consisted of one or two periodicals whose circulation was limited to mess-rooms and military clubs.

But this state of things has disappeared. Along with the troops who undertook the invasion of the Crimea, there were a few Englishmen in no way trained in the avocations of fighting, but who not the less managed to furnish our newspapers with descriptions of every phase of that expedition; and this they did in terms so accurate and so graphic as to lead their readers to the conclusion that, after all, military affairs might prove capable of being understood by any man of ordinary education and intelligence.

Even the technical phraseology of warfare came by degrees to be appreciated by men who hitherto had shrunk from approaching what seemed to them an insurmountable obstacle to researches in this field. Its terms were soon discovered to be neither numerous nor hard of comprehension. Long before

Sebastopol had fallen most of us had mastered this little formidable vocabulary by no more difficult process than the perusal of our morning papers.

And while this sort of knowledge was being spread over England, there arose on all sides an increased interest in things military, which, under the influence of the Volunteer movement, eventually took a permanent place in our feelings.

Our soldiers, their equipments and their manœuvres, are now topics of daily talk, and are made subject to as free a criticism as any other matter which our journalists think fit to select for censure or approval.

In each modern campaign reporters for the Press accompany the combatants. The Special Correspondent is now an essential member of each well-constituted journalistic staff, and is held in readiness to be despatched on a very short notice to any theatre of war which may offer an opportunity for his pen. The importance of his duties has come to be recognized even by those who long looked upon him as a mischievous interloper in camps. No general officer meets with more attention than is now lavished on this news-writer by every prudent man of the force to which he is accredited. From the confidential documents of the chief of the staff to a seat at the mess-table of any regiment or battery that may be present—everything is pressed ardently on his acceptance.

The influence he is capable of exerting on the highest dignitaries of the army is great, so great at times as to lead to inconvenience, and even to acts of doubtful justice.

His widely-published dicta coming fresh from a field of battle are apt to produce on the minds of his readers an effect not to be



effaced by the more accurate despatch in which the commander of an expedition may tardily proceed to point out the proper recipients for the rewards of victory.

More than one Victoria Cross has been virtually awarded by a special correspondent, who contrived to describe in glowing terms acts of an individual which possibly remained unperceived by his regimental brethren.

Nor has the power of the newspaper been less surely established over the military authorities in England. That curiously-named corporation of army officials, the Horse Guards, has at length thrown open its long-closed doors.

Yielding to the modern craving for publicity, our army authorities have laid bare every source of information to the researches of the reporter. "What says the Times?" has come to be a question asked each morning in Whitehall with as much solicitude as a banker of twenty years ago used to display in demanding of the confidential clerk who ushered him into his business-room, "How are the Funds?"

Knowledge begets inquiry. As Englishmen have gone on increasing their acquaintance with their army, so have they ventured to investigate many matters connected with it which long appeared hard of comprehension.

In other countries they saw warfare cultivated as a science. The success of Sadowa and its preceding combats was secured, as they learned, by a system of tactics and strategy conducted by one man, on a principle as certain, and as regularly organized, as that which a skilful chess-player brings to bear on each movement he makes on the board. Throughout continental Europe, as well as America, the men selected to command armies appeared thoroughly conversant with the theory and practice of war.

It mattered not that the training had been obtained in any individual regiment or department. If the officer were capable he at once found opportunities of command.

Turning to England, our observers saw an entirely different policy pursued. Here they found prevalent the grand, simple idea of soldiering such as it existed in the flint period; a calm conviction of the incontestable superiority of the British army, which required no further aid from art than such as is imagined to be developed on a field of battle by the inspiration of that *ignis fatuus* of our country which goes by the name of common sense.

Nor did the results of this rudimentary apparatus for wielding the warlike resources of the nation bear a critical examination.

The Crimean campaign appeared to be

one long record of devotion, bravery, and blunders on the part of our commanders, almost every step taken in it involving a violation of the recognised principles of warfare—an invasion undertaken without information being obtained as to the country to be entered; the results of a battle thrown away for want of a reconnoissance to verify the defenceless state of the north side of Sebastopol; an English army made to file for a couple of days across an enemy's position; and, last crowning crime of war, a siege carried on against a place which was left entirely free from investment, and consequently open to constant reinforcements.

Nor did the Indian Mutiny furnish many instances of brilliant generalship. Itself a creature of our defective military organization, it brought to light a singular want of perception on the part of many officers as to the means best adapted to meet the end in view. The cumbrous columns, their deliberate movements, and the general system of strategy which characterized Lord Clyde's operations in Oude, might be admirably suited for European warfare, but seemed somewhat misjudged applications of art when brought to bear on opponents so bad at fighting and so good at flying as the mutineers on all occasions showed themselves to be.

Indeed, of the many officers who held important commands throughout that campaign, few but Lord Strathnairn and Lord Napier had the military discernment to recognise its circumstances to be of a nature in which strict tactics might well be set aside in favour of a bold course of action improvised for the occasion.

Our wars in New Zealand disclosed equally unsatisfactory examples of military skill. There again our generals appear to have been unable to grasp a proper conception of the special character of the combats on which they had to enter. There, too, operations such as are intended for troops acting in an open country, against an enemy equipped after a European model, were unwisely carried out against bands of brave but undisciplined savages lurking in the bush.

In short, without venturing to fatigue our readers by reminding them of the haphazard sort of tactics displayed by our generals in modern campaigns, we may safely say that results in each instance have not been such as to imbue Englishmen with a high estimate of their military commanders.

The first really successful expedition undertaken by a British army for many a day was that directed against Abyssinia. Of fighting, it is true, there was but little.



But on that score we have little cause to question the competency of English generals; so that the bloodless nature of this campaign did not affect its merits in the eyes of the country.

It was the perfect organisation and administration of the force required to effect a hazardous operation in a most difficult country which called forth not only the approval of England, but of other nations who are chary in admitting our claims to military skill.

The man who planned and conducted this expedition was clearly above the ordinary calibre of British generals. Who was he? what were his antecedents? were questions asked by many.

To those who had already formed doubts as to the judicious award of our posts of military responsibility, a confirmation of their suspicions was now afforded by the discovery that Lord Napier had come to head this expedition by what must be described as a geographical accident. He belonged to the corps of Royal Engineers, and as such was, by the time-honoured traditions of Whitehall, rendered incapable, along with his comrades of the Artillery, of commanding a British army, or even a division of a British army. This professional ban has always held, and still holds, undisputed sway in England and her colonies. But India, under the old régime of the Sovereign-Company, was exempt from its operation; for the Directors in Leadenhall Street considered that as good horses are of all colours, so good generals may be of all corps. Even to this day this lax creed obtains in our Eastern possessions, although, in justice to English army officials, it is fair to say that a steady pressure has all along been exerted by them to purge these distant dependencies of this remnant of military nonconformity.

By reason, then, of this schismatic practice of the Eastern army, which may be designated the Great Ordnance Heresy, it chanced that Robert Napier, who had fought in the Punjaub campaigns, and who had been chief of the staff to Sir James Outram at Lucknow, came to command a brigade of the Central Indian Field Force in 1858; and as his work as a soldier was always well done, he afterwards commanded a division of the army employed in the last war with China, and there again with much success.

In course of time a Commander-in-Chief was wanted for the army of Bombay. Sir Robert Napier was considered a man eminently qualified for the post, and as the choice did not rest with the Horse Guards he was appointed to it. It was during his

tenure of this office that the release of the Abyssinian captives was resolved upon. Bombay was the point evidently best suited as a starting-point for this purpose. Again it happened that the command of this undertaking did not fall to be decided by the army authorities in Whitehall. And again it chanced that the choice of those charged with the selection fell on Napier.

Seeing how singularly successful he had proved himself as a general, men now began to ask how it came about that the country was prevented from availing itself of the services of the corps to which he belonged. What was its history, what might be its shortcomings in the eyes of our army officials?

Was it possible that some subtle insular idiosyncrasy did in reality render the English artilleryman and engineer different from their fellows in other armies of the world? Napoleon was an artillery officer; General Lee, the commander of the army of the Confederate States of America, is an engineer; so is Marshal Niel, so is Vaillant, so was Cavaignac.

In India, too, it was clear that both corps had shown capabilities of command. Sir George Pollock, who retrieved the disasters of Afghanistan, is an artilleryman; and Lord Napier, as we have already seen, is a good general although an engineer. How came it that the higher capacities of these Ordnance officers should be incapable of development outside the tropics? The position they held in the British army proper appeared to be this—that artillerymen do well enough to dash up and unlimber in face of an enemy's column, and so manage to break its formation as to enable the cavalry to be brought up to finish the work it had cost the lives of a good many gunners and drivers to begin. Engineers, too, were all very well in their way; very serviceable in riding ahead of the column, and thus picking up intelligence at the expense of inconvenient warnings from an enemy's out-pickets. Occasionally, too, they were useful in pointing out to a puzzled general the conformation of a battle-ground, and the disposition of troops it might require. And no doubt they came in opportunely when a man was wanted to lead a storming party through a breach, or show the way up the ladders at an escalade. Within limits of this kind artillerymen and engineers might be employed. But not beyond them. For the higher work of British warfare they were held to be unfitted. Any claim urged on their behalf to exercise military commands was at once set at rest by the simple official procedure of reminding them that



they belonged to special arms of the service, that is to say, arms which in the United Kingdom are conceived to be specially incapacitated for all but subordinate posts, but which in other countries are considered to be specially well qualified to discharge the highest duties of the soldier.

Such, then, appears to be a fair statement of the position this day held by two corps of our army whose battle-roll is summed up in a single word—"USIQUE."

Is this position a just one?

It is this question which Sir Francis Head has set himself to answer in a book just published by him, under the title of *The Royal Engineer*. Sir Francis naturally enough confines his efforts to a vindication of that one of the two corps of which he knows most; at the same time we do not doubt that, like every soldier who loves the English army, he feels that the principle for which he contends applies equally to both. Like him we shall restrict ourselves at present to considering the claims of the younger corps.

The occasion which seems to have fired anew the zeal of Sir Francis, and to which we are indebted for this fresh work from his pen, may be said to be the Abyssinian expedition.

Desirous of doing honour to the man who had so ably vindicated the capabilities of their corps in planning and carrying out this campaign in Africa, the officers of the Royal Engineers had asked Lord Napier on his return to England to meet them at their mess-table, at the headquarters of the corps, on the heights above Chatham.

Here were gathered together, red-coated records of almost every English battle of the present century. Veterans of the Peninsula and of Waterloo; the less mature soldiers of Sobraon, Chillianwalla, and Meeanee; a fresher group still representing those who laid out the batteries at Sebastopol; and here too were the sharers of the siege of Delhi and other operations of the Indian Mutiny campaign; along with engineers who had fought in China, New Zealand, and at the Cape.

In returning thanks for the words in which the Duke of Cambridge, as Colonel-in-Chief of the corps, conveyed the satisfaction which his brother officers felt in his success, Lord Napier took occasion to allude to various incentives to high aspirations which at different times of his career had influenced his efforts. He told his brother officers that as a very young subaltern one circumstance had made an indelible impression on his mind, as an example of the self-reliance and energy which ought to animate an engineer officer. The circumstance was one which some resi-

dents in Edinburgh may still remember,—that of the promptitude and skill displayed by a subaltern of engineers clearing away the dangerous ruins left by the disastrous fire which occurred in our old Scottish capital in 1824. In telling this story, in his own modest and earnest way, Lord Napier at length bowed his head towards an old gentleman whose black coat was somewhat conspicuous among the red ones which surrounded the table, and proceeded to say that although that example had ever been present in his mind, yet it was not till the day on which he now addressed them that he had had an opportunity of seeing his ideal engineer. This engineer was Sir Francis Head.

Taking advantage of this visit to the Royal Engineer Establishment of Instruction at Chatham, the veteran baronet seems to have set about to examine it with the old vigour which he brought to bear on every act of his life,—on his efforts to quell an insurrection in Canada, as well as on his rough ride across the Pampas. In the book now before us, which is the fruit of that visit, he has called into play the powers of perception and plain exposition which characterize his former works. Here again we find conclusions conveyed in the same forcible words, enlivened with the same abrupt divergent disquisitions which charmed the readers of *Bubbles from the Brannen of Nassau*.

The aspirants for the Royal Artillery and Engineers are, as he tells us, samples selected from the healthy intelligent youngsters of the upper classes of England. In approaching the competitive test which decides this selection, these lads must bring with them certificates showing that they are between the ages of sixteen and nineteen, that they are sound in wind and limb, and that they are of good character. Their matriculation test for the Royal Academy at Woolwich consists in a severe examination in History, Geography, Mathematics (mixed and pure), Classics, French, German, or Hindustani, and the Natural and Experimental Sciences. They must draw freely, and write well. In short, the qualifications prescribed for a lad desiring to enter the Royal Academy are considerably in excess of those possessed by the average of his fellows who each year complete the course of instruction afforded at our great public schools.

Once admitted to the Woolwich Academy, he has to undergo a course of study and training, extending over two years and a half. During this time he is subjected to periodical examinations in the many branches of knowledge which are there taught by an able staff of professors—civil as well as



military. Mathematics, fortification, military surveying and sketching, naturally occupy a prominent position in this course, which is all along supplemented by a rigid training in drill and discipline, and is eventually completed by a careful instruction in the practical part of an artillery officer's duties, carried out daily in the Royal Arsenal, among the various apparatus, models, and machinery stored in that repository of gunnery, which cannot fail to interest and impress the minds of the pupils. The cadets who have finished their course at this Academy undergo a final examination before leaving it. From the thirty or forty who pass this test at the close of each half-yearly term, the half-dozen\* who show the highest proficiency are selected for the corps of Royal Engineers. The remainder join the Royal Artillery. In the case of the lads who are at the top of this half-yearly list, it is of course optional to go to that corps which seems best suited to them; but the number who, having qualified for engineers, do after all become artillerymen, is not great.

The engineer, in the embryo state we now find him as he leaves Woolwich, is provided with as fair a knowledge of mathematics as is possessed by the average men who take a degree at Cambridge. With the theory of fortification he is well acquainted. In its application too he has made some progress, in the shape of throwing up an occasional fieldwork, or modelling some celebrated fortress on a smaller scale in sand. His hand and his eye have already acquired the experience and aptitude necessary to comprehend the conformation of a country-side, and to render this in an intelligible manner on paper. As regards drill and discipline, he has gone through a more severe training than most men in the ranks of the army.

It is in this condition that he joins the Royal Engineer establishment at Chatham. Here his efforts are now directed to appreciate and exercise the application of the principles which have thus far been instilled into his mind. In the operations of sapping, mining, throwing up batteries, laying out the works of a siege, and contriving expedients for a defence, he undergoes a thorough course of instruction. He is constantly practised in the duty of throwing bridges over ravines, or across the ditch of a fortress under attack. An admirable pontoon train, ready as it now stands to take the field at an hour's

\* The precise number is fixed according to the requirements of the corps of Royal Engineers. Six may be considered the average half-yearly number; but at times more than this number are selected, and at times fewer.

notice, affords every opportunity for his acquiring a knowledge of this apparatus of war, and the many useful combinations of which it is capable. The survey of a portion of the neighbouring country, representing several square miles of field, forest, and river, is required of him, under conditions of exactness and artistic finish such as regulate the well-known Ordnance Maps. From time to time he is called upon to submit, at a short notice, a project for attaining some object that is prescribed for his consideration—the means of carrying on a siege against some specified fort or strong place—the method best adapted to repel an enemy landing at some defined point on our coast.

Meanwhile his training in the ordinary duties of a soldier is being enforced with as much attention as is bestowed on his brethren of the line. Attached as a subaltern to one of the companies of Royal Engineers present at their headquarters, he goes through the regular routine of the barrack discipline of our army. According to his place on the roster, he takes his turn of the duties of the corps and the garrison—of the work of "officer of the day" in his own barracks—of that of a member of a court-martial there or elsewhere.

In addition to the company and battalion drill in which he is exercised on his own parade, he takes a part in the brigade manoeuvres periodically occurring on the neighbouring lines of Chatham,—so that by the time he has completed his two years' course of training at the Royal Engineer establishment he may be said to have had altogether four and a half years of constant and careful drilling. Having thus completed his preliminary courses, the subaltern is in all probability drafted to do duty with one of the forty companies of the corps which are stationed separately in almost every part of the British dominions. In any case it is almost certain that before quitting the grade of second captain, the young engineer may yet have to go through more drill and more barrack work, so that it is not too much to assert that in the early part of his career he has been subjected to so severe a training in the purely mechanical duties of the soldier as to render him qualified for ever after in this respect. Henceforth he may be employed, without detriment to his military efficiency, in any capacity in which he may prove useful to the State.

And indeed he is called upon to perform very varied work. He is charged with the construction and conservation of the fortresses and defensive works throughout British territories, with the maintenance of barracks and other military buildings, and with car-



rying out the Ordnance Survey of the United Kingdom; while those officers who serve in India undertake labours of a still more comprehensive kind, in furnishing means of communication and of irrigation for that country.

And while these are the principal occupations of the corps during peace, there are others allotted to individuals among its seven hundred and fifty\* members, of which we may here mention a few in the order they occur to us:—Commander-in-Chief of the Army of Bombay; Governor of Bermuda; Governor of the Straits Settlement; Military member of the Council of the Viceroy of India; Chief Commissioner of Police in London; Consul-General in Egypt; Director of Works to the Lords of the Admiralty; Mint-Masters at Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, and Australia; Government Inspectors of Railways in England and in India; Member of the Ordnance Select Committee; Director of Telegraphs in India; the Department of Science and Art at South Kensington.

Having thus seen how numerous are the duties cast upon the Engineers in time of peace, let us now look at some of their doings on active service in the field. And to begin with the work which common belief assigns as their sole occupation on service—that of siege operations,—it may be safely asserted that no duty of a soldier demands more energy, more resolution, or more readiness of resource than this task of the engineer. It is one thing for a man to gallop headlong into action, excited by the emulation and encouragement afforded by comrades, who ride stirrup to stirrup with him in the charge. And it is another thing to expose one's-self as a solitary target for the deliberate practice of an enemy's riflemen, as is the lot of the engineer who, in unimpassioned isolation, undertakes the reconnaissance of a fortress or the inspection of a breach. A man must have a clear head and a stout heart who can grasp the features of the ground and the fortifications he is called upon to scan under circumstances of this kind.

Nor is less quiet fortitude needed in the trenches. There the Engineers who lay out the batteries, and their old college companions of the artillery, who serve the siege guns, have a hard enough time of it, as the casualty lists invariably show. Of nineteen engineer officers employed at the siege of

Badajoz, four were killed and six were wounded. At the first siege of St. Sebastian the casualties were still more severe, five officers being killed and seven wounded, of a roll of eighteen. Nor have recent sieges been much less death-dealing: 550 officers and men having been killed or wounded among the 1650 of all ranks of the corps engaged in the Crimea. Indeed, through each phase of a siege the engineer is under more constant exposure to an enemy's fire than any other soldier of the army; and when at length the supreme moment of attack has arrived, when the stormers have to make their short, sharp rush at breach, here again we find him performing the duty of showing the way. What duty means may best be understood by looking back at our siege of Delhi. Of the five engineers who led the columns which first assaulted that place, three were struck down and indeed of the seventeen officers of the corps engaged there on that day, only seven escaped unscathed.

One incident of that assault will long be remembered by every soldier who was present—the blowing open of the Cashmere gateway of the fortress. This operation constituted one of the main features in the projected attack. It was an awkward task to accomplish, for imperfect means had prevented our reducing the fire of the place to that condition of comparative harmlessness which is required for prosecuting the advanced operations of a siege. Our most forward trenches were yet far from the walls, so that any party attempting to approach the gate must pass over a wide space of open ground commanded by the ceaseless fire of a vigilant enemy. No such attempt could be made under the cover of night for each evening, so soon as darkness prevented our riflemen from sweeping the glacis with their fire, parties of the enemy came out and kept strict watch at the foot of the walls. Whatever might have to be done must be done in daylight, in full view, under the very muskets of the men who guard this important point.

In the corps of engineers that practice which is termed "calling for volunteers" is unknown. There, as duty falls to be done it is allotted as a matter of course to the officer who heads the roster. In this instance two engineer subalterns were wanted to blow open the Cashmere gate. On Havelock and Salkeld this duty fell.

Assisted by Sergeants Smith, Burgess, Carmichael of their corps, the two officers made their start from the advanced trench and moved down upon the gate with as much expedition as the burden of bearing the

\* Within the last ten years the corps of Royal Engineers has been nearly doubled in number, by the enrollment of officers who, although educated at the Chatham establishment, were formerly reserved for service in India only.



plosive apparatus enabled them to exert. Across the open space thus traversed by this little band, and afterwards on the spot they reached at the foot of the wall, a hot fire was poured from the parapets in front, from the gateway itself, and from both flanks. Yet the powder-bags were securely laid, and the hose carefully adjusted—chiefly in the end by Home, for by this time Salkeld was lying prostrate with two bullets in him. Sergeant Carmichael, in attempting to fire the hose, was shot dead. His place was taken by Sergeant Burgess, who succeeded; but he, too, at the cost of his life. At this point, Sergeant Smith, thinking that Burgess had failed, ran forward; but seeing the train alight, had barely time to throw himself into the ditch of the fort to escape the effects of the explosion. With a loud crash the gateway was blown in, and through it No. 8 column rushed to the assault, entering the town just as the other columns had won the breaches in adjoining portions of the defences.

Home, Salkeld, and Smith received the Victoria Cross for this day's work. But neither of the young officers lived long to enjoy their honour. Salkeld, who had lost an arm, and had a thigh broken, died after several days of lingering agony. Home on this day escaped unhurt, and afterwards displayed much skill and daring in blowing open one of the gates of the Delhi Palace, under somewhat similar circumstances of danger and difficulty. But within a fortnight he too was killed by an explosion which took place in the operations at the neighbouring fort of Malagurh.

To most men of a besieging force the capture of the beleaguered city brings a cessation of labour; but not to the engineers. While those of the stormers who live throw themselves down to rest after the day's toil, the engineer officer has to set to work to explore the interior of the captured place. Riding rapidly through its streets and lanes, pushing his horse into public buildings or courtyards, and greeted at times with a stray shot from the musket of some irrepressible patriot ensconced at a lattice window, the explorer has to gather a rapid acquaintance with the resources of the place, so as to be able to report to the commander of the force what quarters can be made available for housing the troops, and what measures may be necessary to adapt the buildings of the town to this purpose. Arrangements for water supplies must also be made; and roads must be opened out to afford free passage for guns, and, if need be, for giving their fire a free play through streets liable to be occupied by a rallying enemy. The damage done to the

defences of the place must also be looked to. If an occupation of it is intended, these must be repaired. Otherwise it may be necessary to proceed at once with still further measures of demolition. Then, too, accurate surveys and sketches have to be made of the scene of the operations as a necessary accompaniment to a report of the proceedings, which is now drawn up by the Commanding Engineer. And these different duties have to be done without delay. Time in such cases is limited, and in all probability other work lies not far ahead. Yesterday's task was blowing in a gateway of one fortress. That of next week may be the escalade of the walls of another.

Of this other form of an engineer's duty we may here mention a remarkable example which occurred at Jhansi, a stronghold in Central India occupied by the sepoy mutineers in 1858.

Pushing his onward way through the rebels who blocked the communication between Eastern and Western India, Sir Hugh Rose at length found himself in front of Jhansi, then strongly held by the enemy, and constituting a focus of insurrection for the districts west of the Jumna. Indeed, the Rānee who reigned over the city and its dependencies was, although a woman, about the most formidable enemy the British rule encountered in that inland part of the peninsula. As a strategical point of great importance, no less than from the prestige attaching to its possession, it became essential to us to capture this fortress. Time pressed; Sir Hugh was eager to effect a communication with the army then operating in an easterly direction under Lord Clyde; siege materials were scanty. The expedients suitable for such a case were accordingly determined upon—Jhansi was to be attempted by escalade at one point, and by a breach battered from afar at another.

The escalade was to be undertaken by two columns, to each of which was attached a ladder-party composed of engineers. Lieutenant Meiklejohn commanded the party of the right column, Lieutenant Dick that of the left. Neither of the lads was well out of his teens.

Starting from the foremost trenches, the engineers moved well ahead of the columns, and bore down steadily on the point selected for their attempt, but so hot was the fire poured on them while crossing the open space thus passed over, and so many were the men stricken down, that out of thirteen ladders only three could be brought forward to the foot of the wall. In the midst of a storm of bullets and other missiles showered on them from the parapets and the adjoining



bastion-towers, the engineers raised their ladders against the wall. In an instant Dick was at the top of his ladder. In another instant he was lying at its foot with a bullet through his brain. Meiklejohn, too, was foremost of his party in reaching the top, and, as if to quiet the murmurs of "short ladders" which began to arise from the columns in rear, he laid about him lustily with his sword, striking at the defenders, with whom he now found himself face to face. But only for a few seconds. Seized by the hands of those behind the wall, he was torn off his ladder and hacked to pieces by the fanatics inside.

Meanwhile Bonus, a yet younger subaltern of the corps, although off duty that day, had strolled forward from the trenches to see what was going on. Finding himself alongside the third ladder, and observing no eagerness on the part of those present to make use of it, he at once set a good example by mounting it, notwithstanding the missiles hurled at him by the defenders. Rapidly reaching the top, he did his best to parry the blows struck at him. But soon a stalwart rebel, clubbing his matchlock, swung it with full force at the youngster, and hurled him senseless to the ground, at the same time that the ladder itself was knocked out of its position. By this time all the engineer officers and many men were *hors de combat*, and as the chances of success seemed faint, the word was given to withdraw from the attempt, an operation which was luckily counterbalanced by the success of the British troops on the left, who had meanwhile carried the breaches in that direction. Bonus fortunately wore a strong helmet that day, and thus escaped death. As it was, he lay long senseless on the spot on which he fell.

Such, then, are some of the duties of the engineer in connexion with the operations of a siege or an escalade. As regards the ordinary routine work of a campaign his labours are already varied; and if due attention were paid to his capabilities, his employment would assuredly become still more comprehensive than it now is. As Sir Francis Head very justly points out, the qualifications prescribed for officers serving in the department of the Quartermaster-General of the army are simply such as are possessed by every engineer subaltern on leaving the establishment for instruction at Chatham. The rudimentary knowledge of surveying, field-sketching, and other requirements requisite for the preparation of reconnoitering reports which an infantry aspirant for staff honours contrives to pick up in leisure hours as an accomplishment,

can in few cases be so perfect as the acquaintance with these duties which early training and maturer practice cannot fail to impress on every engineer. Moreover, the engineer on whom this training falls has been chosen from a select band of young Englishmen, and is at least as likely to prove specially fitted to excel in this branch of military skill as his brethren of the line who happen to have developed some amateur aptitude for such pursuits. But, indeed, so entirely has this circumstance been recognised by our army authorities, that engineer officers are no longer permitted to contest in the yearly competition for entrance to the Staff College, it having been declared that their training renders such an examination superfluous. In other words, it has been admitted that engineer officers already possess qualifications for staff employment which can only be acquired by the rest of the army by means of a severe course of study at a college devoted to this purpose.

Such being the case, we might naturally expect to find many members of this corps employed on the army staff, above all in the Quartermaster-General's department, in which their capabilities for reconnoitering ground, for finding out the routes, rivers, fords, ferries, and bridges of the theatre of war, and their ability to turn these and other natural communications of the country to the best account would prove most valuable.

But in any such conjecture we should sadly miscalculate the value which the Horse Guards places on engineers. Notwithstanding this admission of their qualifications—which appears to have been elicited from the authorities as a means of relieving the officers of the line from the competing efforts of the engineers—the corps is practically excluded from all staff employment, only one officer of it being attached to the department of the Quartermaster-General, and he in effect in a somewhat subordinate capacity.

During one of our Caffre Wars, Sir Harry Smith, then in command of the troops at the Cape, ventured to place a couple of engineer subalterns on this branch of his staff. But no sooner had the news reached Whitehall than a peremptory order was addressed to the old General to displace the engineers forthwith, and to fill up the vacancies from the infantry.

The dictum of the Duke of Wellington, that artillery and engineers were impracticable fellows—all mad, married, or Methodists—has long been held to be a conclusive argument against employing them out of their own special spheres; and the old du-



ality of our army organisation, which assigned the troops of the line to the Commander-in-Chief, and the two Woolwich corps to the Master of the Ordnance, no doubt did much to keep their claims in the background.

But although thus denied an opportunity of showing their fitness for every branch of a soldier's duties in any campaign in which British troops have been engaged in Europe, officers of engineers have from time to time been able to burst through these official shackles, and thus assert the injustice to which their corps was subject.

During the Crimean War, Captain Simmons, as a general of division, assisted by Lieutenant Ballard as a brigadier, did good work with Turkish levies against the Russian troops stationed on the eastern shores of the Black Sea; and in truth the fighting material they had to make use of was indifferently good in comparison with the well-disciplined troops of the Czar with whom they had to contend. Deteriorated by the evil example of the enervated bullet-fearing Pashas who commanded them, these soldiers of the Sultan were at first but imperfectly reliable under fire. But when they came to find leaders who really performed the duty of leading, the old courage of Central Asian ancestors was once again kindled in these sons of Islam. The campaign in Mingrelia, including the passage of the Ingour river, may well stand a comparison as a piece of soldiering with any of the operations carried on at the same time in the Crimean peninsula.

In China, again, a young captain of the corps not long ago found himself gradually developing from an adviser of the Imperial generals into the position of Commander-in-Chief of their entire forces. In this capacity Captain Gordon raised armies, fought battles, and reconquered provinces. Here, too, imperturbable courage on the part of one man served to convert a mob of timorous Orientals into a really useful fighting force. And when at length his firmness and fearlessness had overcome the many obstacles he had to encounter, in the shape of an active enemy, unwilling recruits, and endless official thwartings offered by orthodox mandarins to this resolute white devil—in short, after the insurrection which threatened the very throne of China had been quelled by his personal efforts,—Gordon returned to his ordinary engineer duties without carrying with him any outward benefit. Having done his duty as an English officer, he now as an English gentleman refused the offers of service and of rewards made to him by the grateful Emperor of China. Although

a poor man, so high was his sense of honour that he declined gifts which seemed in his mind to carry with them the imputation of mercenary motives on the part of the recipient. As our leading journal justly remarked, on the occasion of his resigning his command in China, Charles Gordon there set an example of courage, of modesty, and of unspotted honour, of which his country may well be proud.

Lord Napier's services are so fresh in our memories that it seems unnecessary to recapitulate these further proofs of an engineer officer's capacity for command. Lest, however, some critics may consider that the success of the Abyssinian expedition indicates a talent for organization rather than a fitness for fighting, it may be well to refer to former services of this general; to his enterprising tactics while commanding the division which did the hard work of the last China war, and to his daring operations while commanding a brigade of troops during the Indian Mutiny. His action with the well-organized army of mutineers at Jowra Alipore was one of the most gallant affairs of the campaign of 1857-1858. One day at the end of a forced march he found his fatigued little force in the immediate neighbourhood of the rebellious army of the Maharajah Scindiah—an army composed of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, equipped from British arsenals and drilled by British officers. Without a moment's hesitation he made up his mind to attack at any odds. Taking with him a battery of horse-artillery and a few squadrons of cavalry, he worked his way in silence round the shoulder of the low hill that separated the contending forces, and suddenly making his appearance on the enemy's flank, plunged headlong into their dense ranks. A clear field and twenty-two guns were the reward of this day's work, by which Robert Napier effectually set at rest any doubts as to the calculating spirit of the engineer being in any way detrimental to the dash of the soldier.

In thus venturing to cite a few instances of services rendered in the field by Royal Engineers, we feel that we undertake what may seem to many a superfluous task. For ordinary reason and experience ought alike to teach us that such services are not likely to be below the level of those performed by men whose natural aptitude for military studies has not, in the first instance, been determined by the test of examination, nor has afterwards been developed by a professional education. The regimental routine prescribed as the sole training of most officers of our army is excellent as a means of teaching them habits of order and obedience, but be-



yond a certain limit its action is apt to be injurious. Long subjection to its monotonous restraint tends to merge the man into the machine—or rather into an isolated fragment of a machine,—useful so long as the entire apparatus is in gear, but helpless so far as individual movements are concerned. If any one doubts the evil effects of this system of cherishing the military attributes of an army at the expense of its warlike qualities, let him look at the last struggle between Austria and Prussia. No troops in the world are better disciplined than those of the Kaiser. None have higher courage. That they went down before the soldiers of North Germany was not due to the mere mechanical superiority of the needle gun. The same intelligent spirit of soldiering which supplied the Prussians with that admirable weapon was visible throughout every phase of their proceedings, visible in the strategy of their generals as well as in the individual efforts made by every man of the force. Sadowa, to use a well-worn expression, was simply the victory of mind over matter.

To our country that seven weeks' war in Germany ought to carry a special warning. If any lesson were to be gathered from it, it was assuredly this, that mere courage, active or passive, is no longer sufficient to save an army from defeat. The tactics pursued by our best generals in the Peninsula and at Waterloo, which almost invariably consisted in relying on the unflinching resolution with which English troops can endure the onslaught of assaulting columns, would be of little avail in a modern battle-field. The conditions of the combat are altogether altered by the use of arms of precision of the present day. Any general in the field attempting to handle troops after the time-honoured maxims to this day practised on English parade-grounds would never repeat the operation. Long before his cumbersome columns had taken up their alignments and dressed up to their points, his ranks would show sad gaps. An enterprising enemy might sorely violate his notions of "proper fronts" and "proper pivots" by falling headlong on him without regard to any other principle of war than that of securing success. In arms, as in all things, innovations invariably meet with the cry of "heterodoxy, heterodoxy," from the praisers of past times.

Napoleon and the other generals of the French Republic adopted methods of fighting utterly at variance with the good old types of strategy laid down in the ingenious treatises on warfare with which the Austrian commanders of the day were thoroughly conversant. Departing from the hallowed prescriptions of the old masters of the art mili-

tary, those young Frenchmen contrived somehow or other to beat their orthodox antagonists,—quite in opposition to the rules laid down for such cases, it is true,—but beat them they certainly did. The Austrians could of course console themselves with the reflection that their very defeat but the better proved their rigid adherence to established rules of procedure. With one of Molière's doctors they might even say, "Il vaut mieux mourir selon les règles que de réchapper contre les règles." Sentiments of this kind might very possibly have soothed the court circles of the Vienna of that time. But we doubt if Englishmen of the present day would be content with such an apology offered on behalf of a British army beaten under similar circumstances. We question whether the nation, on hearing that its flag had been so soiled, would be satisfied by an explanatory circular from the Horse Guards assuring us that the unpleasant result had been brought about in strict accordance with the regulations of the service.

That radical reforms are required in the organization of our army appears to be the conviction of the country, and symptoms are not wanting to show that the earliest efforts of its reformers are likely to be directed to the system on which it is supplied with officers. Already the movement against the sale of commissions has assumed formidable dimensions. Setting himself astride this hereditary *cheval de bataille*, a member of the present Administration has not hesitated to proclaim the necessity of abolishing this and other practices, which tend, in his mind, to make the army a creature of the Crown rather than a servant of the country. And doubtless many members of the House of Commons are prepared to support this gentleman in effecting important changes in this respect. How far the present purchase system may be beneficial, and how far it may be injurious to our army, we need not now inquire. Much may be urged in support of each view of the case. And we, who may now be set down as endeavouring to advocate certain claims of the Royal Artillery and Royal Engineers, in which this system does not obtain, may possibly be regarded as but partial judges of this matter.

At the same time, as it happens that these corps are the examples selected by Mr. Trevelyan and his school to prove the advantages of the principle they seek to promote, we may venture to point out what seems to be the secret of success in their instance. And at the outset we may mention that there is this radical difference in the Ordnance corps from the model organization which these abolitionists seem to have set be-



fore themselves, in so far that in them none of the officers have risen from the ranks. Moreover, although admission to the Royal Academy is nominally open to all competitors, yet the nature of the qualifications which are exacted does in reality restrict the candidates to certain classes of the community—classes, in fact, which can afford to pay £130 a year for their boys during their training at Woolwich, and can make them some annual allowance afterwards during their subaltern days at Chatham.\* In short, the officers of the Royal Artillery and Royal Engineers are the sons of the gentle folks of England. This condition of the question may no doubt seem of small moment to enthusiasts whose abstract notions of a perfect military organisation may be summed up in the supposititious *bâton de maréchal* which each French soldier is said to carry in his knapsack. But to those who have an everyday acquaintance with the subject the circumstance is hardly capable of being overrated in importance.

Men who have mixed much with the English soldier well know that the respect and obedience he yields to an individual of the class which he designates as gentlemen are not to be obtained by persons of a lower social position. On service the display of courage will always insure a leader being followed, irrespective of birth or breeding; but in barracks—and barracks, be it remembered, constitute the normal scene of duty—the English soldier will usually be found much less tractable to the orders of the most meritorious officer that ever rose from the ranks than to the most careless of subalterns freshly set free from Eton or Sandhurst. In course of time a juster appreciation of human equality may possibly pervade the rank and file. At present, however, it is well that their existing sentiments on this subject should not be overlooked in any scheme devised for commanding them.

In addition, however, to the mere circumstance of social condition, the Engineer officer has, as we have seen, a professional education such as is seldom enjoyed by his fellows in the line. His future occupations, too, being of an ever-varying nature, are better calculated to develop his capabilities as a man than the monotonous repetition of one small round of mechanical duties which constitutes the military career of most officers of our army.

\* The cost of a cadet varies according to circumstances. The sons of officers are admitted on lower terms than those of non-military men; and, again, the lower may be the rank of the parent, the less is the amount required for the boy. £130 may be set down as the average cost.

When the elements of drill and discipline have been fairly mastered by a young soldier, it is right that he should acquire knowledge of the varied kind which is necessary for the application of these to the wants of warfare. A mere capacity for manœuvring troops is but a poor qualification for commanding an army; and yet, Heaven knows, this is about the limit of learning attainable by many of our officers, whose mornings are occupied in dawdling through drill and orderly-room duties, and whose afternoons are filled up by strolling in search of such *bonnes fortunes* as are to be met with in the streets of the country quarters in which they find themselves. Surely it is better for a man to be engaged in healthy occupation for the mind and the body than to be condemned to the life-long listlessness of mere barrack work.

If certain critics choose to cavil at the employment of engineers on duties which may seem to belong to the civilian rather than the soldier, we would ask these gentlemen to look at the many engineers who held high commands during the late war in America, and then to tell us if the usefulness of Robert Lee, of Meade, of Beauregard, and their brother officers, was in any way impaired by the varied callings of peaceful life which had occupied their previous years of military inactivity. We would even ask these objectors to look at the case of Lord Strathnairn, whose regimental work may be said to have ceased on his reaching the rank of captain, and then let us know whether his subsequent successful career as a general can be considered to establish the inferiority of a comprehensive course of training, civil as well as military, compared with that finite instruction which is comprised within the red boards of the Queen's Regulations for the Army.

We think most Englishmen will agree with us in considering that able generals are not sufficiently numerous in our army to warrant us in refusing to seek for them wherever they can be found. In making this selection, it seems unwise that the country should be denied the choice of some 2300 officers of artillery and engineers, whose military training has been more carefully conducted than that of any soldiers in its service. In justice to these ordnance officers, too, it is right that the mischievous ban which hitherto has excluded them from commands should now be removed. Its existence is the veriest mockery imaginable of the claim of intellect or of culture to appear arrayed in a red coat.

If, notwithstanding their early training and their after services, these officers shall still be denied this act of justice, then let



their regimental motto become their protest—let the legend which hitherto has been well obeyed by both corps on the field of battle be supplemented by an affix of interrogation, and be henceforth blazoned on their arms and accoutrements after this fashion—  
**QUO VAS ET GLORIA DUCUNT ?**

ART. II.—RUSSIAN LITERATURE—TURGUENIEF'S NOVELS.

1. *Sochineniya, I. S. Turgeneva.*—[The Works of I. S. TURGUENIEF.] Moscow.
2. *Russian Life in the Interior.* Edited by J. D. MEIKLEJOHN. Black : Edinburgh, 1855.
3. *Fathers and Sons.* Translated from the Russian by EUGENE SCHUYLER. New York, 1867.
4. *Smoke; or, Life at Baden.* Bentley: 1868.
5. *Récits d'un Chasseur.* Traduits par H. DELAVEAU. Paris: 1858.
6. *Scènes de la Vie Russe.* Traduites par M. X. MARMIER. Paris: 1858.
7. *Nouvelles Scènes de la Vie Russe.* Traduction de H. DELAVEAU. Paris: 1868.
8. *Various French and German Translations of single Works.*

In the days of old, when a new king of France was being crowned in the cathedral of Rheims, a certain ancient volume used to be brought forward at one period of the ceremony, and on it the new monarch was solemnly sworn in. This volume, which was known as the *Texte du Sacre*, was as remarkable for the splendour of its exterior as for the incomprehensibility of its contents. Its binding was a mass of gold incrustated with precious stones; when it was opened, a manuscript was revealed, beautifully written on parchment in two different sets of equally unknown characters. No one knew with certainty what it was, or how it came there; but tradition averred that it was a copy of the Gospels in some Eastern tongue, and that it possessed unusual claims on the reverence of the faithful. Successive generations duly revered it, but no one solved the question of its language until at last Peter the Great happened to pay Rheims a visit, and the treasures of the cathedral were brought out for his inspection. When the mysterious volume was opened before him, he at once exclaimed, "Why, that's my own Slavonic!" And so it really was, turning out, when it was examined a century later by a competent scholar, to be a copy of part of the Gospels, written in two columns, the

one in Cyrillic, the other in Glagolitic letters. The dignitaries of the Church had been paying unwonted honours to characters which had probably been traced by a schismatic pen.

That the study of Slavonic literature should have made little progress in France at the time of the Czar's visit is scarcely to be wondered at. But it does seem strange that it should always have been regarded in our own country with an indifference bordering upon contempt, and this carelessness is especially remarkable in the case of Russian literature. Some of the Slavonic peoples, such as the Czekha, for instance, or the Bulgarians, do not form important nationalities, and have few interests in common with us. But this can scarcely be said of the Russians, and yet the language their many millions speak has always been thought utterly unworthy of our attention. As to the books they read, so little is known about them here, that the traveller who returns from Russia, and affirms that it really possesses a national literature, is often listened to with more astonishment than belief. Yet no one can have any doubt upon the subject who has ever spent an hour in the warehouse of any of the great publishing houses at St. Petersburg, or who has ever strolled along the Paternoster Row of Moscow, the long line of bookshops which extends from the St. Nicholas gate of the Kremlin to the northern angle of the "Chinese City." Merely by looking at the titles of the new books in their windows, it is easy to discover that the Russian publishers are by no means idle. It is true that many of these books are translations, but there are also numbers of original works, chiefly travels, biographies, histories, and critical, statistical, and philosophical essays, together with a good many novels, and a very few poems. Poetry is just now at a discount in Russia. Indeed, all romantic literature is to a certain extent discouraged. Young Russia is bent on studying natural science and metaphysics, and under its influence Fact has become inordinately hard of late years, and Fiction has taken to assuming an unusually reflective and studious air. In some modern Russian novels the romantic element seems to bear an unduly small proportion to that which at least affects to be philosophical, and the position of the artist to be unfairly subordinated to that of the teacher. In many instances this is of no importance, but it seems to be not a little unfortunate when the artist is one of real power. Of course, really great artists are but rarely to be met with in any country; but Russia at this moment possesses at least one writer who is worthy to be ranked among them, and it is to his



works that we now propose to call the attention of our readers.

Ivan Turguenief's\* writings have gained a great and widely-extended reputation in France and in Germany, but in England we fancy that they are but little known. It is true that two of his novels have been published in English, the one under the title of *Fathers and Sons*, and the other under that of *Smoke, or Life at Baden-Baden*, but the first appeared at New York, and is little known on this side of the Atlantic; and the other was translated in so singular a manner that M. Turguenief felt himself bound to protest against its being supposed to convey a just idea of his work. Another book of his was translated from the French, several years ago, under the title of *Russian Life in the Interior*; but unfortunately it differs considerably from the Russian original. No doubt it was made from that eccentric French version† against which M. Turguenief most vigorously protested at the time when it appeared. It is evident, then, that M. Turguenief has not yet had a fair hearing in England, otherwise we feel sure that full justice would long ago have been done to his merits. Of how great those merits are we hope to be able to give at least some idea in the following rapid sketch of his leading works.

Before commencing it, however, it will be as well to say a few words about the principal grounds on which rest M. Turguenief's claims to be considered a great writer of fiction. In the first place, he is original. In his careful studies of men and women he sometimes reminds us of Balzac, and sometimes of Thackeray; but there are few traces of imitation in his work. Then he has genuine creative power. His characters impress us with a sense of their vitality, their movements are natural, their talk is easy and unconstrained. And they have marked individuality, standing out clearly one from another. With him the same lay figure does not enter into a series of pictures, with merely a change of costume. There is great variety in his drawing. If it sometimes shows signs of mannerism, it is at all events clear that he has studied a multitude of models. In the next place, he is a most "sympathetic" writer. He enters, as if by instinct, into the feelings of the persons to whose ideas he gives expression. And this lends a great charm to the descriptions, in

which he excels, of men whose lives have been a mistake, whose careers have been a failure, and of women whose love has been unhappy, whose hopes have not been fulfilled. This same sympathetic feeling carries him even further. The dumb animals themselves become articulate for him. No one will doubt the truth of this who has read the different sketches of dogs which are scattered about his works. It is probably a somewhat similar feeling which accounts for another of his merits,—his singular power of describing nature. In this respect, among some others also, he reminds us of the author of *The Village on the Cliff*. He has to a great extent her wonderful faculty of giving in a very few touches not only the outward presentment of a landscape, but also the inner meaning which reveals itself to the eyes of those who are represented as looking at it. Another great merit in his stories is the purity of their tone. In this they offer a refreshing contrast to the cynical sensuality of the modern French school, while at the same time they are utterly opposed to anything like insipid sentimentality. It is easy to trace in them the influence of a shrewd and sarcastic humour, but it is one which is also kindly. There is a touch of east wind in the air which breathes around the majority of them, but is healthy and invigorating. Vice is never made seductive in them, nor are apologies offered for crime. Some of the best characters introduced into them are those of pure-hearted young girls, whose lives one feels must be honest and true, and of men who, even if they have at times been weak or erring, have, on the whole, battled manfully against their lower tendencies, and at last attained to a nobler life. Along with this elevation of feeling should be classed our author's generous indignation against all oppression and wrong, and especially that sympathy with the so long trodden down masses of his countrymen which gives so much animation to his pictures of peasant life. It needed no slight courage in a Russian writer seventeen years ago to speak as M. Turguenief did about the sorrows and the sufferings of the common people. Last, but not least, in the list of M. Turguenief's merits, must be mentioned the great beauty of his style. Never redundant, never bald or poor, it serves equally well for all occasions. Even in a translation it is easy to recognise the felicity of his expressions, the neatness of his dialogue, and the richness of his imagery.

One of the most characteristic of M. Turguenief's works is that which first made his name known, the *Zapiski Okhotnika*, or "A Sportsman's Notes." The stories it

\* It is difficult to write a Russian name correctly in our characters. In French our author styles himself Tourguéneff. In Germany he becomes Turgenev, Turgeneff, etc. We have adopted the form employed by Mr. Michell, in his Russian Handbook.

† Not M. Delaveau's, which is excellent.



contains are exceedingly interesting, even when looked upon merely as ordinary narratives, and the descriptive passages scattered over its pages would in themselves be sufficient to attract any lover of the picturesque; but its special claim to lasting admiration and respect is based upon the striking picture it affords of the condition of the Russian peasant before he became a free man, and the resolute though quiet protest it offers against such oppression as was so long endured by the masses of the Russian people. It used to be a somewhat dangerous matter to call public attention in any but a very guarded manner to the peculiar institution of serfdom. Even in the days when such a misfortune was no longer to be feared as that which befell Radischef,—who, on the account of the impressions of travel in which he drew an unusually sombre picture of peasant life, was degraded from office by the Empress Catherine, and sent to Siberia—many unpleasantnesses awaited a rash apostle of freedom. The Government might make no sign, but society would be very likely to frown, if any daring enthusiast said too much about the bondage in which the upper class held the lower. A certain amount of liberal sentiment was allowed, was even admired, but it was supposed to be understood that the feelings of the "ruling caste" were not to be too rudely ruffled. When M. Turguenief's sketches appeared, it was evident that he had not been withheld by any fear of what society might think of his proceedings. Quietly, and sometimes almost as if unconsciously, he laid bare some of the social cankers which were fretting away the strength of his country; in a few simple words he told this or that tale of sorrow and of wrong, then left the sad story to produce its own effect, and without a trace of indiscreet enthusiasm or morbid sentimentality, calmly, as it were coldly, passed on to another subject. There could be no doubt that the writer felt very keenly on the subject of the wrongs he described, but he had such thorough mastery over his feelings, that he was able to maintain the tone of one who was a disinterested narrator rather than a partisan. And so he produced a far greater and more permanent effect than could have been secured by any amount of hot and angry declamation. His quiet words sank deep into hearts that a storm of abuse would only have hardened; the subdued tone of his slight but thoroughly true sketches produced a lasting effect upon eyes which would merely have been offended by exaggerated and highly coloured pictures of suffering. Now that the old order of things has given place to the new,

—that the terrible tragedies of olden days are no longer likely to be repeated,—that the Russian proprietor is free from those fatal temptations which beset the man into whose hands is given absolute power over his fellow-men, and that the Russian peasant is no longer a mere chattel, something but a little higher than the beasts of the field, it is well that there should be some record of the mental degradation, the physical suffering, to which the old system gave rise. There is no lack in Russia, even among our own countrymen, of critics whose sympathies are with the past, whose tendencies are retrograde, whose leading idea is that the common people should be ruled by the stick, and who consider slavery so "patriarchal" an institution as almost to have acquired a religious character. For the benefit of readers whom those opinions about the emancipation might affect, it is very good that such pictures should be generally available as those which M. Turguenief has drawn of patriarchal manners.

Let us take a glance at a few of their more striking figures, beginning with that affable and judicious proprietor, Arcady Pavlich Penochkine. He is a young man who is well received and well spoken of in society, especially by the ladies, on whom the elegance of his manners has made a deep impression. He has received a good education, and he has some acquaintance with music. He dresses with taste, he affects French literature, and he plays cards to perfection. As regards his peasants, he is, according to his own account, severe but just. When he punishes them it is always for their good. "One must treat them like children," he says, and if he has to strike a blow, it is done calmly, and without any sign of anger; it is even accompanied by gentle words of exhortation, only at such times he sets his teeth a little, and his mouth assumes a disagreeable expression. Such is the refined and polished gentleman at whose house M. Turguenief's sportsman happens to spend a night. Everything is admirably managed there, and the servants are disciplined to perfection, only their countenances wear an anxious look which prevents the guest from being quite at his ease in their presence. At breakfast, in the morning, Arcady Pavlich appears to be in an exceedingly good humour. Presently, however, he lifts a glass of wine to his lips, and his face immediately darkens. "Why hasn't the chill been taken off the wine?" he asks. The servant he addresses grows pale, but makes no reply. "Surely you hear my question, my good friend?" quietly continues his master, without taking his eye off



him. The unfortunate servant fidgets a little, but remains silent. Arcady Pavlich watches him for a minute as if he were deliberating. "You may go," he says at last, and then rings the bell. It is answered by a thick-set, brutal-looking man, to whom the master of the house—who has apologized to his guest, with a kindly smile on his lips, for entering upon this little matter of business in his presence—says in a low voice, and without the least trace of angry feelings,—"Let Theodore . . . be seen to." "It shall be done," says the thick-set man, and disappears. "Such are the inconveniences of country life!" says Arcady Pavlich, in French, and with perfect cheerfulness. Not finding his spirits raised by this little scene, the visitor is about to take his leave, but his host cannot think of losing sight of him. Arcady Pavlich has a small estate called Shipilovka, which he has not seen for a long time, and which is close to the ground over which his guest is going to shoot. So he offers to drive there with him, and makes him promise to sleep at Shipilovka, in the house of the Bourmister, the steward or manager of the property. Somewhat against his will the visitor consents, and the two companions find themselves that evening occupying the best room in the cottage of the manager, whom Arcady Pavlich is never weary of praising as a model servant. The next morning they go over the farm, which is in excellent order. Everything seems flourishing except the peasants, who all look pale and thin. The proprietor is charmed with all he sees, and explains to his friend the advantages of the *obrok* system, according to which his peasants pay him money instead of giving him their labour. Suddenly there appear before him, and fling themselves at his feet, two peasants,—one a youth, the other an old man,—barefooted, miserably clad in coarse shirts, tied round the waist with pieces of rope. Arcady Pavlich asks them what they want, knitting his brow the while and biting his lip. They make no reply, only they blink their eyes, and draw their breath quickly. He repeats his question. The old man bends his sunburnt, wrinkled neck, his pale lips work, he cries with a broken voice, "Protect us, my Lord," and again prostrates himself, striking the ground with his forehead. The young peasant does the same. Their master looks down on them with a dignified air. At length they speak. They have come to complain to him of the way in which the Bourmister oppresses them. "He has utterly ruined us, my father," says the old man, whose name is Antip. "He has already sent two of my sons to the army out

of their turn, and now he wants to take this my third son from me. Yesterday, my father, he took away my last cow from me, and beat my wife; don't let him utterly destroy us, O our supporter!" The proprietor turns to his steward and asks what all this means. The reply is that the old man is idle, and a drunkard, and insolent, and that he is greatly in debt to his master. Arcady Pavlich turns with dignity to his suppliants, and reads them a lesson on the evils of drunkenness and sloth, and the extreme wickedness of not paying what is due to a landlord.

"'Father, Arcady Pavlich!' cried the old man in despair, 'have pity! protect us! I insolent! As before the Lord God, I declare that we are utterly ruined. Sofron Yakovlich [the Bourmister] hates me, and why does he hate me? God be his judge! He will utterly ruin us, father. . . . Behold this is the only son I have left—and him too . . . '—tears filled the old man's yellow eyes, over which the lids dropped heavily. 'Pity us, my Lord, protect us.'"

"'And it isn't us only—' the young peasant was beginning.

"Arcady Pavlich hastily interrupted him.

"'And who spoke to you—eh? No one speaks to you, so hold your tongue. And what is the meaning of all this? Be quiet, you're told! be quiet! Why, good heaven, this is simply mutiny! No, no, brother! I don't recommend you to rebel against me. I'll—' Here Arcady Pavlich took a step forward, but then in all probability he remembered I was present; he turned back and put his hands in his pockets, '*Je vous demande bien pardon, mon cher,*' he said, with a forced smile, considerably lowering his voice, '*C'est le revers de la médaille.* Well, very good, very good,' he continued; without looking at the peasants, 'I will give orders . . . very good, be off with you.' The peasants did not rise. 'Be off, I will give orders, I tell you.'

"Arcady Pavlich turned his back on them. 'Always unpleasantnesses,' he muttered between his teeth, and went homewards. . . . The two suppliants remained where they were a little longer, gazed at each other for a moment, and then, without looking behind them went slowly home."\*

Soon after witnessing this pleasant scene, the narrator is shooting in the neighbourhood, and he asks the peasant who accompanies him a few questions about Arcady's estate. His companion gives him an account of how Shipilovka is managed. Sofron the Bourmister, he says, is its real master. All the peasants are in debt to him, and he does what he likes with them, uses them as he pleases, squeezes all their money from them,

\* It may be as well to state that the extracts in this article are translated from the original Russian.



and they dare not complain. Then the sportsman describes what had occurred in his presence. The peasant expresses his pity for Antip. "The poor old man will be utterly ruined," he says; "the Bourmister will have him beaten to death. The fact is, he has borne him a grudge ever since one day when the old man had words with him in the Communal Assembly, and he will never rest till he has eaten him up. He has already deprived Antip of two sons, heartless wretch that he is." And there the story ends, without a word of comment.

Here is another illustration of the working of that system which so often demoralized the lord as much as it degraded the vassal. It is taken from one of the stories in which M. Turguenief has depicted the position of a girl of the peasant class, whose youth and beauty only serve to bring sorrow upon her. The lot of women has always been a hard one in Russia, but as a general rule the peasant's wife or daughter has been inured to hardship all her life, and therefore may not feel it very keenly. Now and then, however, it has happened that she has been raised for a time from her position of humility and privation, and either from caprice or affection she has been well and kindly treated, and may even have grown habituated to a life of luxury. She has become conscious of feelings and emotions which had never manifested themselves before, new tastes have developed themselves, and a power of enjoyment has become hers which entails a corresponding capacity for suffering. And then, perhaps, without a moment's warning, in the very height of her new-born happiness, she has suddenly been deprived of everything which has made existence pleasant to her, and has been sent back with ignominy to the dull monotony, often the crushing misery, of the peasant's life. And to bring about this change, to inflict this punishment, and then tranquilly to watch its operation, was often the special delight of some mean nature, the favourite revenge prompted by feminine vindictiveness.

A proprietor named Karataef has fallen in love with a young peasant girl who belongs to one of his neighbours, an old lady of considerable wealth. It is more than a passing fancy, for Matrena is well fitted to gain and retain his affections; so he determines to purchase her from her mistress. One day, therefore, he calls upon the old lady, imagining that it is only a question of money, and that all he has to do is to pay some five hundred roubles; but, to his utter consternation, the old lady will have nothing to say to his offer beyond giving him a sound scolding, and some excellent advice about good

conduct. Not only does she absolutely refuse to sell Matrena, but she banishes the poor girl to a distant village among the steppes. Her would-be purchaser is in despair. The image of Matrena is always before his eyes, coarsely clad, and exposed to the inclemency of the weather and the blows of a brutal overseer. At length one day he rides over to her place of exile, and manages to obtain an interview with her. The poor girl has grown pale and thin,—the tears pour from her eyes. He tells her that she must not go on living there,—that he will carry her off. At first she refuses, although weeping bitterly, and the following conversation ensues:—"Why should you stay here?" he asks; "you couldn't be worse off than you are now. Tell me truly: you've felt the weight of the starosta's\* hand, haven't you?" Matrena's cheeks grow red and her lips quiver. "But," she says, "it would be the ruin of my people at home." "Why, what would they do to your people—exile them?" "Oh yes! They would be sure to exile my brother at all events." "And your father?" "No, not my father; he is the only good tailor they have." "There, then, you see he wouldn't be hurt; and it wouldn't kill your brother." And so at length he prevails, and one night he carries her off to his house.

For some time he is perfectly happy. Matrena becomes dearer to him every day. She can play the guitar, and sing and dance; she even learns to read and write. Her father finds out where she is, and comes secretly to visit her. All goes well till one unfortunate day, when, while she is driving Karataef in his sledge, she takes it into her head to pay a visit to the village of her mistress. Unluckily the old lady meets them, and recognises her runaway slave. The next day she commences a lawsuit against her neighbour for stealing her live stock. He manages for a time to stave off inquiry, but the old lady is obstinate, and declares she is ready to spend ten thousand roubles on the suit rather than give it up. Things go badly with him. Costs accumulate, and he becomes crippled by debts; at last he falls ill from anxiety. One evening, when he is alone in his room—for Matrena has been hidden away in a farm at a short distance from his house—the door opens, and she enters. At first he thinks that she has been driven from her hiding-place, but she tells him that she has come of her own accord,—that she cannot bear to see him ruined for her sake, and that she is going to give herself up to her mistress. He remonstrates with her, but she says that her mind is made up, that she

\* The *starosta* is the head of a commune.



can never forget him, but that she will no longer be a trouble to him; and she keeps her word. She gives herself up.

This story is told to our sportsman by Karataef himself, whom he meets in a village posthouse. Just as it is finished, the postmaster announces to the two travellers that their horses are ready. As they are leaving, "What became of Matrena?" asks the sportsman. Karataef makes no reply beyond a vague gesture. A year later the chance acquaintances meet again. Karataef has changed for the worse, and has acquired a thoroughly dissipated and disreputable air. A conversation ensues, in which he begins to talk about the stage, goes on to declaim a number of Hamlet's speeches, and ends by hiding his face in his hands. The words uttered by Hamlet when thinking of Ophelia have a special signification for him: "Ah well!" he cries at last, quoting an old proverb, "if any one recalls the past, let him lose an eye—that's true enough, isn't it?"

An equally sad story is that of Arina, the favourite waiting-maid of a lady who passed for an angel of goodness. This lady behaved very affably to her maids, but she never would hear of their marrying. One day she caught sight of a singularly interesting girl of fifteen on her husband's property, so she carried her off to the capital to wait upon her. The girl cried a good deal at first, but at last she became accustomed to her place, grew into a handsome woman, and became the lady's principal attendant. The rest of the story may be told in the words of her master:

"All of a sudden, one fine morning, Arina comes into my study without asking leave, and falls down at my feet. I may as well tell you frankly, that's a thing I can't bear. A human being ought never to forget its self-respect. Don't you think so? 'Well, what do you want?' I asked. 'Grant me a favour, my father.' 'What is it?' 'Let me marry.' I was thoroughly astonished, I must confess. 'Why you know, little fool, that your mistress has no other lady's-maid.' 'I will wait on the mistress as before.' 'Nonsense, nonsense; your mistress can't abide married servants.' 'Malania can take my place.' 'I'll trouble you not to argue with me,' I say at last. 'Your wishes are law, but . . . she begins to reply. I must confess I was utterly taken aback. You see I am a man of this sort: nothing so hurts me, I venture to say so deeply wounds me, as ingratitude. I'm sure I needn't tell you—you know yourself—what sort of a wife I have; an embodied angel,—one whose goodness no words can express. . . . Well, I drove Arina out of the room. I thought perhaps she would think better of it. You know one doesn't like to believe the human breast can harbour black ingratitude. What do you suppose? About six months later she does me the favour to return to me with the self-same request. On

that, I confess, I drove her from my presence indignantly, and I threatened her, and said I would tell her mistress. I was regularly upset. But conceive my amazement when, a little later, my wife comes to me in tears,—so agitated that I was actually frightened. 'What's the matter?' say I. 'Arina'—says she—you understand. I am ashamed to speak about it. 'Impossible!' say I. 'Who's the man?' 'Petruchka, the footman,' says she. I was beside myself. . . . Petruchka was not to blame. . . . As to Arina. . . . Of course I told them to cut her hair short, and put a peasant's dress on her, and send her into the country. . . . Now, just judge for yourself;—you know my wife, such a, a, a,—well, an angel! Why, she was quite attached to Arina, and Arina knew it, and yet wasn't ashamed. . . . But what's the use of talking about it? At all events there was nothing to be done. The ingratitude of that girl has grieved and wounded me in a way I shall not soon forget. Whatever you may say, it's no use looking for heart—for good feeling—in those people. However well you may feed a wolf, it will be always looking towards the forest. Well, it's a lesson for the future."

Next to these illustrations of the dealings of the proprietors with their serfs, the most interesting of the stories are those which describe the manners and customs, the thoughts and feelings, of the peasantry, in their relations to each other. No one has painted the common people of Russia more correctly than M. Turguenief, and from these sketches a very fair idea may be gained of what they are really like. Take for instance that called "Birouk," and study the scene it depicts in the interior of a peasant's cottage one night. The sportsman has been overtaken in a forest by a storm, and seeks refuge in a solitary hut. It belongs to a forester, a rough, taciturn man, of great physical strength, and reputed to be very severe in his dealings with all whom he catches stealing his master's wood. His hut consists of a single room, low, smoky, and with scarcely any furniture in it. The feeble and uncertain light of a pine-wood splinter just serves to reveal the ragged sheepskin hanging on the wall, the heap of rags in one corner, the two large earthenware pots near the stove in the other, and the cradle in the middle, rocked by a little girl, whose pale thin face tells its tale of hardship and want, and whose only covering is a scanty cotton dress. It is a sad picture that the interior of that lonely cottage offers, while the wind howls outside, and the rain beats against the narrow window-pane. Presently an incident occurs which yields an added touch of gloom to the scene. The forester has detected some one in the act of carrying off a tree, and brings him a prisoner into the cottage. The culprit is a peasant from the neighbouring village, a wretched-looking



man, clad in rags, which the rain has drenched. The feeble light which falls on him as he sits on a bench in the corner just serves to show his wan and wrinkled face, his restless look, his emaciated limbs. The child lies down on the floor at his feet and goes to sleep. The forester sits at the table, resting his head on his hands. A cricket chirps in the corner; the rain continues to fall heavily on the thatched roof, and to splash against the windows. For some time the inmates of the cottage remain silent. At last the peasant begins to plead for his liberty. "Let me go," he says; "it is hunger that has made me do it—let me go." His head shakes, he draws his breath with difficulty; a sort of ague-fit seems to have seized him. He and all his are utterly ruined, he says. It is the bailiff who has done it. If he is taken before the authorities, he is lost. "Let me go," he cries in a tone of utter despair; "in God's name let me go! I will pay for the tree, so help me God I will! It was hunger made me do it, I swear—the children are crying for food, you know that well enough. It's so hard to get a living anyhow." Then he begs the forester not to take away his horse—all that he has to live by—a wretched, half-starved creature, which is standing outside all this time, a captive like its master. It is the old story—bitter, hopeless, helpless misery—the petty tyrant (in the person of the bailiff) grinding the faces of the poor, and no hand ever stretched forth to help.

Such subjects as these have been described by many pens besides M. Turguenief's, but it would be difficult to find any writer who has so thoroughly succeeded as he has done in investing his work with an air of reality. He is a perfect master of the art of story-telling, knowing exactly what is wanted to bring a scene vividly before his readers' eyes, and never using a superfluous word in so doing.

In attaining a stage effect he never lets his machinery become visible for a moment, and the illusion he produces is therefore complete. Nothing careless or slovenly can ever be detected in his execution. In all the series of these pictures of country life no figure is ever out of drawing; there is never anything unmeaning or incongruous in the colouring. Take, for instance, the chapter called "Death," in which M. Turguenief relates several anecdotes in illustration of his remark that the Russian peasant dies "coolly and simply, as if he were performing some rite." They only occupy ten pages in the original, but in that small space five stories are told, each of which has its own distinct character. The first describes a

death in the forest. A falling tree has crushed the foreman of a band of wood-cutter and, as he lies dying, he utters a few broken words to the peasants who surround him. It is his own fault, he says; he has worked as hard as made others work on a Sunday; the Lord has punished him. He asks the men he has under him to forgive him if he has ever injured them. They uncover their heads and reply that it is they whom he has to forgive. He is silent for a time; then, with great difficulty, he says,—"Yesterday I bought a horse—from Yefime—of Sicho— I paid him the earnest-money—so it is mine—give it to my wife." His body quivers all over, "like a wounded bird," and then stiffens. "He is dead," mutter the peasants. The next story is that of a cottager who is dying from injuries received at fire. A visitor finds him breathing with difficulty, and evidently fast approaching his end. The room is dark, hot, and smoky. A deathlike silence prevails in it. In one corner sits the dying man's wife, now and then shaking a finger of warning at a little girl of five, who is hiding in another corner and munching a piece of bread. Outside in the passage, there is a sound of steps and of voices, and a woman is chopping cabbages. The visitor asks if anything can be done for the sufferer, but they say he wants nothing. Everything has been put in order for the dying man is quietly waiting for death. The third describes a visit paid to the physician of a country hospital by a miller, a very powerful man, who has received a serious internal injury, of which he has unfortunately made light. The doctor tells him that he is in great danger, but that every attention shall be paid him if he will remain in the hospital. The miller reflects a moment, looking steadfastly at the floor, then gives the doctor back of his neck a scratch, and takes up his case. "Where are you going?" asks the doctor. "Where?" replies the miller; "why, home, if it's so bad a business. I must settle my affairs, if that's the case." "But you'll do yourself harm; I wonder you ever manage to get here; you'd better stop." "Nonsense, brother; if I'm to die, I'll die at home. If I died here, God knows what might happen at home." The miller pays the doctor half a rouble, takes a prescription from him, leaves the room, and gets into his cart. "Goodbye, doctor," says he; "don't be angry with me, and don't forget my orphan children if—" "Do stay," replies the doctor; but the miller only shakes his head and drives off. The road is in a wretched state, but the miller manages to get along it capitally, and never neglects to salute the passers-by whom he meets. The



days afterwards he is dead. The next story relates the quiet death of an enthusiastic young student who fills the post of tutor in a very unsympathetic family, and who, even when death is staring him in the face, maintains the cheerful enthusiasm, the unselfish interest in what others are doing, which had marked his earlier years. The last gives an account of the last moments of an old lady of the upper class :—

"The priest had begun to read the deathbed prayer, when suddenly he perceived that she was actually on the point of expiring; so he hurriedly pressed the crucifix to her lips. The old lady drew her head back with an air of vexation. 'What are you in such a hurry about, good father?' she said in a faltering voice. 'You will have time to—!' She kissed the crucifix, tried to put her hand under her pillow, and expired. Under the pillow there lay a silver rouble. She had wished to pay for her own deathbed rites herself."

If space permitted, we would gladly give a few extracts from some of the other sketches of rural life, such as the charming prose idyll called "The Bejine Prairie," in which the belated sportsman passes the early hours of the night in listening to what may be called ghost stories, told round their camp-fire by a number of boys who are in charge of the horses belonging to their village; or from that styled "The Country House," in which the narrator overhears a conversation carried on by the men employed by a landed proprietor to manage his estate, and so becomes acquainted with many of the secrets of their profession; or that entitled "The Singers," containing so poetic a description of the effect which music can produce even upon a village audience in Russia. Then there are also the illustrations of the life led by the small landed proprietors, a class about which the general public in England is almost as ignorant as it is about the peasants, and one which affords to M. Turguenief an opportunity of displaying his wealth of humour—that quiet style of humour which enabled Mrs. Gaskell to render so charming her descriptions of the somewhat monotonous life led by the good people of Cranford. All that we can now do is to attempt, by a brief extract, to convey some idea of M. Turguenief's style in those portions of his work which are devoted to descriptions of the beauties of nature—pictures which have somewhat in common with those which Mr. George MacDonald knows so well how to paint. The passage we are about to quote occurs in the account of Kasian, a strange being who belongs to one of the branches of dissent from the established Russian church, and who has grafted on

to his naturally eccentric character the peculiarities of sectarian fanaticism :—

"At last the heat compelled us to take shelter in the wood. I lay down under a thick hazel-bush, above which a slender young mapletree gracefully extended its high branches. . . . There, lying on my back, I began to amuse myself by noticing the quick play of the tangled leaves in clear relief against the brightness of the far-off sky. There is a strange pleasure in lying on one's back in a wood and looking upwards. You seem to be gazing into a profound ocean, which stretches for away *beneath* you, and the trees do not appear to be growing upwards from the earth, but, like roots of huge plants, to shoot downwards, hanging suspended in those crystal waves of light. As to the leaves, they are in some parts translucent as emeralds; in others they assume a denser green, here tinged with gold, there almost passing into black. Now and then, far far away, a solitary leaf that tips a delicate twig stands out motionless against a blue spot of limpid sky, and by its side another vibrates, with a movement that seems spontaneous, voluntary, and not attributable to the wind. Like magic islands submerged, round white clouds come slowly sailing by, and slowly pass away. Then suddenly across all that radiant aerial sea, all those twigs and leaves bathed in the dazzling sunlight, a tremulous shudder swiftly runs; the whole scene begins to wave to and fro, and there arises a soft whispering, like the rippling sound of suddenly-agitated waters. You gaze aloft without stirring, and no words can express the sweetness of that feeling of quiet happiness which fills your heart. You gaze, and the sight of those clear azure depths calls up to your lips a smile as guileless as they are themselves. Like the clouds in the sky, and as if together with them, happy memories pass in slow succession through your mind, and it seems to you as though your gaze pierced farther and farther on, and drew you yourself after it into that tranquil bright abyss, and that from that distance, be it height or depth, you will never return."

These *Notes by a Sportsman* are written by M. Turguenief in so concise a style that the first volume of one of the editions of his collected works contains them all, twenty-two in number. In the four volumes which follow, besides other writings, just as many more stories are included, each of them illustrating some phase of Russian society, and all of them abounding in those same good qualities which rendered the sportsman's sketches so attractive. They are all admirably told. Each has some peculiar feature of its own, and many of them contain studies of character as carefully elaborated as if they had been intended to occupy the post of honour in a regular novel. Instead of giving a mere string of all their names, we will say a few words about two or three of those among them which offer the most marked characteristics.



One of the most touching is that of "Moomoo," which has already been made known to English readers by Mr. Sala.\* Moomoo is a dog which has been rescued from drowning, and carefully brought up by Garasime, the deaf and dumb *dvornik*, or porter, in the house of a selfish and whimsical old Moscow lady. Cut off by his infirmity from almost all society with his fellowmen, Garasime leads a secluded and cheerless life for some time after his removal from his native village to the town-house of his mistress. But after a while he becomes attached to Tatiana, one of the maid-servants in the family, and manages in his uncouth way, by signs and smiles, to let her know that he loves her. Unluckily his owner takes it into her head to marry Tatiana to another of her serfs, a drunken tailor. The superintendent of the household, who is ordered to get the couple married, is greatly perplexed how to manage it without offending Garasime, who is a giant in stature, and terrible when his anger is roused. At last recourse is had to a trick. Drunkenness is a failing for which Garasime has the greatest aversion, so Tatiana is induced one day to feign intoxication in his presence. The stratagem is crowned with success. Garasime is horrified at the sight of Tatiana's supposed degradation. He takes her by the hand and leads her, half dead with fear, across the courtyard and into the servants' hall. There he leaves her, waving a farewell to her with his hand, and then returns to his den, where he shuts himself up for twenty-four hours. After that he takes no notice of Tatiana till she leaves the house a year later, her husband's drunkenness having become intolerable. Just before she goes, Garasime comes up to her and gives her a red cotton handkerchief he had bought for her a year before. Up to this moment Tatiana has worn an air of indifference, but now she bursts into tears, and leaning forward as she sits in the telega, "she kisses him three times in Christian fashion." He accompanies the telega some way, then makes a sign of farewell, and returns slowly along the river side, his eyes fixed on the water. It is then that he saves Moomoo from drowning. The dog soon becomes for him the one joy of his life. It is his single friend, his solitary companion. Every day he becomes more and more attached to it. At last he may be said to be even happy, for he has found something to love. One day his mistress sees Moomoo and sends for it to her room. She tries to please it, but it only growls at

her, and at last she becomes vexed and angry. The next day she declares Moomoo has kept her awake by its barking during the night, and that it must be sent away. Of course she is obeyed, one of the servants secretly kidnapping Moomoo, and selling it in the marketplace. Garasime is almost in despair, but at night he is roused from an unquiet slumber by the return of Moomoo, which has escaped from its new master. The mute knows now the peril his favourite runs, so he tries to keep Moomoo concealed. His fellow-servants know that the dog has returned, but they say nothing about it. Unfortunately Moomoo betrays itself. It barks, and wakens the old lady. The dog's doom is sealed. The next day Garasime, who has been made to understand what his mistress wishes, carefully washes Moomoo and combs its fleecy coat, then carries it to an eating-house and feeds it daintily, and afterwards takes it on board a boat, rows up the river to a quiet spot, and there drowns the only friend he has in the world. That night he leaves Moscow, and makes his way back on foot to his native village. There he spends the rest of his days, always remaining as grave and reserved, as sober and industrious, as he had been in former years. The neighbours remark that he will never even so much as look at a woman, and that he does not keep even a single dog in his cottage; but they are not surprised at that, for, as they say, such a strong fellow as he is does not want a woman to work for him nor a dog to guard his hut.

There is one other story turning on the relations which used to exist between the serfs and their owners, which is worthy of special notice. It is called "The Tavern,"\* the scene being laid in a country inn which stands by the side of one of the high-roads of Russia. It is kept by a serf named Akim Semenov, an intelligent and well-informed man, who has travelled much, and benefited by his travels, and who has thriven and laid by money. Unfortunately he has made an unwise marriage, having chosen as his second wife a young and pretty servant-maid, Avdotia, some six-and-twenty years his junior. It is true that no harm comes of this marriage for several years, during which Akim is perfectly contented with the behaviour of his young wife, whom he loves devotedly; but misfortune only tarries, it does not forget to come. One evening a young commercial traveller named Naum Ivanov visits the tavern, and from

\* In the volume containing "The Two Prime Donnas," and other tales.

\* Translated by M. Xavier Marmier in the *Scènes de la Vie Russe*, under the title of *L'Auberge de Grand Chénin*.



that day Akim's sorrows date. Naum gains Avdotia's heart, and she not only bestows her affections on him, but she also gives him Akim's money, taking it from time to time out of her husband's secret hoard. When Naum has thus obtained the whole of Akim's savings, he goes to Akim's mistress and offers to give her two thousand roubles for the tavern and its contents. At first she hesitates, doubting if she has a right to sell Akim's property, but her confidential servant, whom Naum has bribed, points out to her that as Akim belongs to her, of course all that Akim has is hers also, so at last she yields. We can scarcely praise too highly the skill with which the scenes are depicted in which Naum makes his bargain with the lady, and Akim vainly strives to gain redress from her, and, gloomiest of all, that in which the poor old man, as he returns from his fruitless errand, is met by the wife who has betrayed him for Naum's sake, and whom Naum has now driven from the house. A little later comes another sombre scene, in which Naum discovers Akim in the act of revenging himself by setting the tavern on fire, seizes him and looks him up all night in a cellar. The next morning Akim is about to be handed over to the authorities, when a neighbour arrives, whose entreaties and arguments induce Naum to let his prisoner go, on condition that he swears he will give up all ideas of vengeance for the future. Akim swears as he is bid, takes a long silent farewell of the house and barns he has himself built, and which belong to him no more, and then slowly goes away. Another very sad scene follows, in which Akim forgives and takes leave of his wretched wife. Then he leaves the village in which he has lived so long, and sets out on a pilgrimage, with the view of visiting the chief holy places of Russia, and there "praying away his sins." Years go by, and he still wanders on, but every now and then he returns to his village, and on such occasions he never fails to offer to his mistress a consecrated loaf brought from some famous monastery, where he has offered up a prayer for her health. On her side, "she often mentions Akim's name, and declares, that ever since she had known his worth, she has thoroughly esteemed the Russian peasant." As for Naum, he keeps the inn for some time, and grows rich. At last he retires from it, and, if common report is to be believed, makes a great fortune as a Government contractor.

We will turn now from M. Turguenief's pictures of peasant life to those which he has devoted to the higher ranks of society. The only difficulty in dealing with them is

to know which to select as the most characteristic, so many of them have claims to be considered, which are embarrassing when only a small amount of space can be accorded to them. As a specimen of a romantic story, it may perhaps be best to select *Faust*, one of the most remarkable of the author's minor works, so far as his singular power of analysing character is concerned. Paul Alexandrovich B. is a young man who, at a very early age, falls in love with a young girl of sixteen, Viera Eltsof. Viera is a rather strange being, who has been brought up in a singular manner by a mother who is also somewhat eccentric. Madame Eltsof has a strong aversion to all that can excite the imagination, and will not allow her daughter to read a line of poetry or a page of romance. She very seldom smiles, and she scarcely ever addresses her daughter in the tone of fondness usually adopted by mothers, but Viera is devotedly attached to her, in spite of her cold manner and her hard and somewhat gloomy character. The young Paul is kindly treated by both ladies, but when he proposes for Viera's hand her mother declines the offer. He goes away, and, after the manner of very young men, forgets his love. Nine years later, on taking up his residence on his estate in the country, he finds that Viera, now Madame Priemkof, is one of his neighbours. He soon renews his acquaintance with her, and she receives him with friendly frankness, and he finds her just the same as she used to be, with the quiet look on her face which it wore in olden days. Her life has evidently flowed in an even current; nothing has occurred to trouble the calm which always seemed to dwell upon her smooth brow. Paul and Viera become great friends, and soon chat away without reserve. He learns that her mother, who has been dead some years, gave her leave to read any books she liked as soon as she married, but that she has never cared to profit by her liberty, so that she is still ignorant of what is meant by the charm of poetry or of romance. This greatly astonishes him, and he offers to act as her introducer into the enchanted realm of fiction. She consents, and he begins by reading to her his favourite poem, Goethe's *Faust*. As she understands German thoroughly, he is able to read it to her in the original. Her husband and an old German friend assist at the reading, which takes place one evening in a summer-house in the garden, and at the termination they applaud loudly, but she rises silently, and quietly goes out into the night. When she returns, it is evident that she has been crying, a fact which greatly astonishes her hus-



band, who has scarcely ever seen her in tears.

So commences Viera's introduction into the land of romance. The result shows how right her mother had been in forbidding her to enter it. Though so calm and composed in appearance, Viera is really of a very nervous and excitable temperament, and endowed with all an artist's susceptibility. She has hitherto been unconscious of the existence of the chords which are beginning to thrill within her heart, but she finds it impossible to still their vibrations now. The change which takes place in her is very subtly analysed, up to the moment when she feels herself, as it were, irresistibly urged aside from the path of duty and honour, and she is on the brink of utterly failing. Then comes a most striking description of how, as she goes out at night into the park to keep a clandestine engagement, her heart throbbing, her brain swimming, she sees, or thinks she sees, the form of her dead mother coming towards her with open arms,—and how she never recovers from the shock, but falls ill and soon after dies. This is how Paul describes his last interview with her:—

"I have seen her once more before her end. It is the bitterest of all the recollections of my life. I had learnt from the doctor that there was no hope. Late at night, when all was still in the house, I crept to the door of her room and looked at her. Viera was lying on the bed, with closed eyes, thin, wan, a feverish glow on her cheeks, as if petrified. I stood looking at her. Suddenly she opened her eyes, turned them toward me, regarded me fixedly, and, stretching out her wasted hand, exclaimed,—'What seeks he in the holy place!'\* uttering the words in so strange a voice that I fled from the spot."

A very different Viera is the heroine of another story, that of "The Two Friends." Hers is a quiet, simple, affectionate character, but she has no intellectual resources, and there is nothing romantic about her, and accordingly her husband, who is afflicted with a somewhat poetic soul, and has taken pains to cultivate his intellect, begins to get tired of her society soon after his marriage. At first he had imagined he was perfectly happy, but after a time he finds out that his wife, although an excellent manager and altogether a person of a thoroughly well-regulated mind, is but an unsatisfactory companion,—that she cannot enter into his plans, share his ideas, or sympathize with his enthusiasms. The account of his ardent hopes and his sad

disappointments is excellent, and so is that of the thoroughly happy life which Viera leads, when she has married again, after the death of the husband she never could comprehend, and has found a companion as irreproachably good and as utterly commonplace as herself.

Another story, in which the sorrows of a romantic and poetic spirit in its communion with unsympathetic minds are excellently described, is that which takes its name from its hero, Yakof Pasinkof. He is an enthusiast who is always indulging in day-dreams, from which he is rudely awakened by some unexpected shock, who is continually looking forward to some happy future, from the pleasant anticipation of which he is too often summoned to realize the unhappiness of his actual life. He is very ready to fall in love, but he bestows his affections without prudent discrimination. In very early youth he adores a sentimental German maiden, who rivals him in fondness for poetry, but all of a sudden she marries a thoroughly commonplace and commercial countryman, and that without evincing the slightest compunction. Some years afterwards he is so unfortunate as to fall in love with a Russian girl, whose character has afforded to M. Turguenief the subject of an interesting study. She is quiet and reserved, but she possesses singular strength of will, and is obstinate in the extreme. So when she has made up her mind to marry a certain officer of somewhat bad repute, nothing will turn her aside from her purpose, and the ill-starred Pasinkof is again compelled to witness the ruin of his hopes. And a similar ill-fortune attends his steps wherever he goes, until at last he dies, worn out before his time.

But it would serve but little purpose were we to attempt to give an account of each of the stories or novelettes which M. Turguenief has published at various times and in different periodicals. Suffice to say that there is not one of them which has not some special merit, besides exhibiting that general excellence of workmanship which is to be found in all that their author has produced. Some of them are very sad, a few of them are even terrible, from the gloominess of the pictures they present of vice and passion. Very sad, for instance, is the description of the unhappy love and the tragic end of the heroine of the story called after Pushkin's poem on the "Upas Tree," and terrible, even repulsive, are such narratives as "The Three Portraits," or the dramatic sketch which M. Marmier has translated under the title of *Le Pain d'Auvergne*. The story of "A First Love," also, though it has much in it that is very beautiful, is ren-

\* "Was will der an dem heiligen Ort?"—the words uttered by Margaret at the end of the scene which concludes the first part of *Pavel*.



dered somewhat repulsive by the introduction of incidents, which although only too possible in Russia not very long ago, offend our English ideas of probability, as well as sinning against our canons of taste. And, in a minor degree, the same objection may be made to another and more ambitious work, that styled "On the Eve."\* It contains a very carefully drawn portrait of a young girl whose character is by no means of a common order. She is one who takes life seriously. All her impressions become deeply engraved on her heart. She cannot endure anything that is false or mean; any one who has once lost her esteem instantly ceases to exist for her. But in those whom she respects she is ready to confide implicitly; and when she takes an interest in a person she does not readily give it up until he forfeits her good opinion. The description of the early part of her life is charming, but when we reach the chapters which describe how utterly she abandons herself to her love for a certain Bulgarian patriot in whom it is somewhat difficult for a non-Slavonic reader to take an interest, we cannot help feeling that the description is more in accordance with French than English taste.

It must not be supposed, however, that M. Turguenief is in the habit of copying the novelists of the French school. But if any writer were to describe with perfect accuracy the conduct of some Russian girl who has surrendered herself to the sweep of a headlong passion, and who clears at a bound all the barriers with which prudence and common sense, not to speak of morality and religion, ordinarily hedge women around, English readers would be apt to think he was drawing his ideas from French sources, inasmuch as it is from those sources that they generally obtain their knowledge of the subject. Women of Teutonic race are seldom given to such wild outbursts of the affections; even if they lose their hearts, they do not often think it befitting to lose their heads also. But the Slavonic woman is of a different nature, softer and more yielding, much more subject to impulse, far more prone to self-sacrifice. It is his acquaintance with these peculiarities of his countrywomen, and not any predilection for unhealthy romance, that has led M. Turguenief to tinge one of his most admirable studies of character with a hue that seems, to English eyes, to detract somewhat from its merit and its value.

*The Diary of a Superfluous Man* is the description of the unsatisfactory life of one who is always *de trop*. The diarist is an invalid

who knows that he has but a short time to live, and who whiles away the weariness of his almost solitary days by writing down some of his impressions of the past. The sad irony with which he describes how his life has been wasted, how useless have been all his attempts to share in the pleasures other men enjoy, to reach the level to which his companions readily attain, to press forward into the sunlight in which he sees them basking, must often have been only too fully appreciated by readers of the story;—there are so many similar failures in life; so many an organization well qualified for enjoyment has been denied all opportunity of enjoying; so many a heart, conscious of a great capacity for loving, has never known any but an unrequited affection. The writer of the diary in question is one whose childhood has been lonely and dull. The only pleasant memories it has to offer are those connected with the garden in which he used to play, and on which he still looks back with a fond regret. Years pass by, but they bring little happiness to him. Somehow or other, he does not know why, he fails to attach to himself friends. Wherever he goes, he seems to be in the way. There is never an opening for him in any joyous band; every place always seems to be already occupied whenever he appears. And, unfortunately, he has a craving for sympathy, a longing for happiness which he can share with others. He is morbidly self-conscious, and is always analysing his own thoughts and feelings; and he is afflicted with that excess of self-love which makes a man morbidly susceptible to all that is said about him in society, which consumes him with a feverish desire to distinguish himself, and which makes him feel with terrible bitterness the dull pains of failure, the stinging agony of disgrace. Once only his life seems to be about to undergo a change. He loves, and for a time he fancies that perhaps his love may be returned. For about three weeks he knows what to be happy means. His whole existence brightens at once, "like a gloomy and deserted room into which the light is suddenly allowed to enter." He feels for a time as if life were a luxury, contented "as a fly basking in the sunlight." Even in the dreary time which ensues, those few weeks preserve "a sort of sense of youth, of warmth, and of perfume;" they stand out from the rest of his dreary lifetime like the portion of a cold grey corridor on which a stray sunbeam has chanced to fall. But this happy time soon passes,—a rival appears with whom he has no chance of successfully contending, and he is obliged to stand by and look on, while the love for which he would have given his life is wasted

\* Translated into French by M. Deleveau, under the title of *Elena*, in the *Nouvelles Scènes de la Vie Russe*, the work which also contains *Un Premier Amour*.



not even pray without words, but yet there was a moment when, if not in body at least in mind, he bowed down and bent himself humbly to the ground. He remembered how in childhood he used to pray in church till he felt, as it were, a soft touch on his forehead. 'That,' he used to think, 'is my guardian angel visiting me, and sealing me with the seal of election.' He looked at Lisa. 'It is you who have brought me here,' he thought. 'O touch me, touch my soul!' She went on all the time praying quietly. Her face seemed to him happy, and again he felt his heart soften within him."

Over Lisa religion exerts a most powerful influence. She has even an inclination for its ascetic side. In her early years her chief friend was her nurse Agafia, a woman of a fanatical turn of mind in religious matters, and who, when she gave up her charge, retired into a convent. Almost all the members of Lisa's family are people of the world; but her nurse directs her thoughts into regions utterly foreign to the ideas of her relatives. Instead of nursery tales, Agafia tells her stories about the lives of the saints.

"Agafia spoke to Lisa seriously and humbly, as if she felt that it was not for her to utter such grand and holy words. Lisa used to listen to her intently; and the image of the omnipresent, omniscient God entered with a kind of sweet strength into her soul, and filled it with a pure and reverential awe; and Christ became for her, as it were, some one who was near at hand, and who was a friend, almost a relation. It was Agafia who had taught her to pray also. Sometimes she would wake the child with the early dawn, hastily dress her, and stealthily take her to matins. Lisa would follow her on tiptoe, scarcely daring to breathe. The cold morning light, the unfamiliar look of the almost empty church, the secrecy itself of these unexpected excursions, the cautious return home to bed,—all that combination of the forbidden, the mysterious, and the holy, agitated the child, and penetrated to the inmost depths of her being."

Next to her love for God, the strongest feeling in Lisa's heart is her love for her country. In the latter sentiment she finds that Lavretsky can sympathize with her; with respect to the former she knows that he differs from her, but "she hopes to bring the sinner back to God." Her relations with him gradually become more and more intimate; and at last, during an accidental interview with him in the garden behind the Kalitines' house, she discovers, and he learns, that she loves him. At last he thinks life is going to be worth having, the happiness of which he has long despaired is about to offer itself to him. The next day, when he comes home in the evening, he finds the hall redolent of patchouli, and littered

with trunks and bandboxes. He goes into his room, and he is met by a lady who drops on her knees at his feet. It is his wife! The news of her death had been her own invention.

We pass rapidly on to the scene in which Lavretsky for the second time sees Lisa in church. He has previously had an interview with her, and she has induced him by earnest entreaty to forgive his wife, and even to make some outward show of reconciliation with her.

"The next day was Sunday. The sound of the church-bells reminded Lavretsky of that other Sunday when he had gone to church at Lisa's request. He rose in haste; a certain secret voice told him that he would see her there again to-day. He left the house noiselessly, and went with quick steps where the melancholy and monotonous sound called him. He arrived early, and found scarcely any one in the church. A lector was reading in the choir, and his voice, sometimes interrupted by a cough, now rose and now fell, but always sustaining the same note. Lavretsky stood near the door. The worshippers arrived one after another, stopped inside the door, crossed themselves, and bowed on all sides; their steps resounded loudly in the almost empty and silent building, and echoed around the dome. An infirm old woman in a worn cloak knelt down close by Lavretsky and prayed with fervor; her toothless, wrinkled, and yellow countenance testified to her strong emotion; her eyes, red with weeping, were fixed on the picture of the iconostasis; her bony hands kept incessantly coming out from underneath her cloak, and making the sign of the cross slowly and reverently. A peasant with a thick beard and a morose expression, his hair and his dress all uncared for, came into the church, and falling at once on his knees, began to perform his prostrations hastily, touching the ground with his forehead, and then throwing back and shaking his head. So bitter a grief showed itself in his face, and in all his gestures, that Lavretsky went up to him and asked him what was the matter. The peasant recoiled as if in fear, then in a hurried voice he said, 'My son is dead,' and betook himself anew to his prostrations. 'What suffering of theirs can be too great for the consolations of the Church?' thought Lavretsky, and he tried to pray himself. But his heart was heavy and hard, and his thoughts were afar off. He was still looking out for Lisa; but Lisa did not come. The church began to fill with people; she was not of their number. Mass was said. The deacon had already read the Gospel, and the final prayer was about to commence. Lavretsky moved forward a little, and all at once he saw Lisa. She had come in before him, but he had not remarked her. Standing close by the enclosure of the choir, she never moved, never once looked round. Lavretsky did not take his eyes off her till the last words of the mass were said. He was saying farewell to her in his heart. The congregation began to disperse, but she still kept her place. She seemed to be



waiting till Lavretsky left. At length she crossed herself for the last time, and went out without looking round."

In the street outside he speaks to her, and bids her what is to prove a final farewell. On her return home she tells her aunt, the only member of the family who knows what has passed between her and Lavretsky, that she wishes to leave her home and take the veil.

"I have made up my mind," she says; "I have prayed; I have asked God's advice. All is over now, my life with you all is ended. Such a lesson is not given one for nothing. And it's not for the first time that I think of this now. Happiness was not for me. Even when I looked for happiness, my mind shrank away at the thought of it. I know all, both my sins and those of others. I know how papa made our money. I know all. And all that I must expiate by prayer, by prayer. I am grieved at leaving you; my heart aches when I think of mamma and Lenchka. But it cannot be helped. I feel that I can live here no longer. And now I have taken leave of everything in the house for the last time."

Eight years pass away, and one fine spring day Lavretsky pays a visit to Madame Kalitine's house, which he has not been near during all that time. That lady is dead, and the house is now tenanted by a younger generation. They welcome him hospitably, and after telling him all their news, and among other things that Lisa is still where she was in her convent, they ask him to go out into the garden with them. There they begin a lively game, provocative of much shouting and laughter, but he wanders about by himself, thinking of the days gone by, of the happiness that he had imagined he was about to grasp. The description of his feelings is very beautiful, and it is also very noble, exceedingly tender and pathetic, but quite free from anything morbid or exaggerated. His heart is not broken, though it has received a heavy blow. He has given up hoping for happiness, but he has not taken refuge in cynicism. He has found solace in employment, and he has not worked for himself only, he has striven to promote the interests of his peasants, and to benefit all who are in any way dependent on him. As to Lisa,

"they say that Lavretsky has visited the distant convent in which she has hidden herself—and has seen her. Crossing from one choir to another she passed close by him, passed steadily by, with the quick but quiet step of a nun, and did not look at him. Only her eyelids quivered all but imperceptibly, only still lower did she bend her emaciated face, and the fingers of her folded hands, enlaced with her rosary, clasped each other more firmly than before. What did they both think? what did they feel? Who can

know? who shall tell? Life has certain moments, the heart has certain feelings, on which it is not well to dwell long."

Besides the leading personages of the story, there are a number of minor characters which are excellently worked out, such as Lisa's brilliant but selfish admirer, M. Panshino, her mother and her aunt, the latter of whom is depicted with great spirit and humour. Better still is the sketch of M. Lemm, an old German music-master, who is devotedly attached to Lisa, and who is most charmingly, most sympathetically described. Besides these, there is an enthusiastic student, one of Lavretsky's college friends, to whom the chief part of one chapter of the book is devoted. That chapter certainly breaks the thread of the story in a manner with which a severe critic is bound to find fault, and therefore the French translator has omitted it altogether. But it is extremely interesting, not only as throwing considerable light on Lavretsky's character, but also as showing the commencement of a train of thought which M. Turguenief has followed up and fully developed in his later works. The student is a thorough enthusiast, utterly free from all consideration of his own personal interests, and passionately devoted to the study of the great questions affecting freedom and progress and civilisation. To him money is but as dross, rank and station are mere outward shows, success in life is a thing not worthy of a moment's consideration, as compared with the power of participating in the onward march of intellect, of helping to gather in the ripening harvest of knowledge. His appearance is represented as somewhat ludicrous, and his behaviour a little uncouth, so that he is evidently set up as a mark for some ridicule, but, at the same time, he is clearly intended to command a certain amount of not unkindly respect.

Very differently is the character treated of the student who plays the leading part in the novel which M. Turguenief next published, *Fathers and Children*.\* That work appeared in 1862. In the course of the four years which had elapsed since the appearance of *Lisa* a considerable change had taken place in the ideas of young Russia, a change which seems to have struck M. Turguenief as being decidedly for the worse. Indignant with the audacious disbelief and the thorough-going iconoclasm of the rising generation, and perhaps personally hurt by the invectives of a class of politicians who showed symptoms of an inclination to denounce as retrogrades all the gallant band of

\* Translated into English by Mr. Eugene Schuyler.



Liberals who had for so many years toiled and suffered in the perilous struggle for progress and reform, he set to work to paint a by no means flattering portrait of a representative of the new school of Radicals. As a moderate man, free from any viewy or crotchety ideas, he could not sympathise with the fantastic but violent projects of theorists who disbelieved in almost everything but their own infallibility; as a genuine artist, in the highest sense of the word, he could not avoid being wroth with philosophers whose realism led them to sneer at and to speak slightly of music, painting, and sculpture. Every army is impeded by a swarm of camp-followers, who often bring it into discredit, and the band of young enthusiasts who flocked around the banners of Liberalism in Russia counted in its number a good many social marauders whose seal was somewhat prejudicial to its good name. The peculiarities of these objectionable members of the party M. Turguenief has hit off with admirable fidelity and rare humour, exposing them unmercifully to the very disrespectful recognition of the world. There can be no question about the talent displayed in the series of pictures contained in *Fathers and Children*, and its successor, *Smoke*. Whether they are to be looked upon as serious portraits or as humorous caricatures is not so clear. It is probable that the artist has only aimed at depicting the absurdity of certain extremes, without wishing to throw any ridicule upon what lies between them. M. Turguenief has done good service in exposing the insincerity and selfishness of some of the most plausible men, the hopeless imbecility of some of the most fluent women, who have imposed upon the young enthusiasts of the advanced school of liberal opinions in Russia; but he would have committed an injustice if he had stated that they were fair representatives of the whole of that school. But he has never done anything of the kind. He has painted certain pictures, and left them to tell their own tale. He has laughed at many extravagances, he has traced certain social aberrations to their logical end, but we cannot see that he has anywhere scoffed at generous enthusiasms, or that he has wished to cool the noble ardour which glows in youthful breasts. A satirist always runs the risk of being called a cynic; but there are times when the very warmth of a man's feelings, the very disinterestedness of his character, impels him towards the perilous realm of satire.

The hero of *Fathers and Children* is a young physician, who is a leading man among what has, since the appearance of the book, been called the Nihilist party. He belongs

to the large class of reasoners really existing in Russia, and numbering many members, who will take nothing for granted, who disclaim anything like a blind obedience to authority, and who refuse to accept any conclusions but those which have been arrived at by scientific processes. But he is also represented as belonging to the much smaller class of destructives, who for a time made themselves notorious by their somewhat blatant outcries against all social laws, all religious institutions. In some of his peculiarities he resembles one of the most eccentric of the young Russian philosophers, the author of the novel which describes that happy future time when, "by means of a reorganised community, people will live in perpetual enjoyment of happiness, surrounded by the perfection of all material comfort, making love without the cares and anxieties of family duties, and lodging in houses with floors of aluminium;"\* but his rudeness, his coarseness, and his outspoken contempt for all social laws seem to claim him as a member of the weaker-minded part of the followers of that really original and exceedingly clever enthusiast. Bazarof, the hero of *Fathers and Children*, is an uncompromising, sceptic, as may be seen from the following passage, in which he is disputing with an opponent who asks him what are the principles in accordance with which his party acts:—

"We act in accordance with that which we recognise to be useful," said Bazarof. "At the present moment the most useful thing is denial, so we deny."

"Everything?"

"Yes, everything."

"What! not only art, poetry, but also . . . I am afraid of saying . . ."

"Everything," repeated Bazarof."

According to his opinion, "Raphael is not worth a brass farthing," and as to religion and morality he values them about as high as he does art. As to principles, he denies their existence, saying that we act in accordance with sensations only; that if a man behaves honourably, for instance, it is only because honourable behaviour happens to yield him an agreeable sensation. Altogether he is thoroughly sceptical, irreverent, defiant, and aggressive; but, on the other hand, he is brave and upright and incorruptible, and he is generally popular, especially among young people, although he never thinks of taking pains to please. One of his most loving disciples is a young student named Arcady Kirsanof, who has accepted all Bazarof's philosophy without ever having

\* An interesting account of "Nihilism in Russia" is to be found in M. Bobornik's article on that subject in the *Fortnightly Review*, Aug. 1868.



taken the trouble to test it, and who sets up for being an original and a cynic, when he is in reality an amiable young man of a thoroughly commonplace character. At the commencement of the story we find the two friends staying in the country-house belonging to Arcady's father. Arcady has just taken his degree at the University, and his father, Nicolai Petrovich Kirsanof, is delighting in his presence, though somewhat unable to appreciate his son's new philosophical ideas, and very ill at ease in presence of his son's extraordinary friend. The elder Kirsanof is a simple, kindly gentleman, not very enlightened, of no great natural ability, and of somewhat confused ideas on the subject of morality. He has been looking forward with great joy to his son's return, but when it takes place he finds, to his extreme regret, that his son and he are no longer in accord, and that his son's thoughts seem to move in a sphere to which his own cannot gain access.

"'We have served our time, 'our song is sung,' he says to his brother Paul one evening. 'Well, perhaps Bazarof is right. But there is one thing, I must confess, which I find very hard: I had hoped that Arcady and I would have been in the most thorough friendly accord with each other; but it turns out that I have fallen behind, and he has gone ahead, and we cannot understand each other at all. . . . I fancy I do everything I can to prevent my falling behind our age. I have introduced the *mélayer* system on my estate, and tried to give my peasants a better position than they had before, so that I have even got credit throughout the province for being a red republican. I read, I study, I do my best in general to rise to the level of the wants of the day, and then I am told that my song is sung; and indeed, brother, I begin myself to think that it really is sung.'

"'What makes you think that?'

"'I'll tell you. I was sitting to-day reading Pushkin. I remember it was his poem of "The Gipsies" I happened to have opened at, when Arcady suddenly came up to me, and, without saying a word, with a sort of pitying tenderness expressed in his look, took my book quietly away from me, just as one would do to a child, and placed another in front of me, a German one, then smiled and went away, carrying off Pushkin with him."

The book which Arcady wishes his father to read is Büchner's *Staff and Kraft*, but the elder Kirsanof finds he cannot understand the learned materialist's work on Matter and Force, although he has not yet forgotten his German. The old gentleman fears the time has come for him and his equals in age to order their coffins and lie down quietly to die, but his brother thinks otherwise.

The character of Paul Kirsanof, the representative of another branch of the elder generation, has been carefully studied and portrayed by M. Turguenief. Like his brother, he prides himself upon being, what he really is, a thorough gentleman, in the English sense of the word, but his nature is harder than his brother's, and has received a higher polish. Formerly one of the most distinguished ornaments of the fashionable society of the capital, he has taken in middle life to leading a hermit-like existence in his brother's country-house. He reads a good deal, and chiefly English books. All his manner of life, indeed, is arranged in accordance with English ideas. He seldom visits his neighbours, and scarcely ever appears in public except at the elections of the Marshals of the Nobility, and on other similar occasions. Even then he rarely opens his lips, but if he does speak it is only to shock the Conservative proprietors by Liberal sallies, which, however, do not conciliate the representatives of the rising generation. Every one thinks him proud, but at the same time respects him on account of his thoroughly aristocratic manner and his exquisite taste in dress; also because he always occupies the best rooms in the chief hotels wherever he goes, and never undertakes a journey without providing himself with a portable bath and a silver travelling service, and perfumes himself with choice essences, and has once dined with the Duke of Wellington at Louis Philippe's table; and also because he is perfectly honest and honourable. Ladies recognise in his melancholy, which is due to an unhappy love affair, something very charming, but Bazarof scoffs at it. That hard utilitarian cannot see the use of continually regretting a lost love, and declares that a man is unworthy of the name of man, "who, having staked all his life on the card of a woman's love, and having lost that card, is so cut up and upset that he becomes absolutely fit for nothing." He goes on to laugh at the idea of there being anything romantic or mysterious in the relations which can exist between man and woman, and then proceeds to fall in love with a great lady, who gives him a good deal of marked encouragement, and then suddenly treats him with unexpected coldness. Her strange character is very cleverly drawn, but the best part of the story is that which describes what takes place after her conduct has sent Bazarof home to his father's house in disgust with the world.

His father is an old retired army surgeon, as simple-hearted as the elder Kirsanof, and as devoted to his son, whom he adores, and



who has always behaved irreproachably towards him. Bazarof's mother is an old lady who ought to have lived two centuries earlier, being a perfect type of what the wives of the petty nobility used to be. She is very pious, very good, very superstitious. She believes religiously in dreams, in ghosts, and in evil spirits. She never reads, scarcely ever writes, but makes excellent preserves. She looks on the peasants as beings of a lower nature than her own, but is very kind to them, and never refuses to give alms to a beggar. Ignorant, prejudiced, and amiable, she lives in a very little world of her own, and does not take the slightest interest in what goes on outside it. It may easily be supposed that two such quiet, simple old people do not quite know what to make of their extraordinary son. And he soon finds himself tired of the dull life he leads under his father's old-fashioned roof. His first visit, after taking his degree at the University, lasts a very short time. The old people had counted on keeping him several weeks at least, but after a few days he goes off again. His carriage drives away, and they are left alone. His father, Vassily Ivanovich, waves his handkerchief briskly from the front door as long as the vehicle is in sight, then throws himself on a chair and lets his head fall on his breast, crying that he is alone indeed now; that his son has grown tired of him, and abandoned him.

"Then Arina Vlasievna (his wife) drew near to him, and said, resting her grey head on his, 'How can it be helped, Vasiu? A son is a chip from the block. He is like a falcon. He felt inclined, he flew here. Again he felt inclined, and he has flown away. But we two never move, we are always at each other's side, like two lichens in the hollow of a tree. I only shall always remain just the same for you, and you too for me.' Then Vassily Ivanovich took away his hands from before his face, and embraced his wife, his companion, more warmly than he used to embrace her even in the days of his youth. For she had consoled him in the time of his sorrow."

The young Bazarof returns once more home, and his parents are for a time perfectly happy. The old doctor tells all the peasants who come to consult him how fortunate they are in arriving at a time when his son is able to assist him. He even keeps a tooth which his son had extracted, and shows it to his friends as something wonderful. After a while, however, he remarks that his son is sad and restless, and he talks the matter over very mournfully with his wife. One day young Bazarof cuts his finger while engaged in dissection. He

the village in which the accident takes place, and before he can return home and procure some it is too late. A few days afterwards he dies. This part of the story is worked out with great power. The young man's defiant behaviour on what he knows to be his deathbed, the repressed grief of the poor old father and mother, the visits of the lady whose coldness had driven Bazarof to despair, and who comes to see him when it is too late,—all are related in M. Turgenev's most impressive style. It is thus that the scene ends:—

"Bazarof was never to wake again. Towards evening he fell into a state of complete insensibility, and on the next day he died. Father Alexis performed the last rites of the church by his bedside. At the moment when the sacrament of extreme unction was being conferred on the dying man, just as the consecrated oil touched his breast, one of his eyes opened, and it seemed as if at the sight of the priest in his vestments, of the rocking censer, of the candles burning before the sacred pictures, something like a shudder of fear passed for a moment across his fast whitening face. When at length he had breathed his last, and a general sound of lamentation began to make itself heard throughout the house, a sudden frenzy seemed to seize upon the father. 'I swore I would speak out,' he cried with a hoarse voice, his cheeks burning, and the whole expression of his face changing, while he shook his fists in the air as if he were threatening some one—'and I will speak out. I will speak out!' But the mother flung herself, all in tears, on his neck, and they two fell down together on the ground. 'Just like lambs in the heat of the day, they let their heads droop and fell down side by side,' said Anisushka afterwards in the servants' room."

Six months later a happy scene is to be witnessed in the house of the Kirsanofs. The young Arcady has been led astray from his philosophic studies by the bright eyes of a young lady who gladly consents to make him happy; and his delighted father is giving an entertainment in honour of the marriage. Arcady has not forgotten Bazarof, but he has entirely emancipated himself from the influence of that ill-starred materialist's theories. He has descended from those heights of speculation round which sweep keen winds, destructive of romance and earthly enjoyments, and he is content to dwell in the fat plains over which gentle breezes waft the scent of flowers and the song of birds. Life is now very pleasant to him, and he feels no longer the slightest inclination to don that cynical robe which has so easily slipped off his shoulders, but which Bazarof drew even more closely round himself before he died. The story ends with the following words:—



"In one of the retired nooks of Russia there is a small rural cemetery. Like almost all our graveyards, it has a melancholy look. The trenches by which it is surrounded have long ago been overgrown with weeds; the grey wooden crosses have swayed on one side, bending under the weight of their once painted roofs; the gravestones are all out of place, as if some one had been pushing them from underneath; two or three leafless trees can scarcely offer the slightest shade; sheep feed undisturbed among the graves.

"But there is one of the graves which no one ever disturbs, which no cattle ever tread under foot; only the birds sometimes perch upon it, and sing there at dawn. An iron railing surrounds it; a fir sapling is planted at each end of it. In that grave Bazarof lies. To it, from a neighbouring village, come two old people, already infirm with age—a husband with his wife. Supporting one another, they move with feeble gait. They approach the railing; and there, falling on their knees, they weep long and bitterly, and long and earnestly they gaze upon the silent stone under which lies their son. They exchange a few brief words, they wipe the dust from the stone, they set straight a branch of one of the firs, and then they begin to pray anew, unable to tear themselves from that spot, in which it seems to them as if they were nearer to their son, nearer to his memory. Is it possible that their prayers, their tears, can be fruitless? Is it possible that love, that pure and devoted love, can be other than all-powerful? Oh no! However passionate, sinful, and rebellious may have been the heart which lies hid in a grave, the flowers which grow above it gaze at us tranquilly with their innocent eyes; it is not only of eternal rest that they speak to us, of that great calm of 'careless' nature,—they speak also of final reconciliation and of eternal life."

In speaking of *Fathers and Children* we have said nothing of the female Nihilist who figures in the story. Madame Kukshine's portrait is drawn by a very unfriendly hand. M. Turguenief has evidently had a kindly feeling for young enthusiasts like Bazarof, even when he was most annoyed by their arrogant self-confidence; but with women calling themselves "emancipated" he has not the slightest sympathy, nor does he show them the least mercy. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that the picture of their representative in *Fathers and Children* is a mere caricature, in which every natural defect has been exaggerated, and every good feature has been studiously kept out of sight. What we are shown is a woman who has deliberately given up all claim to the respect which her sex has been accustomed to enjoy,—who detests religion, who objects to marriage, who drinks champagne freely, who smokes all day long, and who never ceases to talk what she is pleased to call philosophy. Her appearance is the reverse

of attractive,—she dresses in the worst possible taste, she does not care about even personal cleanliness. But this picture is not quite fair. As a caricature it is well worthy of praise; but it must not be taken as a trustworthy representation of even a very advanced specimen of that class of Russian women which it is intended to typify—the class that has for years been striving to raise its members above the dead level of thought at which their sex has been generally content to rest. The same remark holds good also for M. Turguenief's story called *Smoke*, in which he has introduced three female characters, and has painted only one of them in favourable colours. There is a great lady, who is beautiful and clever and accomplished, but she is thoroughly unprincipled and selfish; there is a specimen of the class to which Madame Kukshine belonged, who is represented as utterly absurd and intolerably tiresome; and, lastly, there is a quiet simple girl, who has a sweet face and an honest, loving heart, and who is made to contrast very advantageously with the other two.

This story of *Smoke*,\* the last complete work published by M. Turguenief, has given rise to no little angry discussion in Russia. Nor is that strange, considering that a great part of it is devoted to scathing ridicule of a party which has lately grown very influential in that country, consisting of a number of scholars, politicians, and men of letters, who are perpetually singing the praises of their native land, declaring that it can suffice for itself, that it has no need of Western culture, and that, indeed, the whole West is rotten, and fast sinking into decrepitude. The useless, endless chatter of some of these fluent patriots seems to have given annoyance to M. Turguenief, who would prefer to see a little done rather than hear a great deal talked about, and he has hit off their peculiarities with irresistible humour, and exposed their shallowness with considerable success. But to judge of the rising generation in Russia from the singular specimens of Russian youth at whom M. Turguenief has not unfairly laughed in *Smoke*, would be like forming an unfavourable opinion of English girls in general from the very depreciatory criticisms on some of their number which created a certain sensation last year.

*Smoke* is not a novel which is likely to become universally popular. Too many of its pages are occupied by conversations and

\* Admirably translated into French (*Fumée*) and into German (*Rauch*). The French version has been translated into English—but not admirably.



descriptions which, although exceedingly clever, and of the highest interest to all who are acquainted with what is now going on in Russia, will prove tedious to the general reader who wishes only to be excited or amused. Russian novels very seldom have anything like a complicated plot, and *Smoke* is not an exception to the rule. The hero of the story is a young Russian of the proprietor class, Gregory Litvinof, who, in the year 1850, was studying at the University of Moscow. At that time he unfortunately fell in love with a princess, Irina Oginine, one of those puzzling women whom M. Turguenief delights in describing, and whom no one describes better. Underneath a cold exterior she conceals a passionate and fiery nature, which drives her every now and then to perform the most unexpected actions. On the other hand, with all her tendency to be led by impulse and swayed by passion, she has not only sufficient strength of will to control her feelings, but she has also that keen sense of her own interests which generally accompanies a colder disposition, and the power of stopping short, even in what seems to be her most impassioned career, whenever that sense conveys to her its sudden warning. A strange compound of ice and fire, it is impossible to say at any given moment which of the two ingredients of her nature will next make its influence felt. Her whole life is a series of enigmas, the only explanation of which seems to lie in her supreme selfishness. She may waver from it at times, but in the end she returns to her old allegiance. But however dubious may be the cause of her strange behaviour, there is no doubt about the evil results which spring from it, so withering is the effect she produces upon the hearts of those who become fascinated by her. She was only seventeen when Litvinof fell in love with her, but even at that age she had already learnt how to make herself feared and obeyed. For a long time she seemed to treat him with a disdainful indifference that almost drove him to despair. Then suddenly she changed her whole manner towards him, as if a long-restrained love had carried away all the barriers erected by prudence to stop it. She grew a model of kindness and amiability, she accepted his offer of marriage, and she seemed to be about to become the best of wives, when suddenly a second and equally unexpected change came over her. One evening she went to a court ball, and became the centre of attraction. A rich and influential relative thereupon offered to adopt her, and bring her out in the society of St. Petersburg. Her parents hailed the offer with delight, and she herself, though

not without a severe mental struggle, and the shedding of many tears, accepted it and went away from Moscow, leaving the man whom she really loved to recover as he best could from the effect of her desertion. After some time, she married a General Ratmirof, and became a leading member of fashionable society. As for Litvinof, he imagined his heart was broken, and, indeed, he suffered greatly at first. For a considerable time he could not think of her without intense suffering, but he was young, and of a vigorous constitution, so he survived the shock; his wound gradually healed, and after he had passed some years abroad, studying chemistry and farming, and all else that was likely to be of use to him in turning his estates to the best account, he determined to return home and settle down quietly as an agriculturist. It is on his way home that we find him when the story commences, at Baden, where he is awaiting the arrival of his young cousin, Tatiana and her aunt, Capitolina. He has long known his cousin intimately, and, as he thoroughly liked and esteemed her, he has asked her to marry him, and she has consented, and the two young people are looking forward to a quiet and loving country life. When we first see him, he is sitting by himself, regarding the gay scene before him with a calm and contented look. Life seems to lie open before him, his destiny to unroll itself at his feet, and he feels that he may well delight in and be proud of that destiny, as being to a great extent the work of his own hands.

A few days pass by, but his betrothed does not arrive. One evening when he returns to his hotel, wearied with the ceaseless wrangling of some of his compatriots whose acquaintance he has lately made, he finds that an unknown lady has sent him a bouquet of heliotropes. He wonders a little, and then thinks no more about it, but all night long the peculiar scent of the flowers troubles him, he cannot tell why. At last he suddenly remembers his having given a similar bouquet to the Princess Irina on the night of that ball which proved so fatal to his first love. A kind of instinct tells him that she to whom he was once so passionately devoted is not far away.

The next day he happens to go up to the Old Castle, and there, in the company of a number of extremely fashionable Russians, he finds the Princess Irina, and is gladly recognised by her. He is touched by her kindness, and he finds her looking even more lovely than before, but the conversation of her companions, a set of "young generals," cold-hearted and empty-headed hangers-on at Court, thoroughly disgusts him, and as he goes



away he feels sorry for Irina. He thinks of her as one condemned to live in uncongenial air, and then the image of his Tatiana rises before him, so good, so gentle, so pure—"O Tania, Tania!" he cries "you only are my good angel; it is you only that I love and shall love forever. And as to *her* I will not go near her. Good fortune be with her! Let her amuse herself with her generals!"

The next day Irina sends for him, and after some hesitation he goes to her. From that moment dates the loss of his hard-earned peace of mind. Gradually Irina regains over him the influence she used to exercise in the old Moscow days. It is in vain that he struggles against her fascination, in vain that he tries to shake off her spell. He feels that he is acting madly, dishonourably; he thinks of his past life, of the future from which he had hoped so much, of the gentle and trusting girl to whom he is betrothed; but it is of no use—he is in the toils, and the hand of a pitiless woman is drawing the cords daily tighter. Returning home one evening from a party given by Irina, he sits for some time without moving, his face hidden by his hands. At last he gets up and takes out of its case a photograph of Tatiana.

"Litvinof's betrothed was a girl of the regular Russian type, fair-haired, of somewhat too full a figure, and with features a shade too heavy, but with a singularly good and frank expression in her intelligent hazel eyes, and with a soft white forehead, on which a ray of sunlight always seemed to rest. For a long time Litvinof did not raise his eyes from the portrait, then he quietly put it away, and again hid his face in his hands. 'All is over,' he whispered at last—'Irina, Irina.'

"Then only, only at that moment, did he understand that he loved her madly and irrevocably,—that he had loved her from the day of his first interview with her at the old castle,—that he had never ceased loving her. And yet, how he would have marvelled, how incredulous he would have been, how he would have laughed even, if any one had said so to him a few hours before. 'But Tania, Tania! oh my God! Tania, Tania!' he repeated with anguish. And the image of Irina floated before him, in her black, as it were, funeral robe, the calm light of victory dwelling on the marble whiteness of her face."

A little longer and her victory is indeed complete. Litvinof lies in her power, morally bound hand and foot. "He was conquered, unexpectedly conquered, and what had become of his honour?" That question passes through his mind repeatedly as he stands on the platform waiting for Tatiana's arrival. She comes, and he tries in vain to speak to her in a natural tone, to look at her without constraint. She soon feels that

there is something amiss. (And here we may remark how refreshing it is to turn to her from Irina,—for the character of the Princess is one which is little in accordance with English tastes and feelings.) The scene in which Litvinof comes to an explanation with Tatiana is admirably described, especially that part of it in which she, with an air of calm but sad dignity, frees him from his obligation to her. Just before she leaves Baden she asks him to post a letter for her.

"Litvinof raised his eyes. Before him indeed there stood his judge. Tatiana's form seemed taller than usual, more rigidly erect. Her face was more than ordinarily beautiful, but in its stony majesty it resembled that of a statue. Her breast did not heave; her dress, to which its singleness of tint and the absence of undulation in the outlines gave something of the air of ancient drapery, fell to her feet, which it hid from sight, in long, straight folds, like those of marble robes. Tatiana looked straight before her, without taking any notice even of Litvinof, and her gaze too was calm and cold as that of a statue. In it he read his sentence; he bent his head, took the letter from the motionless hand extended towards him, and silently went away. . . . Litvinof dropped the letter into the box, and felt as if, with that little piece of paper, he had dropped all his past, all his life, into the grave. Then he went out of the town and wandered long among the vineyards, following the narrow footpaths. He could not rid himself of a constant sensation of contempt for himself, importunate as the buzzing of a fly in summer. There could be no doubt that in this last interview he had played a very unenviable part."

Tatiana leaves Baden, and a few days later Litvinof also hurries away thence, having been a second time thrown over by the incomprehensible woman whose love has cost him so dear. As he sits in the railway carriage which is taking him away from her, he long gazes unconsciously at the clouds of steam and smoke which come flying past the window from the engine, perpetually changing their forms, trailing along the grass, clinging to the bushes, melting away in the distance, but always keeping up the same monotonous kind of play. At length the idea to which the story owes its name comes into his head. As he thinks of all he has lately been witnessing, all his own hopes and efforts, all the ideas enunciated in his presence by the two sets of Russians at Baden,—the aristocratic retrogrades who declaimed against the liberty of the press and the freedom of the peasants, and the political and social reformers who used to worry him by their incessant and fruitless declamation,—he exclaims—

"'Smoke, smoke . . . steam and smoke.' And suddenly everything seemed to him to be



mere smoke—his own life, Russian life—everything human, especially everything Russian. All is smoke and vapour, he thought; all seems to be constantly changing, everywhere new forms appear, one semblance follows close upon another, but in reality all is just the same. Everything falls headlong—hastens away somewhere or other—and everything disappears, having achieved nothing, leaving no trace behind. Another wind blows, and everything flies over to the opposite side, and there once more begins the same untiring, restless, and unprofitable game."

Soon after his return home his father dies, and he finds himself engaged at once in the difficult task of managing the estate, which has fallen into great disorder. The period at which he returns is thus described:—

"The new order of things met with a bad reception; the old had lost all influence. Ignorance and dishonesty went hand in hand together. Shaken to its very foundations, the whole social order of things quaked like a vast peat-moss; only the one grand word 'Freedom' moved like the Spirit of God over the face of the waters."

There is need, above all, of patience—and that not a passive but an active patience—and at first Litvinof finds it hard of acquisition. He cares but little for life now; he feels still less inclined for exertion. But two years pass by, and the difficulties he has to contend with begin to diminish. The great idea of emancipation has begun to realize itself, and a change for the better has already made itself generally felt. Litvinof has succeeded in putting his affairs on a better footing, and his mind has gradually recovered somewhat of its former tone. He is still very sad, and he secludes himself from all society; but the deadly indifference to all human interests from which he used to suffer has left him, and he moves and acts now like a living man among living people. All that occurred at Baden seems like a dream to him now; and as for Irina her image appears to him only as something vaguely suggestive of dread, closely shrouded in surrounding mist.

At length one day he receives a visit from a relation who has been lately staying at Tatiana's country-house, and who talks to him a good deal about her. Soon after the visitor's departure Litvinof writes to Tatiana, and a few days later he finds himself driving rapidly up to her house. He rushes up the steps, through the dining-room, and into the drawing-room.

"Before him Tatiana stood blushing. She looked at him with her honest, loving eyes (she had grown a little thinner, but that became her well), and held out her hand to him. But he did not take her hand; he fell on his knees be-

fore her. That she had not expected, and she knew not what to do, what to say. Tears started into her eyes. She was frightened, but all her face grew bright with joy. 'Gregory Mikhailovich! why do you do that, Gregory Mikhailovich?' she said, but he continued kissing the hem of her garment . . . while he remembered with emotion how he had knelt before her in a similar manner at Baden. But then—and now!"

We had intended to enter into an investigation of those questions respecting the future of Russia, especially in its relations with Western Europe, to which so much prominence is given in the pages of *Smoke*. But our space is exhausted, and we can do no more than simply allude to them before closing this sketch of M. Turguenief's writings, of too many of which we have been unable to take any notice. We have said nothing of his comedies, although they are numerous enough to fill a large volume by themselves, nor have we even touched upon such of his works as the essay on Hamlet and Don Quixote, having preferred to confine ourselves to his tales and novels. On the novel which he has most recently written, under the title of *Neschastnaya* (The Unhappy One), it is as yet impossible to pass judgment, as its publication in the magazine called the *Russian Messenger* has not long been commenced; but we may fairly prophesy that it will prove of no small interest. On the whole, we have utterly ignored much that is excellent, and we have not been able to do more than sketch a most hasty outline of many of the stories to which we have referred, but we hope that we have succeeded in at least giving some idea of the worth of M. Turguenief's writings, and in calling attention to the most characteristic merits of his works which have gained him the first place among the novelists of Russia.

#### ART. III.—REVOLUTIONS IN THE QUEEN'S ENGLISH.

THE standard language of literature and life is appropriately termed the Queen's English, from having upon it the stamp of national currency and use. It is the medium of oral and written intercourse through the length and breadth of the land, just as the royal currency or coin of the realm is the medium of commercial exchange. The words of the standard vocabulary, like the issues of the royal mint, have on them the image and superscription of national authority, of which the Sovereign is the natural



head and representative, and hence the apt designation, "Queen's English." But, taking a wider view of the matter, there is really more significance in the epithet Queen's, as applied to the language, than that arising from the accidental circumstance of the reigning monarch being a princess rather than a prince. A second reason of its special appropriateness is to be found in the fact that the most important changes in the language, or rather in the vocabulary of the language, have taken place under the three great English queens, Elizabeth, Anne, and Victoria. If we throw out of account Queen Mary, who was hardly English either in character or policy, the reigns of the three English queens are identified with the most influential revolutions in the history of the English language. The Elizabethan age was the era of its fullest spontaneous development; the so-called Augustan age of Anne that of its critical restriction and refinement; while the Victorian age is the era of its reflective expansion, its conscious growth and reinvigoration. Each of these marked periods is heralded by half a century of preparation, in which the influences, literary and political, that helped to produce the change, were gradually acquiring direction, unity, and power.

The first of these periods, that of the Reformation, commencing with the earlier half of the sixteenth century, culminating in the Elizabethan age, and lasting in its characteristic influences till the middle of the seventeenth century, is justly regarded as the great creative period of English literature. It is the period in which the latent genius of the nation was manifested for the first time in all its freshness, strength, and exuberant vitality. But the next considerable epoch, that of the Revolution, which reached some of its most expressive forms during the reign of Queen Anne, has a character of its own, equally marked, though perhaps not so fully recognised. If the era of the Reformation was the creative, the productive epoch of our literature, that of the Revolution, extending over the greater part of the eighteenth century, is characterised by the predominant activity of the regulative, co-ordinating, or legislative faculty. It is pre-eminently a critical age—the age in which criticism appeared for the first time as a modifying power in our national life and literature. The Revolution Settlement itself was a criticism of the Constitution, a resolute and successful effort to reduce to precise terms, fix in definite propositions, and establish on a legal basis the political rights and liberties which had gradually asserted themselves amidst the vigorous but

irregular growth of the nation's corporate life. In almost every department of national activity the working of the same critical impulse may be clearly traced. There is manifestly, on all hands, a strong desire and persistent effort to measure in some way the achievements of the prolific past: to take stock, as it were, of the intellectual wealth the nation had so rapidly accumulated, and estimate according to some rule or principle the results of its enormously reproductive energies.

Very naturally, however, the working of this critical movement is especially seen in the literature of the time, and the contrast between the two periods in this respect is well illustrated in the early productions of their typical poets. This kind of index is peculiarly significant, because men of genius instinctively reflect, if they do not even anticipate, the foremost intellectual tendencies of their own time. In his early youth, Shakespeare, the representative of the first period, was exercising his fervid poetical imagination, his tender and passionate sensibilities, in the glowing imagery and musical verse of *Venus and Adonis*. Pope, the typical poet of the second period, while still in his teens, was reading Boileau, and condensing into the smooth couplets of his *Essay on Criticism* the sagest maxims of accumulated literary wisdom, mingled with the shrewd observations of his own keenly precocious mind. Great original works of imaginative genius were no longer produced. In place of these, critical editions of the great poets were for the first time undertaken, and critical dissertations on their special merits, as well as critical theories of poetry and literature in general, attempted. No doubt these theories were superficial and one-sided, the critical judgments often shallow, and the rule employed for the measurement of the intellectual giants of the previous age sometimes ludicrously inadequate for the purpose. But the important fact remains, that in every sphere of intellectual activity rules and principles of judgment were honestly sought for. Amidst the hard things that are often said against the eighteenth century, it must be remembered that its leading minds, if comparatively cold and unimaginative, were consciously animated by the desire of finding in every department of inquiry a critical or rational basis, and that in some departments, such as those of history, philosophy, and political science, this effort produced results of permanent value.

What is true of the literature during these two periods is equally true of the language. The epoch of the Reformation was the great period of the language as well as of the literature—the age in which its latent



stores of phrase and diction were for the first time brought out, and rendered available for the higher purposes of literature by current use. Then, too, the various tributary streams, Celtic and Scandinavian, Romance and Classical, that at different times have enriched our native tongue, may be said to have flowed together, and poured their currents into the broad and deepening river of our recognised and central English speech. But these secondary elements of copious and expressive diction, left as a heritage by races that had helped to give dignity and grace to the robust English character, were by no means the most important contributions made during this era to the standard national vocabulary. The scattered wealth of neglected words belonging to the root-elements of the language, the forcible and idiomatic Anglo and Saxon terms, hitherto almost restricted to local use, were now, under the working of an irresistible influence, collected from their provincial sources, and poured into the national exchequer of words through a multitude of obscure and unnoticed channels. The powerful influence which thus developed for the first time the resources of the mother tongue was that of awakened nationality, of which the Reformation itself, in its early stages, may be regarded as the concentrated and energetic expression. The working of this national spirit, and its effect both on the language and the literature, is indeed clearly traceable as early as the fourteenth century. By the middle of that century the brilliant foreign wars and successful reign of Edward III. had very much effaced the bitter antipathies of rank and race produced by the Conquest, impressed on the national mind an exulting sense of unity and power, and diffused amongst all classes the proud glow of genuine patriotism. The effect of this awakened spirit on the language is seen in its immediate recall to the courts of justice, and other positions of dignity and honour, from which for three centuries it had been banished, while its intellectual reflex may be traced in the noble early literature of which Chaucer, Gower, and Wycliffe are the foremost representatives. In the fifteenth century the gallant but disastrous wars of Henry V. dissipated the vain dream of extended foreign empire which had so long dazzled the imagination of the nation, and helped to fix its attention on domestic interests, while the Wars of the Roses indirectly advanced the cause of the people by destroying the most offensive incidents of the feudal system and relieving the nation at large from the incubus of a turbulent and ambitious feudal aristocracy. During the long, prudent, and successful

reign of Henry VII., the growing elements of national unity and power consolidated themselves; and under favourable conditions of peace and public security the country steadily advanced in social comfort, political strength, and material prosperity. When Henry VIII. ascended the throne, he had to lead a high-spirited and self-reliant people, proud of a European position gained by past achievement in arms, confident of its future progress, and resolved, if need were, to secure the conditions of that progress at the point of the sword. The very subserviency the early Parliaments showed on home affairs arose indeed, in part, from the strong feeling in favour of an energetic foreign policy, and the resolve of the nation to maintain at all hazards its position in Europe. The Reformation was just the movement to stimulate that resolve, as it appealed directly on its political side to the independent spirit of the people. In its early stages, indeed, as far as the people at large, or rather the town populations—the mercantile, trading and professional classes, who alone took an active interest in public affairs,—were concerned, the English Reformation was a national and political, much more than a religious or ecclesiastical movement. It was a national revolt against the authority of a foreign potentate, whose arrogant pretensions, haughty bearing, and arbitrary exactions of tribute had come to be regarded as alike insulting and oppressive. As the area of the conflict enlarged and its issues expanded, the great interest at stake stirred the heart of the nation to its very depths, and roused all its nobler elements of character to a pitch of intense and sustained enthusiasm. This enthusiasm reached its highest point in the tremendous struggle with Spain as the armed champion of Roman domination in Europe, the ruthless military representative of the despotic principle both in Church and State.

On the eve of that gallant struggle against such overwhelming odds, Queen Elizabeth, with the sure instinct of political genius, struck the key-note of the excited national mind in her stirring address to the army:—"Let tyrants fear! I have always so behaved myself that, under God, I have placed my chiefest strength and safeguard in the loyal hearts and goodwill of my subjects; and therefore I am come amongst you, as you see, at this time, not for my own recreation and disport, but having resolved, in the midst and heat of the battle, to live or die amongst you all—to lay down, for God and for my kingdom, and for my people, my honour and my blood even in the dust. I know I have the body but of a weak and



feeble woman, but I have the heart and stomach of a king, and of a king of England too, and think foul scorn that Parma, or Spain, or any prince of Europe, should dare to invade the borders of my realm." The national spirit, thus appealed to, triumphed; and it is almost impossible, even at this distance of time, to estimate the magnitude of the result. The destruction of the Armada at once broke the aggressive power of Rome and Spain, beating them back to their continental seats, flushed with an exulting sense of victory the nation, that almost single-handed had ventured on such an unequal conflict, and crowned with European fame

"This scepter'd isle,  
This earth of majesty, this seat of Mars,  
This other Eden, demi-paradise,  
This fortress built by Nature for herself  
Against infection and the hand of war,  
This happy breed of men, this little world,  
This precious stone set in the silver sea,  
Which serves it in the office of a wall,  
Or as a moat defensive to a house,  
Against the envy of less happier lands,  
This blessed spot, this earth, this realm, this  
England,

This land of such dear souls, this dear, dear  
land,  
Dear for her reputation through the world."

Shakespeare had come to London two years before the destruction of the Armada, and the intense feeling of national exultation it produced beats with a full pulse not only in this passage, but throughout the whole of his historical plays. Britain, as champion of the Reformation, had, however, not only defeated Catholic Europe, and reached a position of peerless renown in the Old World. She had become mistress of the seas, and thus commanded the ocean-paths to the New World, the El Dorado in the far golden West, which successful maritime adventure had revealed, and whose untold treasures daring English navigators were beginning to explore. This acted as a powerful additional stimulus to the intellect and imagination of the nation. It enlarged men's minds, widened their moral horizon, and inspired them with the confident hope of destroying established forms of error, and discovering new continents of truth. The strong and sustained intellectual reaction of the whole movement produced, in the short space of a quarter of a century, those unrivalled masterpieces of literature which constitute the glorious Elizabethan age.

The direct connexion of the whole Reformation movement with the great productive period of our literature is well known, and has been pretty fully investigated; but

its influence on the language has never yet been traced with anything like careful accuracy and minuteness. Mr. Marsh, indeed, in his excellent work on *The Origin and History of the English Language*, points out one of its immediate effects in the numerous translations of theological and other works, by continental reformers, scholars, and divines which appeared in rapid succession; but his general description of these versions is hardly accurate, while his estimate of their effect on the language is, to say the least, one-sided and erroneous. He describes them as bringing in a "flood of Latinisms," as introducing new words and ideas, a special technical phraseology, which made "at once a very considerable accession of Latin words to the vocabulary of English." There is, indeed, a certain amount of truth in this statement. The new conceptions and forms of doctrine which the Reformation produced required a language of their own, and in some of the early English translations of foreign theological works a glossary of such terms is given at the end of the volume. But the remarkable feature about the translations, as a whole, is not their Latinisms, not their specially theological dialect, but their extraordinary wealth of genuine English words. To take a single illustration, we would refer any one curious on this point to the versions of Nicholas Udall, an accomplished scholar, author of the earliest comedy in the language, and successively head-master of Eton and Westminster. Amongst his other labours, at the instance of Queen Catherine Parr, Udall undertook a translation of Erasmus' voluminous paraphrase of the New Testament, and executed a large part of it himself. The work is not only clear and vigorous in style, but rich in English idioms, in expressive colloquial phrases, and pithy Saxon terms; and is accordingly frequently quoted in illustration of such words, both in Richardson's Dictionary and by Dr. Latham in his new edition of Johnson. Curiously enough, Mr. Marsh does not even mention Udall, although from his translations alone a list of Saxon words might be collected, in some respects more complete than is to be found in any existing dictionary or glossary of English.

Another way in which the Reformation had a direct effect on the language was by the amount of controversy it provoked, by the extensive literature of attack and reply, of polemical dissertations, pamphlets, and broadsides it produced. The appeal in these discussions being a popular one, had a twofold effect on the language, helping both to simplify its structure and to give prominence to the strictly vernacular elements of the



vocabulary. Sir Thomas More, and John Bale, bishop of Ossory, represent the extremes of this controversial literature, the former being a bigoted Romanist, and the latter a rabid Protestant. In point of taste and temper there is perhaps not a pin to choose between them, both being singularly eloquent in the coarse rhetoric of vituperation and unmeasured personal abuse. Nor are they without points of resemblance in other and higher respects. The English Chancellor is the more quick-witted, learned, and accomplished disputant, as well as the more voluminous writer. In his great polemic against Tyndale he discusses the points at issue with an exhaustive minuteness of detail that would become wearisome but for the lively play of fancy, the grave wit and fertility of humorous illustration that relieve the tedium of his argument and soften the bitterness of his invective. He is, moreover, naturally fond of argument, cunning of logical fence, and displays even a kind of scholastic subtlety in defending against his opponent the use of images, modern Romish miracles, and the doctrine of the sacraments. The Irish bishop has none of More's dialectical skill, and hardly attempts anything like serious or sustained argument, his numerous polemical writings consisting rather of historical facts and loose declamation, passing not unfrequently into coarse but vigorous invective. But More and Bale have in common certain rhetorical characteristics that will entitle them to a place in the history of English prose during the first half of the sixteenth century. They both possess a great command over the resources of colloquial and idiomatic English, and write with an ease, animation, and freedom which is very rarely to be found at this early period. The necessity of popular appeal gives to their style a flexibility and directness that brings the written literary language much nearer to the spoken tongue than had hitherto been the case. The change is complete in those of the reformers who, like Latimer, helped the movement chiefly by oral discourse. What is true of More and Bale is true in a degree of the other early writers who took a leading part in the struggle, such as Frith and Barnes, Ridley and Tyndale; but none of their works—not even those of Tyndale, who writes with unflinching purity and vigour—have the vivacity and popular interest which belong to the style of More and Bale.

The important fact, however, is that in the whole controversy, as indeed in all the effective writing of the time, the appeal is made, not to the judgment or the prejudices of a sect or profession, but to the reason and conscience of the nation at large, the avowed

aim being to stimulate the one and inform the other. Translators and controversialists, historians and expositors, alike recognise the direct interest of the nation in the conflict of opinions, and maintain the ultimate authority of its judgment in deciding the questions at issue. This is true of all classes, from the headstrong monarch himself, who ordered that copies of the English Scriptures should be placed in all the churches of the land for public use, and the Queen, who caused Erasmus' paraphrase to be translated, "that all English people may to their health and ghostly consolacion, be abundantly replenished with the frute thereof," and to be circulated in a similar manner, down to the nameless authors of popular broadsides and satirical doggrel, written in Skeltonical verse. The free use of the vernacular speech was obviously indispensable to the progress of such a movement; and it may be said, without exaggeration, that the whole literature of reflection and instruction assumed a national dress in this country a century earlier than on the Continent.

How intense and influential was the awakened spirit of nationality which thus expressed itself in the Reformation, is further apparent from the striking fact, that it at once absorbed and turned to popular account the two great continental influences that for a time arrested the progress of the native literature in the other countries of Europe. These influences were those arising from the enormous revolution effected in the means and mechanism of intellectual culture by the revival of letters and the invention of printing. On the Continent, these influences operated for half a century at least as a powerful denationalizing force. The early presses of France, Germany, and Italy, but especially of the two latter countries, were largely occupied in the production of accurate classical texts, while many of the ablest minds were absorbed in the necessary work of textual revision, criticism, and explanation. But in England, for half a century after the introduction of printing, the works issued by Caxton and his associates were all, with insignificant exceptions, in the vernacular tongue, all identified with the native literature, either as original works or effective translations. These early English presses multiplied copies of Chaucer, Gower, and Lydgate, of Trevisa's translation of Higden, and other prose works of interest, and thus supplied for the first time the materials of a literary culture at once national in its basis and popular in its range.

In the same way, under the over-mastering influence of what continental critics would probably call the insular spirit, the new



classical literature itself was speedily turned to national account, and converted into an instrument of general cultivation. The early English scholars betook themselves to the work of translating, and the effect of the new classical literature during the greater part of the sixteenth century must be measured rather by its popular influence than by its professional study or academic teaching. The systematic teaching of Greek was not firmly established in either Oxford or Cambridge till the second half of the century; and before that time several versions from classical Greek as well as Latin authors had appeared in English. But it was not until after the accession of Elizabeth that translations of standard classical authors were multiplied in sufficient abundance to supply the conditions of a new and stimulating national culture. Then the higher liberalizing influences of the period were welcomed, and had full scope to work under the most favourable conditions. The universal sense of relief from the gloom, oppression, and terror of the previous reign, the hopes inspired by the accession of a sagacious, accomplished, and popular monarch, the rousing of the national energies by the widening area and deepening issues of the Reformation conflict, and the liberation of learning from priestly or professional control, with the consequent secularization of the sources of knowledge which that movement had effected, all conspired to produce and diffuse amongst the active classes of the nation a sharpened intellectual appetite, and an eager desire for fresh and satisfying mental food. There was, in fact, a general thirst for some knowledge of the revived classical literatures, which the scholars of the time hastened to gratify. Before the end of the century, most of the great masterpieces of Greek and Roman literature were translated, and many with surprising spirit and accuracy. This is true of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, with the minor Homeric poems, translated by the poet Chapman; of *Musæus*, translated by Marlowe; of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, translated by Arthur Golding; and of large parts of Virgil, as well as of Horace and Martial, attempted by different scholars. Not only the great poets, however, but the orators, Demosthenes, Isocrates, and Cicero; the historians, Thucydides and Livy, Sallust, Cæsar, and Tacitus; the moralists Plutarch and Seneca; the rhetoricians and writers on natural history and science, were all translated during this period. Aristotle's *Ethics* and *Politics*, and parts of Plato, also appeared in an English dress.

With regard to the versions from Greek authors, it is true indeed that Thucydides, Aristotle's *Politics*, and Plutarch's *Lives*

were translated immediately from the French. Of these, however, North's celebrated version of Plutarch has the idiomatic purity, vigour, and picturesqueness of an original English work, and occupies an enviable niche in our literary history as the mirror in which Shakespeare saw clearly reflected the grand proportions, heroic forms, and richly animated life of the old classic world. The translator of Aristotle's *Politics* states that he corrected the French version throughout by a comparison with the original Greek, though his own version has hardly profited to the extent that perhaps might have been expected from such a statement. The version of Thucydides is more archaic in form; and this is not to be wondered at, considering both the early date of its appearance and its authorship. It appeared in the middle of the century, having been published in 1550, and was executed by Thomas Nicolls, "cytezeine and goldesmyth of London." It has prefixed a special privilege from the young King, setting forth that "our faythfull well-beloved subject, Thomas Nicolls, cytezeine and goldesmith of our cytie of London, hath not onely translated the hystorye wrytton by Thucydides the Athenian, out of Frenche into English, but also intendeth contynuing in that his vertuous exercise, thereby to reduce and bring other profytable hystories out of Frenche and Latin into our said maternall language, to the generall benefyt, comodytie, and profyt of all our loving subjectes, that shall well digeste the same." It is dedicated to Sir John Cheke, commemorated in Milton's well-known sonnet, and at that time the first Greek scholar in England, the author in the dedication praying him "not onelye with favour to accept this, the first my fruct in translatyon, but also conferring it with the Greke, so to amend and correct in those places and sentences which your exact learning and knowledge shall judge meet to be altered and reformed." The translation fills a folio of 500 pages, and is, all things considered, respectably executed. But the fact that a London tradesman should have carefully translated an author like Thucydides, even from the French, though he seems also to have used the excellent Latin version of Laurentius Valla, well illustrates the living interest in liberal studies that had grown up outside the universities, and which, with little direct academic help, was gradually diffused amongst the people, especially the mercantile, trading, and professional classes of the town populations. The universities, indeed, yielding to a tendency too common in such corporations, obstinately resisted the introduction of Greek as a new-



tingled study, tried to expel the first teachers of the offensive tongue, and clung tenaciously as long as possible to their scholastic curriculum, in all its mediæval integrity. What the obscure monastic pedants of the universities were for a time characteristically slow to attempt, popular enthusiasm, with the help of a few liberal, enlightened, and industrious scholars, speedily accomplished. Before the end of the century, the substance of classical literature, the contents of the great masterpieces of antiquity, both in prose and verse, were placed within the reach of all who had any taste for letters, and could read their native tongue.

To meet the varied requirements of these translations, all the scattered and hitherto neglected elements of the language were not only called into requisition, but attained a certain degree of currency by being employed in works of general interest. All its accumulated stores of characteristic and expressive terms, provincial, archaic, colloquial, and professional, would obviously be required to render effectively such poets as Homer and Ovid, and such prose writers as Plutarch and Pliny. The influx of words during this period—some few exotics, but the great majority native—was indeed so great that no English lexicographer has been able even yet to collect and register them all. Nay, the works of a single industrious translator, Philemon Holland, master of the Coventry Grammar School, whose versions fill five or six dense folios, contain a mine of linguistic wealth which the recent labours of accomplished and zealous students, such as Archbishop Trench and Mr. Marsh, have not half explored. Not only the new literatures, however, but new discoveries and inventions, new ideas and conceptions, new aims and aspirations, new feelings, hopes, and imaginations, required new words and new combinations for their adequate expression. These requirements were fully met, and in a few years the language of reflection became as rich and copious as that of imagination. These accumulated materials of expressive diction prepared the way for the works of original genius and creative power that followed. The difficult task which Dante had to execute for himself, that of creating a literary language out of a number of rustic dialects, Shakespeare found done to his hand. At the time when he entered on his dramatic career, the language was exactly in the state best fitted for all the purposes of the poet,—rich, various, and expressive, but still plastic to the touch, yielding readily to the impress of genius, and capable of being moulded into forms of exquisite

beauty, grandeur, and power. His dramas illustrate the resources and capabilities, the matchless grace and loveliness, the fresh and exhilarating life, the muscular strength and sinewy flexibility, of the fully-formed English tongue. They exhibit the language in its perfect bloom and vigour, when for the first time it had become fully equal to all the demands of the thinker and the poet.

The period of the Revolution brought great changes to the language and the literature, and the change affected the language even more than the literature. Politically, it was a period of reaction after a violent and protracted struggle, towards the close of which, notwithstanding the gains and losses on either side, little real progress seemed to have been made. Not the licentious reaction of exhaustion and indifference that marked the Restoration, but the reaction of sobriety and vigilance natural to men tired of useless and disappointing experiments in government, and determined at all costs to establish the constitutional liberties of the country on a settled basis. But on its literary side the period retained and developed many of the characteristics impressed upon it at the Restoration. The domestic struggles incident to the peaceful revolution that changed the reigning dynasty, and the aggressive foreign policy it naturally produced, absorbed for a time the attention of the country, leaving its relaxed intellectual energies to follow the secondary influences of taste and fashion belonging to the Restoration period. During the interval between the Restoration and the Revolution, literature being no longer stirred by rational impulses, became an affair of society, of the Court, and of the town. Unfortunately the monarch and his Court were total strangers to anything like national sentiment and patriotic feeling, having spent their lives abroad, and acquired French tastes and habits at the very time when France was both politically and intellectually almost supreme in Europe. This increased the effect which the brilliant literature of the French Augustan age would naturally have had upon our own in a season of lassitude and reaction. The corrupt taste of the Court naturally tended, moreover, to bring into vogue the more superficial, witty, and licentious forms of contemporary French literature, and for a time the literary favourites of the Court, in their loose songs, impudent comedy, and fantastic inflated tragedy, fell into a servile imitation of degraded French models.

Lord Macaulay has indeed suggested that the French fashions of the Court affected the diction as well as the spirit and char-



acteristic forms of literature, and, after Johnson, has charged Dryden with introducing purely French terms into the vocabulary of the language. But the charge, while true to a certain extent of the fashionable conversation of the day, is inapplicable to any except the lowest class of writers, and least of all applies to the great chief of contemporary letters. The frivolous talk of fops and fine ladies was no doubt copiously interlarded with French terms, and Johnson's charge against Dryden is, that "with a vanity unworthy of his abilities," he introduced such terms into his writings, in order to show that he moved in high society. But in support of this sweeping censure he adduces only two instances, and these are wholly insufficient to prove any conscious or intentional departure from the thoroughly English diction which marks all his writings, both in prose and verse. It is true that Dryden occasionally uses French words, such as *bizarre*, *fanfaron*, and *nobless*; but he did not introduce them, the last being common to the Elizabethan writers, and used more than once by Shakespeare himself. With a thoroughly English instinct, indeed, he especially denounced and satirized the attempted corruption of the national speech by the reckless introduction of foreign words and phrases. In discussing the means of improving and refining the language, he condemns the motley speech in which exquisites and loungers who had crossed the Channel attempted to disguise their poverty of thought. "For I cannot approve of their way of refining, who corrupt our English idiom by mixing it too much with French; that is a sophistication of language, not an improvement of it,—a turning English into French, rather than a refining of English by French. We meet daily with those fops, who value themselves on their travelling, and pretend they cannot express their meaning in English, because they would put off to us some French phrase of the last edition, without considering that, for ought they know, we have a better of our own; but these are not the men who are to refine us. Their talent is to prescribe fashions, not words; at best they are only serviceable to a writer, so as Ennius was to Virgil. We may *aurum ex stercore colligere*, for 'tis hard if, amongst many insignificant phrases, there happen not something worth preserving, though they themselves, like Indians, know not the value of their own commodity." Again, in the comedy of *Marriage-à-la-Mode*, he introduces Melantha, an affected fine lady of the day, for the very purpose of ridiculing the vulgar rage for Gallicisms

that infected the fashionable conversation of the time. The breadth and vigour of the exposure may be gathered from the following extract:—

"*Mel.* O, are you there, Minion? And, well, are not you a most precious damsel, to retard all my visits for want of language, when you know you are paid so well for furnishing me with new words for my daily conversation? Let me die, if I have not run the risque already, to speak like one of the vulgar; and if I have one phrase left in all my store that is not threadbare and usé, and fit for nothing but to be thrown to peasants.

"*Phil.* Indeed, madam, I have been very diligent in my vocation; but you have so drained all the French plays and romances, that they are not able to supply you with words for your daily expense.

"*Mel.* Drained? What a word's there! Epuisée, you sot you. Come, produce your morning's work.

"*Phil.* 'Tis here, madam. [*Shows the paper.*]

"*Mel.* O, my Venus! fourteen or fifteen words to serve me a whole day! Let me die, at this rate I cannot last till night. Come, read your words, twenty to one half of 'em will not pass muster neither.

"*Phil.* *Sottises.*

[*Reads.*]

"*Mel.* *Sottises: bon.* That's an excellent word to begin withal: as for example: He or she said a thousand *sottises* to me. Proceed.

"*Phil.* *Figure:* as, What a figure of a man is there!

"*Mel.* *Naïve!* as how?

"*Phil.* Speaking of a thing that was naturally said: It was so *naïve*. Or such an innocent piece of simplicity: 'Twas such a *naïveté*.

"*Mel.* Truce with your interpretations. Make haste.

"*Phil.* *Foible, chagrin, grimace, embarras, double-entendre, équivoque, éclaircissement, suite, bevue, façon, penchant, coup d'étourdy, and ridicule.*

"*Mel.* Hold, hold; how did they begin?

"*Phil.* They began at *sottises*, and ended *en ridicule*.

"*Mel.* Now give me your paper in my hand, and hold you my glass, while I practise my postures for the day. [*Melantha laughs in the glass.*] How does that laugh become my face?

"*Phil.* Sovereignly well, madam.

"*Mel.* *Sovereignly?* Let me die, that's not amiss. That word shall not be yours: I'll invent it, and bring it up myself. My new point gorget shall be yours upon 't. Not a word of the word, I charge you.

"*Phil.* I am dumb, madam."

It will be seen that many of the terms and phrases in this extract, stigmatized by Melantha's maid as French gibberish, have passed into the language since Dryden's day, and are now in habitual use. *Foible*, *caprice*, *grimace*, and *ridicule*, for example, are good English words, constantly employed by the best writers, probably without any suspicion of their comparatively recent introduction. This is true of many



other words emphasized as belonging to Melanthe's foreign vocabulary, such as *tour*, *chagrin*, *amour*, *repartee*, *rally*, and *embarrass*. Of the last word, now so thoroughly English, Melanthe says,—“Truce with your *douceurs*, good servant; you see I am addressing to the Princess; pray do not *embarrass* me—*embarrass* me! what a delicious French word do you make me lose upon you too!” Many more of Melanthe's Gallicisms, such as *menage*, *devoir*, *spirituel*, *éclaircissement*, *naïveté*, *équivoque*, and *penchant*, if still retaining in form and accent traces of their foreign origin, are in themselves so convenient and expressive, and so far supported by authoritative use, as to be well entitled to sue out their naturalization, if they are not already naturalized. To say nothing of their occasional employment by good early writers, some of them are given by Johnson as English words, while all appear in later English dictionaries. Indeed, many of the terms condemned by Dryden as neologisms are freely used by Addison and Pope. This illustrates a well-known fact in the history of all languages, that foreign words, unanimously condemned as harsh and impure on their first introduction, ultimately find their way into the language, if any good reason exists for their admission. Dryden himself refers to this in the passage already quoted, in saying that it would be hard if, among many insignificant phrases, there should not be some worth preserving. None the less, however, is it the duty of a sound English critic to resist the introduction of foreign terms, especially when the tide of fashion sets strongly in their favour. The language is periodically exposed to wholesale adulteration from this source, and while no hostile criticism, however incisive and unsparing, can ultimately prevent useful additions being made to the vocabulary, it may be of the highest service in saving the national speech from the depraving effects of vulgar thoughtlessness and fashionable folly. In the first half of the present century, for example, there was a marked tendency among a certain school of writers to introduce German compounds, and affect German idioms in their style and phraseology. In the judgment of many critics, the more recent danger is, that our national speech, like our national institutions, may become Americanized, as it is called. At such a period the office of the English critic is to resist the dominant tendency, and Dryden, as guardian of the language, discharged his duty in this respect with characteristic energy, as well as with rare critical intelligence. No charge against him, therefore,

can well be more unfounded or unjust than that of attempting deliberately to corrupt the vocabulary of his native tongue. But, while resisting the fashionable rage for Gallicisms, and thus preserving in its strength and purity the instrument of literature, he yielded almost completely to the vicious taste of the Court in the form and substance of at least one important section of his literary works. His numerous dramas, it must be confessed, illustrate some of the worst characteristics of contemporary French literature. In the stilted, unnatural sentiment and general didactic inflation of his rhymed tragedies, no less than in the colloquial shamelessness and indecency of his prose comedies, he deliberately followed the worst French models, and gratified to the full the depraved Court taste of the Restoration.

At the Revolution, with a purer Court, and the return of serious interests to the national mind, a better spirit prevailed, and the salutary working of the higher characteristic of French literature is apparent. This higher feature consisted in its critical spirit, not its critical theories, which were narrow and insufficient enough, but in the disposition to inquire into the grounds of literary excellence,—the effort to discover in all departments of intellectual activity rational canons of guidance and judgment. But this was so conformed to the temper of the English mind at the Revolution, and to the turn which English thought had taken, that the foreign influence during this period did little more than strengthen and confirm the dominant bias of the native literature. While the literature of Queen Anne's reign is of native growth, it is thus so far in sympathy with the literature on the other side of the Channel, that they have many characteristics in common. French literature, for example, like French life, has always been marked by its social, centralizing tendency. It is the literature of a special locality and a limited circle, produced by accomplished men living very much together, a kind of scattered club resident in the metropolis; and this is pre-eminently true of its most brilliant period. If politically, according to the *mot* of Louis xiv., the King is the State, so, for all literary purposes, the capital is the country, Paris is France. In the same way, the English literature of the Revolution period has a marked social, centralized, or urban character. It is, as we have said, pre-eminently the literature of the town, and this fundamental characteristic greatly affects both its substance and its form. Such a literature would be largely occupied, for example, with light social criticism and



humorous satire, with the witty exposure of fashionable follies, and the epigrammatic analysis of character and manners, with lively but superficial discussions on questions of literary taste and judgment. In a word, it would be, to a great extent, the literature of light didactic satire, of critical and colloquial essays both in prose and verse.

This limitation in the range of subjects and appeal would necessarily affect the language as well as the literature. As literature always employs the language of those it addresses, when restricted to the town, it naturally adopted an urban vocabulary, the dialect of society, and of a highly artificial and conventional society. No doubt this dialect had many special virtues, and was admirably adapted for effective social criticism. It was perfectly intelligible, clear, and transparent as crystal, with an easy flow, epigrammatic sparkle, and antithetical emphasis that excited the reader's attention, and kept up his interest by mere force of style, even when there was nothing in the thought to stimulate the intellect. But notwithstanding these virtues, the fashionable dialect was wanting in copiousness and variety, in imaginative range and reflective depth, as well as in tender and profound emotional expressiveness. Here again in the language we have a feature which, if not directly due to French influence, approximates the English writing of the time to the French type. As the literature of Queen Anne's time may be fairly said to have the virtues and vices of the best French literature, so the language has the excellences and defects of the highly wrought French tongue. While clear, spirited, and polished, it was at the same time marked by the comparative poverty of its poetical and reflective vocabulary. To what an extent this is true, even at the best period of Revolution literature, may be seen by comparing the vocabulary of Addison and Pope with the vocabulary of Shakespeare and Bacon. With all the irresistible charm of Addison's style, his luminous simplicity and grace, his purity, ease, and elegance of diction, it is impossible not to feel that his power of expression, however perfect within its range, is extremely limited both as to depth and extent. The great writers of the Elizabethan age, roused by commanding national impulses, and appealing to an awakened and excited people, used the entire national speech with the utmost freedom and confidence, counting none of its elements common or unclean. But the courtly poets and essayists of Queen Anne's

reign, yielding to the dominant critical tendency of their day, were fastidious in their choice of words, weeding their vocabulary not only of all obsolete and provincial, but of all obsolescent, unusual, and inharmonious terms and compounds. Any words not directly sanctioned by current use, no matter how vernacular and expressive they might be, were at once rejected.

This so-called improvement of the language had begun in Dryden's day, and he himself took an active part in forwarding the work, as well as in vindicating against cavillers its reality and importance. Whilst he protested vigorously, as we have seen, against the needless introduction of foreign terms, he was almost equally severe against the retention of the more archaic and obsolescent element of his native tongue. In the *Epilogue*, one of his most extravagant heroic plays, he thus pronounces judgment on the dramatists of the Elizabethan age:—

"They who have best succeeded on the stage,  
Have still conformed their genius to their age.  
Thus Jonson did mechanic humour show,  
When men were dull, and conversation low.  
And as their comedy, their love was mean,  
Except by chance in some one laboured scene,  
Which must atone for an ill-written play,  
They rose, but at their height could seldom  
stay.  
Fame then was cheap, and the first comer  
sped,  
And they have kept it since, by being dead.

If love and honour now are higher raised,  
'Tis not the poet, but the age is praised.  
Wit's now arrived to a more high degree,  
*Our native language more refined and free,*  
Our ladies and our men now speak more wit  
In conversation than those poets writ."

And in an elaborate prose defence of the *Epilogue* he deliberately maintains that the language of the Restoration dramatists, including of course his own, is superior in grace, refinement, and expressiveness, to that of even the best dramatists of the preceding age, such as Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, and Fletcher. This superiority mainly consisted, he tells us, in rejecting such old words and phrases as were ill-sounding and improper, and admitting others more proper, more sounding, and more significant. He claims it as a special merit for the writers of his own age, that they had not merely rejected words antiquated by custom, and without any fault of theirs, as the refinement in that case would be accidental only, but whatever in the poetical vocabulary of the previous age they deemed ill-sounding and inappropriate. Curiously enough too, he brings the charge of employing a harsh, semi-barbarous, and obsolete dialect spe-



cially against Shakespeare and Fletcher, two of the most harmonious and musical writers in the language. Those who know only the just and discriminating estimate of Shakespeare given by Dryden in his *Essay on Dramatic Poetry*, will hardly be prepared for the disparaging terms in which he speaks of him when defending himself and his brother dramatists from the attacks of contemporary criticism. On the point of language, with which we are concerned, he delivers himself as follows :—

"But, malice and partiality set apart, let any man who understands English read diligently the works of Shakespeare and Fletcher, and I dare undertake that he will find in every page either some solecism of speech or some notorious flaw in sense; and yet these men are revered when we are not forgiven. That their wit is great, and many times their expressions noble, envy itself cannot deny. But the times were ignorant in which they lived. Poetry was then, if not in its infancy among us, at least not arrived to its vigour and maturity. Witness the lameness of their plots, many of which, especially those which they writ first—for even that age refined itself in some measure—were made up of some ridiculous, incoherent story. I suppose I need not name *Pericles Prince of Tyre*, and the historical plays of Shakespeare, besides many of the rest, as the *Winter's Tale*, *Love's Labour Lost*, *Measure for Measure*, which were either grounded on impossibilities, or at least so meanly written that the comedy neither caused your mirth, nor the serious part your concernment. . . . But these absurdities which those poets committed may more properly be called the age's fault than theirs. For, besides the want of education and learning, which was their particular unhappiness, they wanted the benefit of converse. Their audiences knew no better, and therefore were satisfied with what they brought. Those who call theirs the golden age of poetry have only this reason for it, that they were then content with acorns."

Dryden very prudently makes no direct attempt to prove the charge of being rude, obsolete, and obscure, which he brings so freely against Shakespeare's language. But he makes an indirect attempt to establish his position, which is worth notice, as showing how incompetent he really was to discuss the question. It was the fashion amongst the playwrights and critics of the Restoration to place Ben Jonson above all his contemporaries as the great master of correct and laboured comedy. He is always spoken of as learned, careful, and judicious, and the scholarly elaboration of his dramatic art is contrasted with Shakespeare's careless fertility of nature. Dryden attempts to establish his sweeping charge against the Elizabethan dramatists, by showing that

even Jonson's language is not unfrequently harsh and inaccurate, the conclusion being, that if a writer so careful and learned is found continually tripping, errors of all kinds must be expected in such ignorant and indifferent authors as Shakespeare and Fletcher. Dryden, indeed, formally draws this inference, and on the strength of it excuses himself from specifying any of the errors and solecisms to be found, as he tells us, in every page of Shakespeare's works. After specifying some of Jonson's alleged mistakes, "what correctness, after this," he asks, "can be expected from Shakespeare or from Fletcher, who wanted that learning and care which Jonson had? I will therefore spare my own trouble of inquiring into their faults, who, had they lived now, had doubtless written more correctly. I suppose it will be enough for me to affirm, as I think I safely may, that these and the like errors, which I taxed in the most correct of the last age, are such into which we do not ordinarily fall." The trouble, however, of specifying some of Shakespeare's errors was by no means so superfluous, as the examples from Jonson, on which he rests his whole charge against the Elizabethan dramatists, are all blunders. Instead of convicting Jonson of error, they simply convict his critic of ignorance. Seven instances of alleged error are given, but in each case Jonson is right and Dryden wrong. With regard to words, Dryden absurdly censures the use of *tre* as an archaism, an antiquated word; and the use of *port* in the sense of *gate*, as a novelty and "affected error," opposed to the English idiom, and introduced by Jonson in the spirit of mere pedantry. The fact is that *tre*, in place of being at all obsolete or antiquated, was freely used by Dryden's contemporaries, and even by himself, and that *port*, in the sense of *gate*, so far from being introduced by Jonson, is constantly used by Shakespeare and the Elizabethan writers, and was a good English word for a century at least before Jonson was born. Of grammatical errors he specifies the use of *be* in the plural for *are*, the double comparative, and the use of *one* in the plural *ones*, all of which, it need hardly be said, are amply supported by authoritative use up to Dryden's day, and the last continuously down to our own time. The remaining instance, illustrating, according to Dryden, errors both of etymology and syntax, is as follows :—

"Just men,  
Though heaven should speak with all his wrath  
at once,



That with his breath the hinges of the world  
Did crack, we should stand upright and *un-  
feared*.'

*His* is ill syntax with *heaven*, and by *unfeared* he means *unafraid*, words of a quite contrary signification." With regard to *his*, it is strange that Dryden should have been unaware that it was the regular possessive of the neuter pronoun, *its* being a comparatively modern formation, not generally used by good writers until after the Restoration. But it is clear that he was ignorant of this fact, which must have been in his own day a tolerably obtrusive one, as he raises the same objection against a previous passage, stigmatizing *his—his ire*—applied to a thunder-cloud, as a "false construction." It is almost equally strange that, having studied parts of Chaucer, and read with some care many of Shakespeare's plays, he should not have known that the English verb *fear*, like the Anglo-Saxon verb from which it is derived, was constantly used in the transitive sense of to frighten or terrify, and that *unfeared* in the sense of *unafraid* is therefore a perfectly legitimate compound.

The truth is, Dryden could not but perceive that there was a great difference between the poetic diction of his own day and that of the Elizabethan writers, and without having any definite or critical knowledge of the subject, he hastily concluded that the change was altogether for the better. This would be rendered all the more plausible from the fact that there was a marked improvement in some kinds of poetry, such as didactic satire and translation, in which he himself excelled. While even in his hands the drama had fallen so low, there is a vigour, a concentration and expressiveness about Dryden's poetical satires and translations that such works had not previously possessed. With the sure instinct of a masculine intellect and robust literary nature, he had seized the most expressive elements of current English, and turned them to admirable account in these works, and, with a pardonable self-love, he tried to maintain that the improvement extended to all departments of poetry. He knew that the dramatic vocabulary of his own day was greatly restricted, that it had lost the copiousness, variety, and luxuriance of the Elizabethan drama, and he persisted in regarding the restriction as an improvement. Under the stimulus of foreign influences and foreign example, he had moreover vague notions of refining the language by subjecting it to the formal revision of a central authority or academy, and at one time actually proposed a plan for carrying the notion into effect. The French language

had been permanently impoverished by this process of so-called refinement, and yielding almost unconsciously to the contagion of French classical theories and French academic influence, Dryden was anxious that the English language should be subjected to the same process and share the same fate.

Addison sympathized even more fully with French tastes and French classical theories of criticism. He was naturally, too, more refined and fastidious than Dryden, and his diction accordingly is more limited and select. He has far less acquaintance, moreover, with the great Elizabethan writers who had displayed in such noble forms the full resources of the language. From the evidence of his writings it seems indeed very doubtful whether he had ever read Shakespeare at all, or had any knowledge of his writings beyond a theatre-going acquaintance with one or two of his best-known plays. Mr. De Quincey broadly asserts that no reference to Shakespeare is to be found in Addison's writings.

"In particular," he says, "we shall here proclaim a discovery which we made twenty years ago. We, like others, from seeing frequent references to Shakespeare in the *Spectator*, had acquiesced in the common belief that, although Addison was no doubt profoundly unlearned in Shakespeare's language, and thoroughly unable to do him justice, yet that of course he had a vague popular knowledge of the mighty poet's cardinal dramas. Accident only led us into a discovery of our mistake. Twice or thrice we had observed, that if Shakespeare were quoted, that paper turned out not to be Addison's; and at length by express examination we ascertained the curious fact, that Addison has never in one instance quoted or made any reference to Shakespeare."

This statement is however altogether inaccurate, and the alleged discovery no discovery at all, Addison having quoted and criticised Shakespeare in the *Spectator*, as well as referred to him in some of his other writings. In his paper on "Stage Devices for Exciting Pity," he quotes a long extract from the ghost scene in *Hamlet*, and speaks of the appearance of the ghost as "a masterpiece of its kind, wrought up with all the circumstances that can create either attention or horror." And in a previous paper on English tragedy, as well as in his criticism of Milton, he repeats the commonplace Restoration reproach against Shakespeare, that his thoughts are often obscured "by the sounding phrases, hard metaphors, and forced expressions in which they are clothed." But Addison's writings contain no evidence of his having possessed any but the most superficial knowledge of Shake-



speare—the kind of knowledge naturally derived from seeing on the stage two or three of his more popular tragedies, “curtailed, adapted, and improved,” by such dealers in turgid sentiment and tawdry ornamentation as Tate and Lee. It is a noteworthy fact that many of the most accomplished and popular writers of the time, such as Addison and Shaftesbury, author of the *Characteristics*, hardly ever refer to Shakespeare except to point out his defects, or openly sneer at his “rude, unpolished style, and antiquated phrase and wit.” The truth is, all the dominant literary influences of the time were classical; either directly classical, flowing from the study of Greek and Roman writers, or indirectly classical, filtered through contemporary French literature. And these influences, while favourable to critical nicety, as well as to a certain finish and completeness in the imitative and secondary forms of literature, were unfavourable not only to the development of original genius, but to its appreciation in forms so unlike the approved types of classical excellence as the passionate dramas and romantic epics of the Elizabethan age. Addison represents these influences to the full, working under the most favourable conditions, and his choice vocabulary, his limited selection of words, must be regarded as an indirect criticism of the license of the older writers.

His direct references to language indicate the same verbal fastidiousness in the direction both of the old and the new. In his celebrated criticism of *Paradise Lost*, for example, he censures Milton for employing words and phrases too mean, familiar, and poor for poetic use. Of this alleged defect the following is the chief instance, the italics being Addison's own:—

“Embryos and idiots, eremites and friars,  
White, black, and grey, with all their *trumpery*,  
Here pilgrims roam.”—Bk. iii. 474.

Here the words in italics are objected to as mean and familiar. But the real question for criticism is not whether they are familiar, but whether they are appropriate and expressive; and this is soon answered. Nothing, surely, could be more appropriate than for the poet to follow the universal custom in designating the different orders of friars by the different colours of their dress. In no other way could he at once so briefly and vividly bring the motley groups before the reader's mind. The main force of Addison's objection to the passage is however most likely to be found in the word *trumpery*, which he knew probably

only in its secondary sense, in its more trivial and ludicrous associations.—the sense in which he himself uses it in the *Spectator*, as applying to mere fashionable vanities, to empty and worthless display. But in its primary meaning as an English word, as well as in its authoritative use for a century before Milton wrote, it had a deeper, more serious, and special signification. While it always carried with it the notion of parade and display, in its early use the parade and display were always made for the special purpose of craft and deception. It thus involved the idea of hollowness and imposture, and it was specially applied to the various expedients, sleights, and devices,—the vestments, genuflections, and ritualistic machinery of religious imposture. This central notion of fabrication and imposture is still retained in the verb to *trump up*, as when we say of some plausible but baseless narrative palmed off for purposes of deception, “it is a *trumped-up* story.” Like the French word from which it is derived, and its German cognates, the leading idea of the term is that of deception by means of hollow, worthless display, either to the senses or the mind. Thus, in Hackluyt's voyages, the writer, describing a Mahometan prophet or impostor, says, “He carried in his hand ‘a flagge or streamer set on a short spear painted,’ and at his back ‘a mat, bottels, and other *trumpery*.’” Again, in a popular theological work published during Milton's youth, we have, “The proudest Pharisee that ever shoud to the Lord all the pedlar's pack of the *trumpery* of his own justitiarie workes, we have him in the temple as busy as a bee praying, or prating at the least.” And Bishop Hall, referring expressly to the Romish ceremonial, exclaims, “What a world of fopperies these are, of crosses, of candles, of holy water, and salt and censings! Away with these *trumperies*.” A good example of its early use in the sense of craft or treachery occurs in the preface to Raleigh's *History of the World*. After commemorating the various unlawful means, the schemes of policy and violence, of fraud and force, by which ambitious English princes had seized the crown, and dwelling in detail on the stratagems and treacheries of Richard III., the diabolical cunning of his policy, and his ruthless murders, the author begins his summing up with the sentence, “Now as we have told the successes of the *trumperies* and *cruelties* of our own kings and our great personages, so we find that God is everywhere the true God.” And again in the sixth chapter, referring to the corruptions of the Biblical story of creation to be found amongst Pagan traditions, he



says, "The Greeks, and other more ancient nations, by fabulous inventions, and by breaking into parts the story of the creation, and by delivering it over in a mystical sense, wrapping it up mixed with their own *trumperie*, have sought to obscure the truth thereof." Now, considering the light in which Milton regarded the tawdry Romish ceremonial, and the solemn masquerade of its monkish orders, no single word probably could have been applied to them at once so compendious, descriptive, and appropriate as the word *trumpery*. At the close of the passage from which the extract is taken, the full significance of the allusion is expanded in harmony with the central meaning of the word as follows:—

"And now St. Peter at Heaven's wicket seems  
To wait them with his keys, and now at foot  
Of Heaven's ascent they lift their feet, when  
lo!

A violent cross-wind from either coast  
Blows them transverse, ten thousand leagues  
away,

Into the devious air. Then might ye see  
Cows, hoods, and habits, with their wearers,  
tost

And fluttered into rags; then reliques, beads,  
Indulgences, dispenses, pardons, bulls,  
The sport of winds; all these upwhirled aloft,  
Fly o'er the backside of the world far off,  
Into a limbo large and broad, since called  
The Paradise of Fools, to few unknown  
Long after, now unpeopled and untrod."

—Bk. iii. 484-97.

In a further criticism of the same passage, Addison again unconsciously reveals his ignorance of the great writers of the previous age. He suggests that Milton fabricated the word *eremite* out of *hermit* for the convenience of his verse. But the form "*eremite*," so far from being peculiar to Milton, is in common use amongst the Elizabethan writers. In the same criticism he tells us that there are in Milton's great poem several words of his own coining, and gives *embryon* and *miscreated* as illustrations. Both words are however to be found in the Elizabethan poets, the latter being used by Shakespeare himself, as well as by Spenser in his "*Faëry Queene*."

The limitation of Addison's urban dialect is further seen in his urging as a fault in Milton's style the use of such technical terms as *Doric pillars*, *cornice*, *frieze*, and *architrave*, in the description of buildings, and such phrases as *dropping from the zenith*, and *culminating from the equator*, in describing the appearance of shooting stars and the sun's noonday rays. In objecting to such words and phrases, Addison clearly has no perception of the true law with regard to the literary use of technical terms.

A poet is at perfect liberty to employ descriptive words of this kind if they have passed into general use, and so far lost their purely technical character as to be at once understood by all intelligent readers. The words and phrases condemned by Addison as unfit for poetry belong to this class. With regard to the architectural terms, *architrave* is perhaps the only one retaining anything of a specially technical character. But Pope does not consider even this term of art too technical for poetical use, as the following lines show:—

"Westward a simptuous frontispiece appear'd,  
On *Doric pillars* of white marble rear'd,  
Crown'd with an *architrave* of antique mould  
And sculpture rising on the roughen'd gold."

*Frieze* again occurs in one of Shakespeare's best-known and most beautiful passages, celebrated by Sir Joshua Reynolds as a fine example of what in painting is called *repose*—the short dialogue between Duncan and Banquo as they approach Macbeth's castle:—

"This guest of summer,  
The temple-haunting martlet, does approve,  
By his lov'd mansionry, that the heaven's  
breath

Smells wooingly here: no jutty, *frieze*,  
Buttress, nor coign of vantage, but this bird  
Hath made this pendent bed and procreant  
cradle."

With regard to the astronomical terms and phrases objected to by Addison the same reply is to be made. All of them, and many others of a like nature, are in common use amongst the poets, and especially amongst the more distinguished of Addison's own day, Dryden being specially fond of astronomical allusions.

Addison applies the same restrictive rule not only to words and phrases tinged with an archaic or technical hue, but to words and phrases of comparatively recent introduction, but which from their convenience had already come into general use. In a lively *Spectator* paper he complains of a jargon of French phrases describing military operations, and introduced by the late war, which are now to be found in every newspaper and gazette, as well as in conversation and private letters; and he gives as specimens of them,—*reconnoiter*, *pon-toon*, *defile*, *marauding*, *corps*, *gasconade*, *carte blanche*, *fosse*, and *commandant*. He virtually admits, however, that the protest against these and other neologisms was too late in emphasizing the fact of their universal use. Many of them were indeed employed as good English terms by more than one of his own literary contemporaries.



Pope had the keenest natural instinct for language, and, as a natural result of his active poetical labours, his range of expression is wider than Addison's. He is more tolerant both of the older and newer elements of expressive diction; and with all their exquisite finish, there are words and phrases to be found in his poems which Addison would probably never have used. But a poet cannot wholly dissociate himself from the dominant influences around him; and Pope still reflects the relative limitation that marks the literary and poetical vocabulary of his day. In a criticism of Phillip's Pastorals, for example, he censures the words *sheen*, *whilom*, *welkin*, *younglings*, *nurslings*, *witless*, as antiquated English; and elsewhere he condemns as archaic, *emprise*, *nathless*, *dulcet*, *paynim*, and *umbrageous*, with other words and phrases still belonging to the poetical vocabulary of the language. On the other hand, in the preface to his translation of Homer, he rejects amongst other terms the word *campaign* as too modern to be used in an epic poem.

Johnson's vocabulary and style constitute an indirect criticism of the language quite as one-sided as Addison's, though in a very different direction. In his horror of colloquial barbarisms and anxiety to avoid a too familiar style of writing, he adopted the over-Latinized swelling and sonorous diction that is identified with his name. In the words of Dryden criticising the style of his namesake, Ben Jonson, "he did a little too much Romanize our tongue, leaving the words which he translated almost as much Latin as he found them, wherein, though he learnedly followed their language, he did not enough comply with the idiom of ours." But, unlike Addison, he could relish styles wholly different from his own, and appreciate forms of literary and poetical excellence opposed to the current taste of his day, and in many cases openly condemned by its more artificial canons of literary judgment. His defence of Shakespeare's dramatic art against the charge of being rude, irregular, and incongruous, urged by classical purists and pedants on both sides of the Channel, shows a much wider range of critical insight than was common at the time. But in dealing critically with language he does not always show an equal freedom from contemporary prejudice, and some of his incidental criticisms of Shakespeare's diction strongly illustrate the exclusive notions that prevailed. To enforce the criticism that poetry is degraded, and the reader's mind alienated and disquieted by low and mean expressions, he takes the following example:—

"When Macbeth is confirming himself in the horrid purpose of stabbing his king, he breaks out amidst his emotions into a wish natural to a murderer—

'Come thick night,  
And pall thee in the dunnest smoke of hell,  
That my keen knife see not the wound it makes,  
Nor heaven peep through the blanket of the dark,  
To cry, Hold, hold!'

In this passage is exerted all the force of poetry, that force which calls new powers into being, which embodies sentiment and animates matter. Yet perhaps scarce any man now peruses it without some disturbance of his attention from the counteraction of the words to the ideas. What can be more dreadful than to implore the presence of night, invested not in common obscurity, but in the smoke of hell? Yet the efficacy of this invocation is destroyed by the insertion of an epithet now seldom heard but in the stable, and *dun* night may come and go without any other notice than contempt."

That Johnson should have been capable of thus deliberately attributing to her husband Lady Macbeth's celebrated soliloquy, shows, perhaps, a less intimate acquaintance with the play than might have been fairly expected from an author who had recently published a criticism of it, and already issued proposals for a new edition of Shakespeare. But, apart from this, the criticism itself is singularly unfortunate. The names of colours have in themselves no inherent dignity or meanness, but depend for their suggestive significance on the object to which they are applied, and Johnson might just as pertinently have objected to this particular colour because it is associated in popular sayings, as well as in poetry, and that even by Shakespeare himself, with the "magnanimous mouse." With regard to the word *dun*, the truth is that, so far from being unfit for poetical use, it is habitually employed by our best poets to paint a dusky brown or dark grey, the heavy mixture of white and black with a faint tinge of colour. Thus Chaucer applies it to the eagle's feathers, other writers to the dark marbled hue of the sea-lion, the larger kind of seal, and others to the dusky tinge belonging to natives of the East. But the word has a special appropriateness in this passage, because it is chiefly used in poetry to describe heavy masses of moving cloud, especially as seen in the obscurity of dawn or evening, when faint light begins to fleck the darkened east, or the sombre west "still glimmers with some streaks of day." Chaucer uses it to describe the gloaming, and Milton, both in *Comus* and in *Paradise Lost*, to picture the deepening shades of night. From its use in this connexion *dun* was very nat-



urally employed to describe the dense rolling columns of artificial cloud produced by the sulphurous smoke of hidden fires, and of its application in this sense, the same as Shakespeare's, we have many good examples in modern poetry. Thus in Bowles' *Battle of the Nile*—

"But now the mingled fight  
Begins its awful strife again  
Through the *dun* shades of night  
Along the darkly-heaving main  
Is seen the frequent flash:  
And many a tow'ring mast with dreadful crash  
Rings falling: Is the scene of slaughter o'er?  
Is the death-cry heard no more?  
Lo! where the East a glimm'ring freckle  
streaks,  
Slow o'er the shadowy wave the grey dawn  
breaks."

And in the better known poem of *Hohenlinden*—

"Tis morn, but scarce yon level sun  
Can pierce the war-clouds rolling *dun*,  
Where furious Frank and fiery Hun  
Shout in their sulph'rous canopy."

A similar reply may be made to a further criticism of Johnson's on the same passage. "We cannot surely," he says, "but sympathize with the horrors of a wretch about to murder his master, his friend, his benefactor, who suspects that the weapon will refuse its office, and start back from the breast which he is preparing to violate. Yet this sentiment is weakened by the name of an instrument used by butchers and cooks in the meanest employments. We do not immediately conceive that any crime of importance is to be committed with a *knife*; or who does not at least, from the long habit of connecting a knife with sordid offices, feel aversion rather than terror?" It need hardly be said to those who know anything of our early poetry, that the word *knife* is employed in exactly the same way, to designate the instrument of a murderer, by Chaucer, and continually by Spenser, to say nothing of its abundant use by Shakespeare's contemporaries, the Elizabethan dramatists. It has, moreover, a peculiar appropriateness, being, from its facilities of concealment, specially employed in connexion with stealthy crime, with swift and teacherous assassination. Shakespeare himself speaks more than once of "treason's knife," "treason's secret knife," and in Lady Macbeth's terrible invocation no other word could be substituted for it without weakening the effect of the passage. But from want of familiarity with the truth and freshness of our earlier poetry, these, and numberless other simple and expressive terms, had lost their special significance even to

VOL. I.

N—4

the more cultivated readers, not only of Johnson's time, but of the whole period to which he belonged. Even Dryden, for example, seems to have a fellow-feeling with Johnson in his objection to the poetical use of the word *knife*, for in remodelling Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida*, he substitutes the word *sword* for it, and the change must be assumed to rank amongst the improvements which he claims to have effected in Shakespeare's language. In the preface to his revision, Dryden says, "I undertook to remove the heaps of rubbish with which many excellent thoughts lay wholly buried;" adding, "I need not say that I have refined his language, which before was obsolete." The passages in question are worth quoting as a specimen of the manner in which Dryden did his work, and as throwing light on the taste and feeling of the time, as represented by its foremost poet and critic. In Shakespeare, *Troilus* says:—

"I tell thee, I am mad  
In Cressid's love: thou answer'st 'She is fair,  
Pour'st in the open ulcer of my heart,  
Her eyes, her hair, her cheek, her gait, her  
voice;  
Handlest in thy discourse, O, that her hand,  
In whose comparison all whites are ink,  
Writing their own reproach; to whose soft  
seizure  
The cygnet's down is hard, and spirit of sense  
Hard as the palm of ploughman!—This thou  
tell'st me,  
As true thou tell'st me, when I say I love her;  
But saying this, instead of oil and balm,  
Thou lay'st in every gash that love hath given  
me,  
The *knife* that made it."

This exquisite passage is improved and "refined" by Dryden as follows:—

"Oh, Pandarus, when I tell thee I am mad  
In Cressid's love, thou answer'st she is fair;  
Praisest her eyes, her stature, and her wit;  
But praising these, instead of oil and palm,  
Thou lay'st in every wound *her* love has given  
me,  
The *sword* that made it."

In Shakespeare the two last lines are a grand personification of intense elemental feeling, expressed in the simplest, most direct, and poignant words. According to the commonplace poetical machinery, Cupid is said to pierce the susceptible bosom with his arrows, but this cold and distant fancy pales before the white heat of *Troilus'* passion, and love, transformed to a mortal foe, armed with the murderer's weapon, rushes on his defenceless victim, and with reiterated stabs gashes the suffering heart. But in Dryden's version, the whole force of the conception, as well as the fire of the words, is lost, by the mere introduction of the pronoun, and,



the passion gone, the further changes simply reduce the concentrated utterance of intense emotion to a conventional sentiment clothed in incongruous phrase. This illustrates the process of improving Shakespeare's diction by excluding common words "connected with sordid offices," which found favour not only with the dramatists of the Restoration, who could hardly be expected to appreciate the language of real passion, but to a certain extent with Johnson himself. At least, as we have seen, Johnson unites with critics of the same age and school in condemning the use of such terms. The great critic was indeed haunted with the notion, common to many of his immediate predecessors, of refining and fixing the language so as finally to exclude all rustic and vulgar elements from the authorized vocabulary of the lettered and polite. Dryden, as we have seen, had a vague idea of establishing an academy for this purpose, and Swift formally addressed a letter to the Earl of Oxford, suggesting that, as a member of the Government, he should take the initiative in devising some means for "ascertaining and fixing the language for ever, after such alterations are made in it as shall be thought requisite." This notion of circumscribing the language within some artificial boundary was indeed the dominant conception on the subject of the whole period, from the days of Dryden, who reigned at its commencement, to those of Johnson, who saw its close, and whose Dictionary, the partial realization of his original plan, was published about the eighteenth century.

Early in the second half of the eighteenth century the tide of conventional restriction began almost imperceptibly to turn. In the works of Collins, Goldsmith, and Thomson, the despotic influences of the town and the Court are somewhat relaxed, and there is, at least, a partial return to the simplicity of nature—to the varied charm of rural sights and sounds, and the moving realities of a more homely human experience. The works of Percy, Crabbe, Cowper, and Burns fed the rising tide until the fountains of the great deep were once more broken up by the French Revolution following the American War. The criticism of the eighteenth century, cold and negative as it sometimes appeared, had at length done its work, and a work of unexpected magnitude it proved to be. It struck a mortal blow at theories of feudal privileges and divine right, which had become prolific sources of evil; and gradually undermined the despotic institutions that were fatal barriers to human progress, until at last they fell with a crash, and there swept over them the wild tumultuous tide of

emancipated humanity. These great events stirred the intellect and heart, not only of England but of Europe. But one of the most striking effects on our literature of this moral upheaval is the exuberance of original poetic genius that marked the opening decades of the present century. The names of Scott, Byron, Wordsworth, Southey, Coleridge, Campbell, Shelley, Keats, not to mention others of equal rank though of more recent fame, represent an age of original imaginative power and productiveness second only to the Elizabethan. The literary influence of the profound reaction produced by the critical movement of the eighteenth century has however been often traced, and in its general outline is tolerably well known to the majority of intelligent readers. But, as in the case of the Elizabethan period, the influence on the national speech of this great original movement of the national mind, has never yet been carefully analysed, and only noticed at all in a very partial and imperfect manner. As might, however, have been expected from the circumstances of the case, the movement had a direct and powerful influence on the vocabulary of the language. The change is, moreover, well worth detailed notice, both for its own sake, and for the sake of the deeper tendencies and characteristics of the modern period of which it is a striking sign and index. Though, like all natural developments, gradual and for the most part unperceived, it nevertheless represents a revolution in the resources of literary and current English, greater than any that had taken place since the formation of the language, with the exception of the Elizabethan era. As the causes affecting the national mind in the two periods were to some extent similar, so there is a likeness in the effects. In both, the national intellect was roused by the commanding impulse of great public events, the national heart stirred to its depths by fresh interests and more generous sympathies, and the national imagination quickened by the exciting stimulus of new and glorious hopes. But in the modern period the national movement had a wider sweep, and was naturally of a more self-conscious and reflective character. Towards the close of the sixteenth century the dominant feeling was a national one, the strong desire to secure and maintain complete independence,—scope for the free manifestation of the nation's energies, and the full development of its civil and ecclesiastical life. But at the end of the eighteenth century, wider thoughts and sympathies, quickened by the stirring of new life in other lands than our own, modified the isolated conception of nationality that had hitherto



ruled the English mind with undisputed sway. Under the liberalizing stimulus of larger vital interests, the limited notion of nationality, of national welfare as an exclusive end, broadened, deepened, and expanded into that of humanity at large. The more open, sensitive, and eager minds of the time, as well as the more far-seeing and reflective, were stirred with a truer and more enlarged notion of liberty and justice as the indispensable conditions of real progress everywhere. They were kindled to righteous indignation against bondage of every kind, social and political, intellectual and spiritual, and keenly sympathized with the rising struggles of long oppressed European peoples to throw off the yoke of hereditary despotic rule, and secure for themselves the national liberty and independence essential to the development of higher individual character and progressive national life.

This new conception of nations being bound together by common interests and relationships, soon enriched our own language with a new word for its expression. Coleridge justly says that any new word expressing a fact or relationship, not expressed by any other word in the language, is a new organ of thought; and this is true of the term *international*, a coinage of our own century, which aptly expresses one of its most characteristic and operative conceptions. We are now so familiar with the term, and the idea it expresses, that it is difficult to realize fully the extreme recentness of both. Hardly any conception is however at once more thoroughly novel, and more expressive of the modern spirit, than that represented by the term *international*. For though the word, it is true, does not necessarily denote friendly interests and relationships, it was originally introduced to express them, and since its introduction has been largely used for the same purpose. It was not, indeed, until the perception of common interests and connexions between nations had risen into importance, and occupied the attention of public writers and speakers, that the want of a term to express them was generally felt or adequately supplied. A more advanced phase of the same conception is expressed by another word, wholly new, and less suited, perhaps, to the genius of the language, but which, nevertheless, has already passed into reputable use, and will, probably, on account of its convenience, be ultimately adopted. This is the word *solidarity*, as in the phrase "solidarity of the peoples," first popularized by Kossuth during his visit to this country after the revolutionary movement of 1848. It is employed to denote essential community of interest and obliga-

tion between nations, to express the fact that different peoples, so far from being, according to the traditional view, rivals and antagonists, are one in the higher conditions of welfare and progress, have common duties and responsibilities, and, as members of the same family, ought to unite in efforts for the promotion of the common good; or, to vary the metaphor, as soldiers fighting under the same banner share together the hardships and perils to be encountered in securing the triumph of the common cause.

This expansion of social and political interests had a powerful intellectual effect, and helped directly to widen the horizon in every department of inquiry, in history and philosophy, science and literature. In pure literature the effect was perhaps most immediately seen in the opening up of fresh and living sources of interest in every department of imaginative activity. The poets, in particular, looked at nature and human life no longer through the medium of books and traditional representations, or artificial lights and conventional draperies, but face to face; and in the growing light and kindling rapture of that open vision, the whole universe of life, including its most familiar objects and experiences, was completely transfigured. The obscuring veil of custom was rent, the indurating scales of indifference fell away, and this goodly frame, the earth, o'ercanopied with this majestical roof, "fretted with golden fire," and peopled by this quintessence of breathing dust, so noble in reason and infinite in faculty, appeared once more, as it ever does to the purified and observant eye, in all the dewy freshness and beauty of a new creation. The multitude of new thoughts and feelings and experiences arising from this quickened creative activity of the intellect, imagination, and affections, demanded to some extent, at least, a new vehicle for their full and appropriate expression. The limited vocabulary of the satirical and didactic poetry of the eighteenth century was, in fact, almost ludicrously inadequate to the larger wants and requirements of the lyrical, descriptive, and dramatic poets of the nineteenth. Some of its more conventional elements were moreover unsuitable from their artificial character. Hence Wordsworth's vigorous protest against "what is usually called poetical diction," the adulterated phraseology arising from a lavish but wholly mechanical use of figures of speech and stereotyped metaphorical phrases, as simply a hindrance and a snare to the true poet of nature. Throwing aside this useless lumber, the representatives of the new and natural school of poetry sought in all directions, wherever they could



be found, the materials of a more simple and expressive, as well as of a more rich, copious, and varied imaginative diction. Some, like Wordsworth and Southey, recalled to poetical use the homely but significant terms belonging to the dialect of rustic and common life. Others, like Coleridge and Keats, passing over the uncongenial school of the previous century, betook themselves to the living study of the Elizabethan poets, especially Spenser and Shakespeare, and in their own writings recalled to use many picturesque expressions belonging to that noble school. Others, like Scott, and even Byron, roamed at will amongst the literary treasures of the past, visiting the byways as well as the highways of its poetic literature, and enriching their vocabulary from various sources, but especially from the fugitive lyrical and ballad poetry north and south of the Tweed. The modern lyrical poets, Burns and the Ettrick Shepherd, and a number of less distinguished bards, such as Leyden, Bowles, and Clare, Beattie, Graham, and Wilson, fed their poetical feeling from the same living springs, and helped in the same way to vitalize the vehicle of their poetic art. From these various sources large additions to the plastic medium of poetry were gradually made; and in the first quarter of the century a stream of expressive words from the older language of feeling and imagination passed into our current speech. In the second quarter of the century, this process of enriching the language by recalling to use its neglected stores of expressive diction has been carried still further by a new generation of poets and writers of fiction. This important work of a reflective expansion is still actively going forward, and as the result of it we have now in use hundreds, and even thousands, of words that were neglected or unknown during the greater part of the eighteenth century. The late Professor Craik, for example, who was on many grounds well entitled to speak on such a question, says, in discussing this very subject and period—the diction of the last half-century—that when a word has, from whatever cause, dropped out of use, it seems “nearly as impossible to recall it to a really living and working condition as to raise the dead in any other case.” And he concludes with the broad statement that “very little of genuine revivification has ever been accomplished in human speech;” adding, “You will sooner introduce into a language a hundred or a thousand new words than you will re-establish in the general acceptance ten old ones that have been sometimes thrown aside.” What is here suggested with regard to the ease with which new words are introduced is no

doubt true. During the last half-century our vocabulary has been enlarged by the addition of a vast number of new words and fresh forms. In particular, the inherent vitality of the language has been vindicated by the formation of a number of new and expressive compounds that have already passed into general use, and enriched the resources of literary and current English. But the largest additions of all have been made from the very sources which Professor Craik regards as least likely to furnish any,—the nervous diction of older thinkers and poets. We venture to say, as the result of a somewhat careful and prolonged study of the materials essential to a judgment on the question, that the words from this source—from the more archaic and obsolescent element of the language—added to the vocabulary during the present century, must be numbered not by tens but by hundreds, if not by tens of hundreds. This is a sweeping assertion, but it admits of detailed and rigorous proof. The details of this proof, however, it would be impossible to comprise even in outline within the already exhausted space of the present article, and they must therefore be reserved for a subsequent paper.

---

ART. IV.—*Annals of St. Paul's Cathedral*.  
By HENRY HART MILMAN, D.D., late  
Dean of St. Paul's. London: Murray.  
1868.

IN welcoming this last fruit of a noble tree, we are naturally led to look back over the older memorials of the author's long and distinguished labours. Born early in 1791, the son of a Court physician, who “was honoured during his professional career,” as his son was happy to commemorate, “by the distinguished favour of” his sovereign,\* Milman enjoyed the best opportunities of culture which England then could furnish, under Dr. Burney and at Eton and at Oxford. His reputation dates from a time when the present leaders of thought had not begun their course, and recalls or anticipates the age of many who have passed away before him full of honour. He records with some emotion that Heber was his “early friend” (p. 488); and he contributed to Heber's Hymnal some of its most cherished and familiar pieces. It is nearly fifty years since

---

\* Dedication of Milman's Bampton Lectures to George IV., 1827.



his longer poems were attaining the highest point of their popularity. Dr. Newman, his junior by nine or ten years, looked up to him in his youth as "a rising man of brilliant reputation."<sup>\*</sup> In the Oxford class-list his name stands next to that of J. G. Lockhart. In the prize-list it is surrounded by such names as those of Sir J. T. Coleridge, Lord Derby (eight years his junior), Whately, Keble, Arnold, and Hampden. His Bampton Lectures furnished illustrations for Archbishop Whately's *Rhetoric*.<sup>†</sup> He held the chair of Poetry before Mr. Keble. His *Annals of St. Paul's* are full of recollections which carry us back among scenes and persons now belonging to history. He was confirmed at Eton by Pretymann, then Bishop of Lincoln (p. 472). The "ineffaceable memory" of the voice of Bishop Porteus dwells on his ear "after a lapse of nearly seventy years" (p. 468). He "heard, or fancied that" he "heard, the low wail of the sailors" who bore the body of Nelson to his grave (p. 485). The name of Hallam is "dear to" him, "from long reverential friendship" (p. 491). Yet no man ever kept up to the last a more living connexion with every passing movement of the intellect; so that all men felt him to belong to the present by sympathy and interest, as fully as in memory and reputation he belonged to the past. And whatever he did was well done, and was crowned with appropriate success. His clerical life was full and prosperous, from his Reading vicarage, through a canonry of Westminster and the rectory of St. Margaret's, to the deanery of St. Paul's. But his earlier Oxford life was equally complete and rounded. A first class, when a first class was a very high distinction, every one of the four great annual prizes, a fellowship, the Bampton Lecture, and the Poetry professorship, together form an outline of an Oxford career which could scarcely be surpassed. Dean Stanley calls his Newdigate "the most perfect of all Oxford prize-poems;" and Dean Stanley himself wrote a Newdigate, which a third illustrious winner of that prize, Professor Wilson, called "the best prize-poem since Heber's 'Palestine.'"<sup>‡</sup> These four names, Heber, Wilson, Milman, and Stanley, are about the brightest in the series of the Newdigate prizemen, and Milman stands out as, upon the whole, the foremost of the four.

But beyond all this, Dean Milman was a

rare instance of that kind of growth which widens and strengthens with its stature; carries up breadth, as we may say, along with height, so that his end was even greater than the promise of his outset. Excepting the few hymns to which we have referred, his poetry has already passed away from the ear and memory of the nation. Excepting, and scarcely excepting, one or two passages, his Bampton Lectures are forgotten.<sup>\*</sup> His earliest historical work was an anonymous contribution to the unpretending series of the Family Library; and the outcry raised by the novelties of its style and mode of interpretation was not kept in check by any special signs of massive strength about the workmanship. No one could have foreseen that it would have formed the prelude, through an intermediate publication of mixed character, to a production like the *History of Latin Christianity*, a book of grand proportions and comprehensive scope; a book which soars above its rivals (if indeed it has any in English) like the dome of St. Paul's above the London churches; a book which must always be counted among the few works holding the highest rank as masterpieces of the English tongue.

Eminent as he was, alike as poet, scholar, essayist, and preacher, it is as historian that he fills the largest space in our literature, and will secure the most enduring place among great writers. It was his good fortune to find a distinct place unoccupied, and to occupy it with a completeness which has made him its master. If Gibbon first built a strong bridge between the ancient and the modern world, compacting into that stately fabric all the wrecks and fragments of information which had survived the deluge of barbarian inroads, Milman raised another structure of scarcely less imposing grandeur,—to trace the human aspects of Church history through the long period of its greatest splendour, as it was carried on by the strong practical energy of the Latin race from the point to which it had been advanced by the more speculative Greek intellect. A third task still awaits its architect, but Milman foreshadowed its place and its plan,—a history of Christianity as it was shaped at a later date by the peculiar characteristics of the Teutonic races, to form a platform for the history of the Church of the future.

The *Annals of St. Paul's*, with their narrower subject and their nearer interests, formed an appropriate work for his old age. Never did he write a more attractive volume; but his editors are surely to blame

<sup>\*</sup> *Apologia*, p. 76.

<sup>†</sup> Bampton Lectures, p. 269 seq; Whately's *Rhetoric*, p. 451, ed. 1846. Compare *History of Christianity*, i. 428, note, ed. 1868.

<sup>‡</sup> *McMillan's Magazine*, Jan. 1869, p. 168; *Blackwood's Magazine*, Oct. 1837, p. 556.

<sup>\*</sup> We observe, however, an instance of reference to them in a recent work, Dr. Roberts' *Discussions on the Gospels*, 1864, pp. 10, 24.



for the state in which it is published. The book is everywhere disfigured by errors of the press, to an extent which the long list of errata by no means covers.\* We should gladly make excuses for broken sentences, miscopied dates, and small confusions between one name and another, rather than have wished to task the eye of the venerable author by imposing on him the tedium of revision. But surely he had relatives who should have found a pleasure in discharging so pious a duty. A young man's memory could not fail to supply the lapses into which an old man's memory, however wonderful, would sometimes fall. Here is an instance, or rather two instances together:—

"The wiser defender of the Church of England, Richard Hooker (*I wish that I could find the name of Hooker among the preachers at the Cross or in the Cathedral*), had not yet come forward; the 'Ecclesiastical Polity' appeared in 1594. Richard Bancroft rose to London and to Canterbury; Richard Hooker died *Master of the Temple*" (p. 303).

To use his own phrase (p. 31), the Dean is not well up in his Walton. Within a very few pages he refers to "those charming popular biographies by Isaak Walton, which will last as long as English literature lasts" (p. 323). How could author or editor forget that curious narrative in one of those biographies, which tells how Hooker went to London "*to preach at St Paul's Cross*;" how he stayed at "*the Shunammite's house*," with the unlucky sequel of his visit; how the Bishop of London was among his hearers; and how "the justifying of his doctrine did not prove of so bad consequence, as the kindness of Mrs. Churchman's curing him of his late distemper and cold"?† For the other point, it is well known that Mr. Hooker left the Temple for the seclusion of a country parsonage several years before his death,—a correction which would even strengthen the argument of the passage.

Considering the grounds of Dean Milman's chief claims to distinction, it is not unnatural that his main interest turns on the more lettered of his predecessors in the deanery of St. Paul's. There were other

Deans for whom he shows much less respect. As for the Canons, a most important element in that great corporation, he tells us very little about them individually, except when he passes a strong condemnation on their behaviour towards their illustrious architect. We begin by quoting a few passages in which he gives expression to his personal predilections and antipathies:—

"Radulph de Diceto built the Deanery of St. Paul's, inhabited after him by many men of letters; before the Reformation by the admirable Colet, who may compensate for many names; after the Reformation, by Alexander Nowell, Donne, Sancroft, who rebuilt the mansion after the fire, Stillingfleet, Tillotson, W. Sherlock, Butler, Becker, Newton, Van Mildert, Coplestone [*read Copleston*]. As a lover of letters, I might perhaps without presumption add another name" (p. 39).

"According to the theory of Colet (strange that the Dean of St. Paul's in the nineteenth century should find the views which he has long held so nearly anticipated by the Dean of the sixteenth)," etc. (p. 116).

"The Dean of St. Paul's of the present day thanks God that he is spared such trials as leave a blot, at all events a dark suspicion, on the fame of his pious and learned predecessor," viz., Nowell, in his conference with Campian (p. 306).

"Donne is the only Dean of St. Paul's, till a very late successor, who was guilty of poetry" (p. 324).

"In this respect alone, I am not heartily ashamed of my clerical forefathers. With all my admiration of [Wren's] first design, I cannot regret the prolongation of the nave, or its expansion into the Latin Cross" (p. 403). For their conduct to Wren "I would willingly draw a veil over the shame of my predecessors; but the inexorable duty of the historian forbids all disguise, all reticence" (p. 436). "My Etonian reverence for the good provost (Godolphin) will hardly mitigate my strong reprobation of his conduct to Sir Christopher Wren while Dean of St. Paul's (p. 458).

It might console the shades of those whom he has neglected to note, that he thinks just as little of many of the Bishops of London, who pass across his page like the figures of a pageant, or like the phantoms of a dream, which "come like shadows, so depart:"—

"We have a long barren list of Teutonic names of Bishops, barbarously Latinized, not one of whom has left his mark in history, or even in legend. St. Dunst on alone passes over the throne of London on his way to Canterbury. . . . The list of deans is even more dreary, obscure, and imperfect; a few Saxon-sounding names, and no more" (p. 12).

"Robert [*read Richard*] de Belmeis," the second of that name, "was bishop for ten silent years" (p. 28).

"During the sixty years of the thirteenth [fourteenth] century," 1304–1364, "seven bishops passed over the see of London," of whom

\* e. g., p. 168, for "it was overlooked" read "it overlooked;" p. 286, for "Gulls' Handbook" read "Gull's Hornbook," etc., etc. Many other errors have been already pointed out elsewhere. But for one so-called "slip" which has been charged against the book the critic who complains is himself responsible. Dean Milman has been accused of calling Waller "the best of poets," p. 342. The words are a quotation from *Denham's verses* inserted just before, and they ought to have been distinguished by quotation marks. The irony is sufficiently obvious.

† Keble's Hooker, *Life by Walton*, pp. 22, 23 ed., 1841. "That which I taught was at *Paul's Cross*." —Hooker, *Answer to Travers*, *Works*, iii, 576.



"hardly one has left his mark in history" (p. 69).

"After the long episcopate of Thomas Kemp followed a rapid line of prelates, mostly undistinguished, and who passed over the throne of London to higher places" (p. 111).

"The majestic figure of Wolsey passes, on more than one occasion, over the pavement of St. Paul's (p. 175). (Mentioned as if by way of contrast.)

"The Bishops of London during the reign of King James I. (with two exceptions) were not men of great distinction even in their own day" (pp. 315, 319).

"Before the Elizabethan Reformation, the Deans of St. Paul's (with three exceptions) . . . left no mark on their age, and have sunk into oblivion" (p. 322).

"Of the eight bishops who filled the see of London during the eighteenth century, three only have left a name. . . . The rest were decent, worthy prelates, and from their quiet thrones have sunk into quiet oblivion" (p. 456).

"There was then (1761-1777) a rapid succession of decent prelates, who no doubt discharged their functions with quiet dignity, and lived their blameless lives in respect and in esteem" (p. 464).

A leading charm in all Dean Milman's writings, is their chastened humour and urbanity; and especially the gentle irony through which he suggests a regret or disapprobation which he does not wish to express:—

"Dr. Hampden, who . . . promised to be the English historian of this remarkable chapter in the history of the human mind, has *sunk into a quiet bishop*" (*Hist. Lat. C.* ix. 101, note, ed. 1864).

"I have read the splendid quarto volume of M. Carle, *Histoire de la Vie et des Ecrits de S. Thomas d'Aquin*, of which I much admire the *—type*" (*ib.* 187, note).

"Bishop Fitz James had watched with keen jealousy all Colet's proceedings, and with still gathering alarm at the popularity of the Dean. The Bishop reposed in pleasant indolence at Fulham (*except for an occasional persecution*)" *St. Paul's*, p. 121). He had just before called Fitz James "one of those high-born churchmen, *piously ignorant and conscientiously blind*, with whom a hair's-breadth deviation from established usage and opinion is insolence, sin, *worse than sin—heresy*" (p. 120).

"Many causes conspired to break up this magnificent theory of cathedral worship. . . . Throughout the good old rule prevailed, that there should be one to perform the duty while the other secured the emoluments" (p. 134).

King John of France "gave the Dean five florin nobles, of which the petty canon officiating had his share. *What share we are not told*" (p. 152).

"It appears that the audacious vergers and bell-ringers of the Cathedral had the evil habit of appropriating to themselves the countless wax-lights and tapers, after they had burned long enough on the shrines and tombs. The Dean and Canons put an end to this godless

profit of their servants, and ordered the extinguished lights to be carried to a room under the chapter-house, and there *melted for the benefit of the Dean and Residentiaries*" (p. 154).

"The whole body of St. Mellitus, of which the Cathedral once boasted, seems to have dwindled down to his two arms, *one large and one small*" (p. 155).

"The Ritualist of our day may read in Dugdale—if he can read for tears of fond but vain regret—the pages which recount the gorgeous robes," etc. (p. 229).

Granting that every side should be well represented in the conflict of opinion, it is every way a gain that the party of progress and freedom should have had a representative like Milman, the graces of whose style had a tendency to deprive opposition of its sting. Vehement as he sometimes was in condemning past abuses, yet when dealing with the more exciting topics of existing controversies, his style more commonly exemplified the balanced judgment, which was free from the impatience and precipitancy by which popular verdicts are too often degraded. It is the danger of popular leaders to be irritable and captious; sometimes over-eager,—sometimes, on the other hand, too cold and unsympathizing. Dean Milman showed no wish to lead at all. But whenever his position and pronounced opinions forced him to the front, he brought a temper to the contest which seemed all but faultless. He always declared himself to be peculiarly averse to ecclesiastical controversy. He shows it by waiving off disputed questions with a courteous smile, rather than an eager contradiction. As one might say, he rather *bows out* an opponent, than dismisses him with rude decision. Thus he had no love for "the sterile debates of Convocation" (p. 289), which he shows by saying that "St. Paul's acquiesces, *with more than submission*, in the loss of her ancient dignity," by its removal to Westminster (p. 179). He has as little belief in the value of its censorial judgments; so he remarks, on the condemnation passed upon a book of Bishop Hare's, that "it must be supposed that the censure of Convocation had the same effect then as now. The copy of the obnoxious work now before me is *of the ninth edition*" (p. 459.) We may observe, throughout his notices of the Reformation, how quickly his temper resumes its habitual balance, after it has been stirred by the excesses of either party. "The worst enemies of the Reformation were," he says, "the Reformers" (p. 220). Yet "if the Reformers saw not how or where to draw the fine and floating and long obscured line between religion and superstition, who shall dare to arraign them?" (p. 231.) On one side, again, let us not transfer the blame for



a hateful policy to the present Roman Catholics; "they have a right to cast off the terrible heritage bequeathed to them by darker ages" (p. 295). On another side, let us not "avouch" too readily "Mr. Buckle's dismal view of the religion of Scotland;" though "there is too much truth in the darker part," he "deliberately closed his eyes to all its better influences" (p. 269, note). He kindles into enthusiasm when he speaks of the advantages which have flowed from the Royal supremacy in England, pointing out with gratitude how "it has saved" the English Church "from sacerdotalism in both its forms," as well from episcopal as from presbyterian Hildebrandism; how it "has settled down into the supremacy of law—law administered by ermine, not by lawn, by dispassionate judges, by a national court of justice; not by a synod of Bishops and a clamorous Convocation" (p. 269).

But we are diverging too soon from the consideration of his style, with its peculiarities, which invite further comment before we pass to deeper questions. It is instructive to compare it with the style of Gibbon, on whose pages he was long and usefully employed as commentator, before he happily assumed the position of an equal. He seemed to catch a reflection from the mind with which he was so long in contact; though indeed his varied sympathies have veined his pages with reminiscences of many other writers. When he tells us, for instance, that Edmund Rich fled from the Archbishopric of Canterbury, and ended by "*sinking into a saint*" (p. 47), we are reminded of Byron's line, "The hero sunk into the king." When he speaks of the "dreary November day" on which a Council gathered at St. Paul's (p. 49), or of "the dull, dubious light of a November day" (p. 492), we suspect, perhaps more doubtfully, an echo from the style of Mr. Froude (*e.g.*, *H. E.* vi. 283-7). It would be easy to pick out sentences which are tinged with the peculiar rhetoric of Lord Macaulay. But Gibbon is the writer to whom, in this as in many other respects, he bears the closest relation. Not that he was in any sense a servile imitator. His burnished paragraphs, his masses of parenthetical clauses, his complex constructions, are peculiarly his own. His style is less monotonous than that of Gibbon. His rhetoric is in general as much more flexible as his tone is invariably more pure.

It was Gibbon's favourite habit to cast his epigrams into the form of triplets; as in the familiar instance where he says that "the various modes of worship which prevailed in the Roman world were all considered as *equally true*, by the philosopher as

*equally false*, and by the magistrate as *equally useful*" (i. 165, ed. 1854). Compare the following sentence of Dean Milman's:—"The sins of the citizens of London must have been *surprisingly light*, the penances *surprisingly easy*, or their faith *surprisingly weak*, if from this time the cathedral was wanting in ample and copious support" (*St. Paul's*, p. 160). It would be difficult to decide from the isolated quotations, whether Gibbon or Milman wrote such sentences as the following:—"I believe in the columns, I doubt the inscription, and I reject the pedigree" (Gibbon, v. 121, note). "The past he regretted, he was discontented with the present, and the future he had reason to dread" (vi. 23). "The rector of Honiton has more gratitude than industry, and more industry than criticism" (vii. 350, note). Froissart "read little, inquired much, and believed all" (viii., 32, note.) We often find sentences as terse in Milman:—"Faith makes martyrs; fanaticism makes martyrs; logic makes none" (*St. Paul's*, p. 96). But as a general rule they are lengthier and less condensed in their construction. "The *slow*, perhaps not yet *complete*, certainly not *general*, development of a rational and intellectual religion" (*Hist. Christ.*, i. 47. "Now what was the *clear*, I may say the *manifest*, I may almost say the *declared* aim and object of the framers of our Articles?" (*Fraser*, March, 1865, p. 274.) "Men have *begun to doubt*, men are under the *incapacity of believing*, men have *ceased to believe*, the absolutely indispensable necessity of the intervention of any one of their fellow-creatures between themselves and the mercy of God" (*Hist. Lat. Christ.*, ix. 354).

Here is a different kind of sentence, cast in another of Gibbon's familiar moulds:—"The productiveness of the shrine may account for the richness and vitality of the legend. The legend no doubt fostered the unflinching opulence of the shrine" (*St. Paul's*, p. 12). Compare Gibbon:—"Persuasion is the resource of the feeble, and the feeble can seldom persuade" (viii. 147). And compare Macaulay, *passim*; *e.g.*:—"The error of judging the present by the past, and the error of judging the past by the present" (*H. E.* ii. 236). He followed Gibbon also in many of his Latinisms, sometimes of word and sometimes of construction; in his inversions of clauses so ill suited to the genius of a comparatively uninflected language; and especially in his omission of conjunctions in enumerations of particulars—a habit which grew on Milman, if we mistake not, in his later writings, and produced something of the unpleasant effect of a mannerism.

In Gibbon's *Memoirs of his Life and Writ-*



ings he describes his mode of composition thus:—"It has always been my practice to cast a long paragraph in a single mould, to try it by my ear, to deposit it in my memory, but to suspend the action of the pen till I had given the last polish to my work" (p. 104). We have not yet been favoured with Dean Milman's autobiography, if it exists, and we have no personal acquaintance with his literary habits; but so far as the paragraphs themselves are evidence, we should conclude that in writing them out he departed widely from Gibbon's example, unless his ear was set to an unusual rhythm. He rather gives the impression of one who crowds in his thoughts and facts as he is writing, or who even interlines them after his sentences are finished. The following is no unusual instance of the mode in which his data are packed together by parentheses:—"On the trial of Rogers in St. Mary Overy (Southwark), (he had been imprisoned in Newgate), Gardiner the Chancellor (Southwark was in the diocese of the Bishop of Winchester) began the examination with the question of the Papal Supremacy" (p. 242). He intercalates in the same way even in his shortest sentences:—"In 1596 (*he was born in 1573*) Donne embarked with the expedition of the Earl of Essex to Spain" (p. 324). "Their attachment (*a secret marriage took place*) endured to the end of their lives" (*ib.*) We might copy from these *Annals of St. Paul's* complex examples which sometimes fill a whole entangled paragraph; but it can scarcely be doubted that the more exaggerated specimens would have been smoothed out on the revision of the press.

Let us note yet one other minor characteristic,—the way in which, like an energetic speaker, he repeats a word again and again, with emphatic additions, till he has succeeded in driving it home upon the hearer:—"Colet and Erasmus were in some respects closely kindred:"—the word is repeated at the head of at least six fervid sentences. Amongst other things they were "kindred in their contempt for that grovelling superstition which, especially under the countless degenerate, ignorant, obstinate, arrogantly ignorant monks and friars, had suffocated the higher truths of religion" (p. 112). Savonarola was "a monk, an impassioned monk, an Italian visionary monk, a fervent mediæval Catholic" (p. 114). In Ridley's disputation at Oxford, on questions where "there ought to have been the most perfect knowledge," etc., "there the worst of ignorance, learned ignorance, was to decide, aided by the shouts of a rabble of monks, of monk-taught men, and boys monk-educated, if it may be called education" (p. 246.)

But it is time to pass to broader features than these minor details of construction. In one of his notes he praises Gibbon for the "vigour, rapidity, fulness, and exactness" with which he had drawn the history of the Paulicians\* (*H. L. C.* v. 399). The terms might have been chosen to describe what seems to have been his own ideal. They certainly suggest the leading excellencies which he ever sought to realize. He evidently thought much of *rapidity* of movement. In a part of one of his old prefaces which we have not observed in the reprint, he apologized for brevity on the ground that he was bound "to keep up the *rapidity* of his narrative." Thus he always carries on his reader from one point to another with springing and elastic step. "I trace *rapidly* the history of Eastern Christianity until the reunion with the West;" and then in a few pages, "We are again in the West, reascending and passing in review Latin Christianity and its primates" (*ib.* i. 305, 320). Such rapidity, in fact, was an essential condition of such fulness. A slow and lingering guide could never have conducted the reader through the "vast circumference" of the history, in which, as Dean Stanley says, he has embraced "the whole story of mediæval Europe."†

His vigour, again, like most valuable qualities, was reflected, as we may imagine, on his writings from his life. It is instructive to mark the eager interest with which, as his notes show, he caught at all new books, worked up all fresh knowledge, and availed himself even of the least kindred sciences—of geology, for example, to illustrate the foundation of St. Paul's (p. 406). His keen sympathies enabled him to find living attractions even in quarters that might have seemed least promising. Among the many charmed spectators of the Ammergau mystery-play in 1860, few can have been more remarkable than that distinguished old man, bending under the weight of nearly seventy years, as he watched, with an eye trained to every form of excellence, and a temper most averse to mediæval superstition, the mode in which mere peasants discharged a task of the utmost delicacy and difficulty. "During my early life," he says, "I have seen the drama in all its forms, as exhibited in the most splendid theatres of Europe. I have never witnessed a performance more striking from its scenic effect. . . . There was nothing, I think, which could offend the most sensitive religiousness. . . . I never passed a day (it lasted from seven in the morning till three

\* There is a keen analysis of that chapter of Gibbon in Newman on Development, p. 190 *seq.*

† Lectures on the Eastern Church, vol. i. introd. p. xxxii.



in the afternoon) in more absorbed and unwearied attention" (*H. L. C.* ix. 180, note).

With these characteristics we may connect his custom of making *life* the great test of excellence in composition. In the outset of his chief work, he promises that it shall "at least attempt to fulfil the two great functions of history,—to arrest the mind and carry it on with unflagging interest; to infix its whole course of events on the imagination and the memory, as well by its broad and definite landmarks, as by the *life and reality* of its details in each separate period" (*H. L. C.* i. 21). Speaking of popular or ballad poetry he writes:—"Its whole excellence is in *rapidity* of movement, short, sudden transition . . . in, above all, *life*, unrepining, unflagging, vigorous, stirring *life*" (*Memoir of Lord Macaulay*, p. 19). And of Macaulay's own style he says, that "the *vigour and life* were unabating" (*ib.* p. 22). He applies the same test on kindred subjects, such as Painting. Thus of the angels, etc., in Fra Angelico's pictures he writes:—"Not merely do they want the breath of life, the motion of life, the warmth of life; they want the truth of life, and without truth there is no consummate art. They have never really *lived*, never assumed the functions nor dwelt within the precincts of life" (*H. L. C.* ix. 338). And of mosaic:—"The interlaying of small pieces cannot altogether avoid a broken, stippled, spotty effect: it cannot be *alive*." But after a time, "the religious emotions which the painter strove to excite in others would kindle in himself, and yearn after something more than the cold immemorial language. By degrees the hard flat lineaments of the countenance would begin to *quicken* themselves," etc.; "the mummy would begin to stir with *life*" (*ib.* 327-9).

Of his fulness and exactness numerous illustrations could be given from passages where his well-stored memory and swift hand enabled him to sweep together illustrations from distant quarters, so as to condense, as it may be said, an essay into a page. It is thus that he enlivens a dry subject—the difficulties presented by the numbers in the Hebrew Scriptures:—

"If accuracy in numbers is to determine the historical credibility and value of ancient writers, there must be a vast holocaust offered on the stern altar of historic truth. Josephus must first be thrown upon the hecatomb without hope of redemption. Bishop Thirlwall and Mr. Grote must lead up, with averted eyes, the first-born of Grecian history. The five millions and a quarter in the army of Xerxes must de-

stroy all faith in the whole account of the Persian invasion by our venerable Herodotus. Diodorus, with all that we know of Ctesias and that class, must follow. Niebuhr and Sir George Lewis, if they agree in nothing else, must agree in the sacrifice of Livy. I must confess that I have some fear about Cæsar himself. At all events, there must be one wide sweep of, I think, *the whole* of Oriental history" (*Pref. to Hist. of Jews.* 1863, p. xxxi).

What precision of observation and rapidity of combination are shown in the following summary of the characteristics of the chief English cathedrals:—

"Are we to mourn with unmitigated sorrow over the demolition of old St. Paul's? Of England's more glorious cathedrals, it seems to me, I confess, none could be so well spared. . . . Old St. Paul's had nothing of the prodigal magnificence, the harmonious variety of Lincoln, the stately majesty of York, the solemn grandeur of Canterbury, the perfect sky-ascending unity of Salisbury. It had not even one of the great conceptions which are the pride and boast of some of our other churches; neither the massy strength of Durham, 'looking eternity' with its marvellous Galilee, nor the tower of Gloucester, nor the lantern of Ely, nor the rich picturesqueness of Beverley, nor the deep-receding, highly decorated arches of the west front of Peterborough. . . . Even in its immediate neighbourhood, though wanting a central tower, and its western towers, not too successfully afterwards added by Sir Christopher Wren, the Abbey, with its fine soaring columns, its beautiful proportions, its solemn, grey, diapered walls,—the Abbey, with its intricate chapels, with its chambers of royal tombs, with Henry VII.'s chapel, an excrescence indeed, but in sufficient harmony with the main building, in itself an inimitable model of its style, crowned by its richly fretted roof,—the Abbey of Westminster would have put to perpetual shame the dark, unimpressive pile of the city of London: Westminster modestly reposing in its lower level,—St. Paul's boastfully loading its more proud, but more obtrusive eminence." (*St. Paul's*, p. 888.)

One more characteristic before we close the subject of his style. He never forgot that he was a poet. Every now and then his prose rises into a strain of poetry, which gives to his descriptive passages a colouring of rich and gorgeous beauty. Take an instance from his account of the death of Otho III., than which "no Nemesis more awful ever darkened the stage of Greece." Stephanian, the widow of Crescentius, had been the victim of the basest usage. "With stern self-command she suppressed her indignation, her loathing, within her heart. At the end of three years she had nursed up her fatal beauty to its old exquisite lustre. Otho himself, the religious Otho, was caught in her toils, which she spread with consummate art." Through the poison which she ad-

\* He knew the value of mosaic in its proper place, and would have employed it, as it seems, to replace the paintings inside the dome of the Cathedral.—*St. Paul's*, pp. 436, 441, 493, note.



ministered, "the hand of death was upon the bright, hopeful youth." "Heaven, it is to be hoped was more merciful than the wife of Crescentius. Deeply must Otho, cut off at the age of twenty-two years, have rued his fatal connexion with Rome" (*H. L. C.* iii. 846-7). Or take an instance from his picture of Languedoc before the fatal crusade against the Albigenses; of Languedoc, "the land of that melodious tongue first attuned to modern poetry," where "life was a perpetual tournament or feast," where "religion was chivalry, but chivalry becoming less and less religious," where "the cities had risen in opulence and splendour," where "literature, at least poetry, had begun to speak to the prince and to the people,"—"the song and the music in the castle hall, at the perpetual banquet," while "the chant in the castle chapel was silent or unheard." "So basked the pleasant land in its sunshine; voluptuousness and chivalrous prodigality in its castles, luxury and ease in its cities: the thunder-cloud was far off in the horizon." (*ib.* v. 404-7). For a longer example of his descriptive power we may turn to his account of the gathering of the multitudes to the Council of Constance (*ib.* viii. 227-9):—

"In June the quiet streets of ancient Constance were disturbed by the first preparations for the great drama which was to be performed within her walls." "In August came the Cardinal of Viviers, the Bishop of Ostia, with a distinguished suite, to take order for the accommodation of the Pope and of his cardinals. From that period to the Feast of All Saints, the day named for the opening of the Council, and for several months after, the converging roads which led to this central city were crowded with all ranks and orders, ecclesiastics and laymen, sovereign princes and ambassadors of sovereigns, archbishops and bishops, the heads or representatives of the great monastic orders, theologians, doctors of canon or of civil law, delegates from renowned universities, some with splendid and numerous retainers, some like trains of pilgrims, some singly and on foot. With these, merchants, traders of every kind and degree, and every sort of wild and strange vehicle. It was not only, it might seem, to be a solemn Christian council, but an European congress, a vast central fair, where every kind of commerce was to be conducted on the boldest scale, and where chivalrous or histrionic or other common amusements were provided for idle hours and for idle people. It might seem a final and concentrated burst and manifestation of mediæval devotion, mediæval splendor, mediæval diversions;—all ranks, all orders, all pursuits, all professions, all trades, all artisans, with their various attire, habits, manners, language, crowded to one single city.

"On the steep slope of the Alps were seen winding down, now emerging from the autumn-tinted chestnut groves, now lost again, the rich cavalcades of the cardinals, the prelates, the princes of Italy, each with their martial guard or their ecclesiastical pomp. The blue spacious

lake was studded with boats and barks, conveying the bishops and abbots, the knights and grave burghers, of the Tyrol, of Eastern and Northern Germany, Hungary, and from the Black Forest and Thuringia. Along the whole course of the Rhine, from Cologne, even from Brabant, Flanders, or the farthest North, from England and from France, marched prelates, abbots, doctors of law, celebrated schoolmen, following the upward course of the stream, and gathering as they advanced new hosts from the provinces and cities to the east or west. Day after day the air was alive with the standards of princes, and the banners emblazoned with the armorial bearings of sovereigns, of nobles, of knights, of imperial cities; or glittered with the silver crosier, borne before some magnificent bishop or mitred abbot. Night after night the silence was broken by the pursuivants and trumpeters announcing the arrival of some high and mighty count or duke, or the tinkling mule-bells of some lowlier caravan. The streets were crowded with curious spectators, eager to behold some splendid prince or ambassador, some churchman famous in the pulpit, in the school, in the council, it might be in the battlefield, or even some renowned minnesinger, or popular jongleur."

We pass with some reluctance from the quiet province of literary criticism to the less inviting controversies in which Dean Milman was from time to time unwillingly engaged. His three historical works bore more or less directly on three such controversies, each connected with and to some extent overlapping the others: the Divine authority of Scripture, the supernatural element in Church history, and the claims of dogma to be regarded as the chief condition of Church union.

1. As a representative of the more free interpretation of Scripture, he lived to remind us how much times have changed since his own position, at least in England, seemed to lie on the extremest frontier. The rising tide rolled far beyond him long before his death. It is curious to turn back to the indignant reclamations of the old *British Critic* in 1830, or to the not altogether needless warnings which Dr. Faussett addressed to the University of Oxford in his sermon against the *History of the Jews*. The weakest point in his assault upon him was the common one, of not knowing exactly where the real danger lay, and of mingling childish and trivial charges with retorts which still retain their grave importance. His chief external offence was the studied freshness of his language; the attempt to realize more vividly the sacred scenes and narratives by bringing "fresh eyes" to bear upon them, and by expressing Scripture history in less formal and conventional phrases. In this respect the startling novelties of 1829 have become the mere commonplaces



of 1869. The change may be traced in the altered language of his assailants. To take only a single specimen:—When Milman called Abram “an independent Sheik or Emir” (i. 8), the critic of 1830 retorted,—“that is, if the latter word is strictly and properly interpreted, he wore a green turban, and was one of the descendants of Fatimah, the daughter of Mahomet. We really wonder he did not at once call him a turbaned Turk. It would have been much more intelligible, and not at all less irreverent, nor at all more inconsistent with chronology” (*B. C.*, vol. vii. p. 337). We believe that the *Ecclesiastic* in 1859 held a position not unlike that of the *British Critic* in 1830; and thus it accepts as probable what its predecessor had rejected as irreverent and absurd:—

“We think that it cannot fairly be denied that there is a certain amount of truth in the representation there set before us of Jewish history. In other words, we admit that Jewish history has an earthly no less than a divine aspect. Abraham probably, in Dr. Milman’s words, *was like a modern Sheik or Emir*, and the Israelites in the desert like the Bedouins.”—(Reprinted by its author, the Rev. W. Houghton, in *Rationalism in the Church of England*, p. 35.)\*

But the real question lies far deeper. It is briefly this—whether a frank recognition of the local, national, and personal colouring of the different books of Holy Scripture is compatible with a profound conviction of their inspiration, and of that Divine authorship which made use of very different instruments to express an unchanging purpose through their varying tones. It can scarcely be denied, we think, that when Dean Milman wrote the *History of the Jews* this problem had not presented itself to his own mind with sufficient fulness and distinctness; that his forms of speech are often open to serious objections; that he does not always allow its proper weight to the miraculous element in the history; and that in many cases he permits the alleged defects of the human element to corrode the substance of the narrative. He never, so far as we know, formally renewed the controversy, though the prefaces and notes to his new editions, and his

\* Dr. Newman’s intermediate treatment of the point in 1841 is an instance of unintentional injustice. He says that Milman “evidently considers that it is an advance in knowledge to *disguise* Scripture facts and persons under secular names. He thinks that it is so much gain if he can call Abraham an Emir or a Sheik” (*British Critic*, vol. xxix. p. 86). To attempt to bring out sacred facts more vividly by placing them under a broader daylight may become a great mistake if it is done irreverently, but can scarcely be said to “disguise” them.

University Sermon of 1865 on Hebrew Prophecy, re-state his position, and defend his opposite frontier against those who have gone far beyond him. Thus of the Tübingen school, and their speculations on a later part of Scripture, he says, that “their criticism will rarely bear criticism” (Pref. to *H. C.* p. vi.); of the modern German schools in general, that his “difficulty is more often with their dogmatism than with their daring criticism” (Pref. to *H. J.* p. xxiii.); of Ewald, that he “seems to have attempted an utter impossibility,” and that he “should like an Ewald to criticise Ewald, (*ib.* pp. xxiii.–iv.) In another place he says, “Ewald’s assignment of Deuteronomy to the reign of Manasseh seems to me more utterly wild and arbitrary, and its Egyptian origin wilder still” (*ib.* i. p. 186, note). Of Bunsen, whom he mentions “with friendly affection,” he says that “he seems to labour under the passion for making history without historical materials;” and adds, “I confess that I have not much sympathy for this, not making bricks without straw, but making bricks entirely of straw, and offering them as solid materials” (*ib.* p. xxiv.–v. cf. p. 132, note). With regard to Dr. Davidson, he “might have wished that this author with German learning had not taken to German lengthiness, and to some German obscurity” (*ib.* xxvii.) “A recent view” which “assigns the Pentateuch to the age of Samuel” is dismissed as “by no means a happy conjecture” (*ib.* note), and he maintains at length the early date for Deuteronomy (pp. 208, 215, notes). Of Strauss he writes, that “Christianity will survive the criticism of Dr. Strauss” (*H. C.* i. 110); and of Renan and Strauss together, thus—

“I cannot apprehend more lasting effect from the light, quick, and bright-flashing artillery of the Frenchman than from the more ponderous and steadily-aimed culverins of the German” (*H. C.* Pref. p. v.) “To some it may seem a formidable, a distressing, a discouraging sight—a German Professor, with all his boundless learning, his honest industry, undermining what many of us have thought the very foundations of our faith; a distinguished French man of letters, with all the brilliancy of his world-wide language, sentimentalizing the Saviour (not without homage to His moral greatness) to the central figure of a Galilean Idyll. Still, I believe firmly we are on the advance; each of these is less anti-Christian than a Spanish bishop, on the tribunal of the Inquisition, dooming to the fire a holocaust of victims, perhaps of the meekest and holiest lives. Christianity has survived the one, Christianity will survive the other” (*Hebrew Prop.* p. 38).

On the general subject of the controversy we find fresh interest, but scarcely fresh



light, in the notices which are scattered through his *Annals of St. Paul's*, especially in connexion with the names of Dean Colet (p. 112), Bishop Francis Hare (pp. 459-62), and Bishop Lowth, whose "Lectures on Hebrew Poetry make an epoch unperceived, perhaps, and unsuspected by (their) author:"—

"This appears to me what I will venture to call the great religious problem. We have had a Hooker who has shown what truths we receive from revelation, what truths from that earlier unwritten revelation in the reason of man. We want a second Hooker, with the same profound piety, the same calm judgment, to show (if possible to frame) a test by which we may discern what are the eternal and irrepealable truths of the Bible, what the imaginative vesture, the framework in which these truths are set in the Hebrew and even in the Christian Scriptures" (p. 467).

But it is not probable that the opponents of Dean Milman's opinions would acquiesce in this proposal to regard them as a natural sequel of Bishop Lowth's teaching.

2. His history of Christianity under the earlier empire received the formidable compliment of a review from Dr. Newman, on whom, as we learn from the *Apologia*,\* it made a deep and disturbing impression, as "a sort of earnest" of the approaching conflict with Rationalism. The review is written with great courtesy, but with the distinguished author's usual force and earnestness, as well as with his usual unsparing logic. The argument is twofold, criticising first the writer's plan, and then his execution; and showing that the errors committed in the execution only realized the dangers which might have been expected from the plan.

In drawing this out, Dr. Newman makes great use of the original Preface, in which Milman stated that he meant to write "rather as an historian than as a religious instructor," and "as if in total ignorance of the existence of" some "discussions" then under debate in our Church, and having their roots in Church history (Newman, pp. 73, 87, 90). He thus makes it his object "entirely to discard all polemic views," and to confine himself as closely as he can to the task of exhibiting "the reciprocal influence of civilisation on Christianity, of Christianity on civilisation" (*H. C.* i. 46, ed. 1863); in short, as Dr Newman says (p. 78), of viewing "the history of the Church on the side of the world." It is his declared

intention, then, to exclude theology as much as possible, and rather to deal with the "temporal, social, and political" aspects of Christianity than to regard it "in a strictly religious light." The result is natural—that this external view is too often allowed to fill nearly the whole canvas, while comparatively little room is left for the more essential topics of the internal and spiritual. With such an issue before him, the critic seems justified in discussing, and deciding in the negative, such questions as the following—Is it possible to write the history of Christianity in its external aspects only, without treason to its supernatural claims? Can we state the facts as dis severed from the doctrines, and yet escape the danger of seeming to deny altogether what we only wished to dismiss from our thoughts for our immediate purpose? Is it allowable, for instance, for a Christian believer to set forth Christ's humanity, His crucifixion, and the moral improvement introduced by Christianity, without connecting those facts emphatically with the religious truths of His divinity, His atonement, and the forgiveness of sins through supernatural grace?

No one can doubt that in the case of a man so religious as Dean Milman such questions related solely to the book, not its author; to his method, not his motives; to his literary performance, not his personal belief. Under this limitation, it can scarcely be denied that a large part of the accusation was established against him. The social aspects seem, in his work, to overshadow the more strictly religious; the natural makes inroads on the claims of the supernatural; the doctrinal tends to wither away from the side of the historical. Not to attempt, at this distance of time, to enter on details, it may be enough to refer to the way in which he treats such topics as angelic appearances (*ib.* 86, 123-4, etc.), or the three voices from heaven (*ib.* 143-4, 240, 284), or the temptation of Christ (*ib.* 145), or demoniacal possession (*ib.* 217, note). On points of this kind, the tone usual among Christians may be lowered for the supposed benefit of either believers or doubters; in the one case, to bring home the history more vividly by connecting the mysterious with ordinary and recognised realities; in the other case, to propitiate the doubter by approaching more nearly to his own position. It has not been found in practice that either of these designs has met with much success. It is scarcely possible to avoid some shock to Christian reverence, if Christianity is treated on the bare level of any other history; and concession has only produced its ordinary effect, that of being accepted mere-

\* "Anyhow, a great battle may be coming on, of which C. D.'s book is a sort of earnest" (p. 240). Milman's name is supplied in the smaller edition, p. 136. The review is in the *British Critic* for January, 1841 (vol. xxix.), and is acknowledged in the list of works annexed to the *Apologia*.



ly as the ground for fresh demands. For example: the disinclination of scientific men to admit the miraculous is not in the least degree removed by our resigning the literal interpretation of angelic messengers, of heavenly voices, of embodied evil spirits, if we still insist on all the greatest miracles, like the resuscitation of Lazarus and the resurrection of Christ, even though we leave them "standing alone" as Dr. Newman puts it (p. 86), "like the pillars of Tadmor in the wilderness."

It is not to be supposed that Milman would assent to the justice of these representations, though we are not aware that he made any direct reply to his distinguished critic. In his new Preface (1868) he merely says that he has "not found much, after a period of above twenty years, which" he "should wish to retract or to modify." As a devout believer, he condemns in words already quoted the *Lives of Christ* by Strauss and Renan; and of the later he adds, in terms which may have been chosen to repudiate what he had felt to be a misconstruction of his own History:—

"I cannot think that eventually the book will add to the high fame of M. Renan. To those who see in Christianity no more than a social revolution, a natural step in human progress, the beautiful passages on the transcendent humanity of Jesus (unhappily not unleavened) may give satisfaction and delight; to those to whom Christianity is a *religion*, Jesus the author and giver of eternal life, it will fall dead, or be a grief and an offence" (p. v.)

We may suppose that to his own mind, his design took the shape of a wish to show that the external relations of Christianity were an essential and important part of its history; and to extend the faith on which his own hopes rested by doing what he could to keep it abreast of each successive living movement. In his eyes, Christianity was no unbending formula, doomed by its very definition to maintain an unalterable opposition to the spirit of the age. Rather recalling the greatest of the images under which its birth was described, he would regard it as like the fresh breeze, the flowing stream, the penetrating fire; everything that contrasts most strongly with the dead rigour of an iron rule, fixed once for all in relation to conditions which have long since departed. It might be taken as a natural consequence of this faith in its vitality, to consider it as meant to adjust itself to all the fresh relations which the energy of mind has generated, and which the constant movement of history imposes. Milman might thus have sought his defence from principles which are common to himself and his opponents; the truths that leaven must mix with the

mass it has to modify; that salt must be mingled with what it has to season; that the world, as well as the Church, is the workmanship of God; and that the office of a revealed religious system is to reclaim, not to destroy. But if all this were conceded, the original question of the degree in which the internal history may be lawfully modified to meet the demands of the external would continue to give rise to great differences of opinion.

3. At this point the subject connects itself with that distaste for pure dogma which is traceable throughout his *Histories*. His strong feeling on this question led to one of his rare appearances as a controversial speaker, when he addressed the Royal Commission on Clerical Subscription in 1864, to recommend that, on condition of conformity to the Prayer-book, subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles should be dropped.\* The chief reasons which he alleged were these: that the Articles "are throughout controversial, and speak the controversial language of their day" (p. 270); that "the doctrines of the English Church" are taught "more simply, more fully, and assuredly more winningly" in the Prayer-book (*ib.*), where they appear as "the effusion of the pious heart, not the cold, abstract theorems of the understanding" (p. 276); and that the Articles fail to fulfil their purpose because they are out of date, in consequence of the changeableness to which all but "the simplest and most elementary truths of our religion" are exposed (p. 271). The answer is obvious: that the Prayer-book is no more free from the traces of controversy, or confined to "the simplest and most elementary truths" than the Articles. It contains, as he admits and urges, all the three creeds, which are marked in every line by the vestiges of conflict, and bear witness to all the great ancient struggles of religious speculation, in its efforts to adjust the forms of the human intellect to the analogy of faith. The devotional beauty of the Prayer-book is the very reason why we should be unwilling to deprive it of its more dogmatic companion, and expose it to bear the chief brunt of inevitable controversies. Thus it would be no advantage for the sacramental offices to be called in at every turn as the sole appeal on the most difficult and sacred questions. Rather it is a clear gain to religious feeling that our possession of the Articles makes it less necessary to disturb the calm of the sanctuary by seeking our polemical weapons from the language of devotion.

\* The speech is printed as a paper in *Fraser's Magazine* for March 1865. Sir J. Napier's answer was published as a pamphlet.



The Dean found, we believe, no supporter in this curious application of Pope Coelestine's principle, that "the law of our prayer constitutes the law of our faith." The proposal had in fact no seconder, and was not pressed. The Dean's argument was ably answered by Mr. (now Sir Joseph) Napier; and the two great formularies of the English Church, both prized, but on very different grounds, and with widely dissimilar degrees of estimation, retain their stand on the same level in the Act to amend the law of clerical subscription.\* But the paper remains as an interesting record of that preference for the devotional over the controversial which seemed the final result of Milman's historical inquiries. In the closing paragraph of his latest History, he clearly shows that he should think it no drawback if the Church of the future allowed some portion of "the ancient dogmatic system" "silently to fall into disuse, as at least superfluous, and as beyond the proper range of human thought and human language" (*H. L. C.* ix. 357). We did not need the assurance of this paper to convince us of his deep affection for the English Prayer-book—

"The best model of pure, fervent, simple devotion, as it were, and concentration of all the orisons which have been uttered in the name of Christ since the first days of the Gospel; that liturgy which is the great example of pure vernacular English, familiar, yet always unvulgar, of which but few words and phrases have become obsolete; which has an indwelling music which enthralled and never palls upon the ear, with the full living expression of every great Christian truth, yet rarely hardening into stern dogmatism; satisfying every need, and awakening and answering every Christian emotion; entering into the heart, and as it were welling forth again from the heart; the full and general voice of the congregation, yet the peculiar utterance of each single worshipper" (*Annals of St. Paul's*, p. 228).†

\* 28 and 29 Vict. chap. 122.

† Compare the companion picture of the English Bible in the *Dublin Review*, which is commonly ascribed to Dr. Newman:—"It lives on the ear like music that can never be forgotten, like the sound of the church-bell which the convert hardly knows how he can forego. Its felicities often seem to be almost things rather than mere words. It is part of the national mind, and the anchor of national seriousness. The memory of the dead passes into it. The potent traditions of childhood are stereotyped in its verses. The power of all the gifts and trials of a man is hidden beneath its words. It is the representative of his best moments, and all that there has been about him of soft, and gentle, and pure, and penitent, and good, speaks to him for ever out of the English Bible. It is his sacred thing, which doubt has never dimmed, and controversy never soiled. In the length and breadth of the land there is not a Protestant with one spark of righteousness about him, whose spiritual biography is not in his Saxon Bible."

Milman's undisguised distaste for the more hard and exclusive side of his profession may have led some to think that, in his own case, he allowed the literary to overshadow the clerical character. There might be some colour of truth in such a suspicion, as we have remarked before. He was, as he said himself, "more of a writer than a public speaker" (Speech in *Fraser*, as above, p. 269); and he showed a decided aversion to what may be called the platform side of public life. He possessed in a high degree that scholarly polish which is one of the chief ornaments of a lettered clergy. He was familiar with the literature of many nations, and displayed a keen appreciation for the works of art in all its forms. Scholars will long prize his *Horace* as a charming book of luxury, and value the volume of translations, in which he connected his youth and age together, as a graceful relic of his early culture. But it would be most unjust to make such facts as these the basis for a charge of indifference towards his order, or carelessness for the religious truth which he was pledged to teach. The devoutness of his early hymns must never be forgotten. His deepest thoughts for nearly fifty years seem to have been occupied on questions closely connected with his profession, and on the mode in which the history and faith of Christianity could be presented most "winningly" in the eyes of the world. To his love for crowded and effective services we owe the restoration of the nave of his cathedral to the use which the architect originally contemplated (p. 441, note). He set himself, not unsuccessfully, to blot out the disgrace of Hanoverian days, when "the terrible religious tempest, which for nearly two centuries had raged throughout Western Christendom, had cleared off into a cold serenity" (p. 450); when St. Paul's "had subsided into a state of dignified repose, which perhaps at a later time stagnated almost into lethargy" (p. 454); and when, in the stead of the fiery old Paul's Cross sermons, "unimpassioned preachers gave good advice to unimpassioned hearers" (p. 455). Yet we trace a reflection of his own calm ideal in the temperate eulogy which he pronounces upon Tillotson, whose "character" he venerates as "nearly blameless; who was 'profoundly religious, unimpeachable as to his belief in all the great truths of Christianity, but looking to the fruits rather than the dogmas of the gospel,' and 'dwelling, if not exclusively, at least chiefly, on the Christian life, the sober unexcited Christian life'" (p. 419-20).

Among all his varied services, Dean Milman's career has left no more characteristic lesson than this, that clerical freedom of



thought is developed most completely, as well as most safely, from within the ranks of the clergy themselves. Of churches, as of individuals, it holds true that the new life springs best out of the ashes of the old; that the soundest reformation ever comes from within—

"That men may rise on stepping-stones  
Of their dead selves to higher things."

The opposite opinion has been widely fostered by the hatred for innovations which is naturally cherished by the more conservative part of such body as the clergy, leading in darker days to fierce persecution, and often expressed in gentler times with hot and unceremonious harshness. But whatever may have been the force of the resistance to the current, the very writers who show the strongest bias against the clergy are often forced to bless them against their will, by proving the strength of the steady onward stream which is traceable within their borders, bearing witness to their vitality and mental energy in almost every period. Mr. G. H. Lewes, for example, declares that throughout the middle ages, "the Church, both by instinct and by precept, was *opposed* to science and literature," and that "during the nine centuries of her undisputed dominion, not a single classic writer, not a single discoverer whose genius enlarged the intellectual horizon, not a single leader of modern thought, arose to dignify her reign." Such is the preface to a chapter in which the quickening line of intellectual activity is traced from one ecclesiastic to another; through Erigena, Berengarius, Roscellinus, Abelard, even St. Anselm; "Anselm, the saintly archbishop, helped the good cause in an indirect way; he consecrated the privileges of Reason by showing the harmony between Reason and Faith." Turn over a few pages and we come to Friar Bacon, connected with "a group of independent thinkers," who were his "teachers and friends;" "towering above them all is Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln." The very Pope had "scientific yearnings." William of Occam, "our brilliant and rebellious countryman," the "politician" of the schoolmen (*H. L. C.* ix. 121), was a leading Franciscan. "The Inquisition was vigilant and cruel, but among its very members there were sceptics." As liberty moved on, "in the vanguard of its army we see Telesio, Campanella, and Bruno," ecclesiastics to a man.\* Look where we will, we find the same phenomenon; old and new struggling within the fold of the

Church for the ascendancy which, under Providence, was to guide the course of intellectual freedom. Let us revert once more, and for the last time, to the *Anna's of St. Paul's*. Erasmus and Colet were the "two great reformers before the Reformation" (p. 112), and both were in orders. The great preachers of the liberty of prophesying in England, Hales, Chillingworth, Jeremy Taylor, all were clergymen, and all three were on terms of personal friendship with Laud, and enjoyed his constant and efficient protection. If there is any man whom Milman names with a special energy of dislike, it is Archbishop Laud (pp. 331-2); yet Laud, as he mentions with just praise, was Jeremy Taylor's earliest patron (p. 344). Hales, as Heylin tells us, was once summoned to Lambeth for a long private debate with the Archbishop on his speculative difficulties, was made Laud's chaplain at his own request, and was "promoted not long after, by the Archbishop's commendation, to be prebend of Windsor, and to hold the same by special dispensation with his place in Eton."\* Laud was the godfather of Chillingworth, and befriended him cordially, as long as his own power lasted, at every stage of his chequered course. Tillotson, "almost the father of true religious toleration" (p. 419), was an exemplary Archbishop. And so we might go on, alleging proofs to the same tenor from the history of liberal thought in every period. Surely our own days formed no exception. If some men fancied, many years ago, that the golden gate of preferment would be closed against the author of the *History of the Jews*, they have been sufficiently refuted by Milman's prosperous and honoured career. He would have been the last man to resent the opposition which he met with and which he confronted most effectually by the simple expedient of overlooking its impetuosity and living it down. He had no right to complain, and we are not aware that he *did* complain, that there are barriers, inevitable barriers, beyond which the members of his sacred profession cannot pass. The English Church cannot be thought to have lost its large comprehensiveness in times which, to mention only the departed, have seen the liberal side of thought represented by Whately and Hampden, by Arnold and Milman. A writer affords no example of the ingratitude of contemporaries who secured the universal recognition which rewarded Dean Milman for the services which he rendered, both by works and life, to his Church and to his age.

\* *History of Philosophy*, ed. 1867; ii. 4, 5, 12, 76, 78, 88, 94.

\* Heylin's *Cyprianus Anglicus*, p. 362.



- ART. V.—1. *Report of the Metropolitan Commissioners in Lunacy to the Lord Chancellor.* 1844.
2. *Annual Reports of the Commissioners in Lunacy for England to the Lord Chancellor.*
3. *Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners appointed to Inquire into the State of Lunatic Asylums in Scotland.* 1857.
4. *Annual Reports of the General Board of Commissioners in Lunacy for Scotland to the Secretary of State for the Home Department.*
5. *Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry into the State of the Lunatic Asylums, etc., in Ireland.* 1858.
6. *Annual Reports to the Lord Lieutenant on the District, Criminal, and Private Lunatic Asylums in Ireland.* 1857.
7. *Statistique des Asiles d'Aliénés de 1854 à 1860.*

THE leading fact regarding Lunacy disclosed in our Blue-books is its great increase.

At the beginning of 1867 there were 31,917 lunatics in the asylums of England and Wales. At the end of the same year their number had risen to 33,213. These are large numbers in themselves, but it is to their difference that we draw attention—a difference amounting to 1296. In other words, the number of persons placed in asylums was greater at the close of the year than at its commencement by nearly 1300, being an increase equal to the population of two large asylums.

When this fact arrests attention, the question which naturally suggests itself is—Was the year 1867 an exceptional one? The answer is, that it was not, and that the same rate of increase has been going on for many years. During 1866 it was 1046; during 1865 it was 1444; during 1864 it was 1140; and so on for the twenty years which went before. The average annual increase is about 1000, and it gives no indication of a tendency to pause, but holds on from year to year with remarkable steadiness.

If we examine the effect of this at the end of a long series of years, we have a result which cannot fail to startle. Going back, for instance, to 1849, at the beginning of that year we find 14,560 patients in the asylums of England and Wales, and 33,213 at the beginning of 1868, being an increase of about nineteen thousand in nineteen years, with nothing to indicate that there may not be a like increase in the nineteen to follow.

This is what we learn about the insane who are in asylums in England. What we learn about the same class in Scotland differs only

in degree,—for there also a steady, though a slower, rate of increase is taking place, giving in the nine years from the beginning of 1858 to the beginning of 1867 a total increase of 1244.

In Ireland, too, we have the same progressive increase, showing a difference of 1784 between the number of lunatics in asylums on the 1st of January 1867 and the number so provided for on the 1st of January 1868. As regards the numbers of the insane in asylums, therefore, the same increase is taking place in England, Scotland, and Ireland, though at different rates. And in this matter these countries do not stand alone, for what is true of them is true also, to a greater or less extent, of all the countries of Europe regarding which we have trustworthy information. In France, for instance, there was an average yearly increase of 750 for the twenty-six years before 1861, giving a total difference of 19,700 from the 1st of January 1835 to the 1st of January 1861—that is, a difference between 10,539 and 30,239.

So much, then, for the fact of the increase and its general occurrence; what are we told as to its nature and causes? Does this great annual growth of the number of persons found under treatment in asylums imply that there is a great and constantly progressing increase of the liability to insanity among the people of civilized Europe? At first sight it certainly appears to do this, and we have a ready explanation in the damaging effects of the racing, bustle, and competition of modern life, which sends so many of the weaker among us to the wall. It will be comforting, however, if we find, on a closer examination of the figures, that they give no evidence of any marked increase in the production of insanity; and we think that this is a comfort we may safely take.

But before looking at what the Blue-books and Yellow-books reveal to us on this point, it is necessary to state that the increase of the numbers of lunatics in asylums is far beyond what would be due to any increase of the population, great as that has been; and that strength appears thus to be given to the theory of a growing proclivity to insanity. Take the English numbers, and selecting the years 1857 and 1867, when the estimated population of England and Wales rose from 19,256,516 to 21,429,508, we find that for the first year lunatics in asylums were 1 in 902, and for the second year 1 in 671 of the general population. This statement shows a vast increase in the amount of insanity *thought to require asylum treatment*; but it does not follow that there must be a greater frequency in the occurrence



of the disease, in order to explain the greater amount of it, so provided for, at a particular time. That this is not the explanation of the increase, which is taking place, will be rendered more than probable if we examine the number of those who enter the asylums from year to year—a number which may be regarded as a fair expression of the rate of production. The result of such an examination will show that the annual number of admissions does not vary much. Such a number of years, however, must be dealt with as will not involve any great change in the general population within the period; for it is clear that if the admissions of early years are compared with those of later or remote ones, there will probably be an increase due simply to a greater population. Take the five years from 1859 to 1863, and we find the admissions into the English asylums to be as follows:—

In 1859	there were	9104	admissions.
" 1860	"	9248	"
" 1861	"	8955	"
" 1862	"	8803	"
" 1863	"	8588	"

There is certainly no evidence within this period of a progressive advance in the number for whom admission is sought; but if the total admissions during the five years are contrasted with the total admissions during the preceding five, then there is, as there ought to be, a considerable increase, being in round numbers from 38,000 to 44,000. So also, going farther back for a period of five years, we find a rise from 36,000 to 38,000. More than one-half of this increase in the admissions may be regarded as a reasonable result of the increase of the population. The very sensible effect which the growth of the population may be expected to have on the number of admissions will be apparent when it is stated that the population rose from 17,150,018 to 21,429,508 during the twenty years before 1867, being an increase of about one-fourth.

The steadiness, however, of the numbers admitted into asylums from year to year, during this period, between 1859 and 1863, may possibly have been accidental. But we find that the same thing occurs during other short periods of consecutive years. Thus, for instance, the four years which follow the quinquennium already referred to, show that—

In 1864	there were	9,367	admissions.
" 1865	"	10,841	"
" 1866	"	9,970	"
" 1867	"	10,468	"

So also in Scotland, with the exception of the last two years, a like steadiness is displayed in the production of insanity, judged

of by the number of those for whom admission into asylums is sought. Thus—

In 1858	there were	1448	admissions.
" 1859	"	1422	"
" 1860	"	1444	"
" 1861	"	1496	"
" 1862	"	1374	"
" 1863	"	1388	"
" 1864	"	1491	"
" 1865	"	1472	"
" 1866	"	1567	"
" 1867	"	1711	"

The increase during the last two of those years in the number of those admitted into the asylums of Scotland is decided, and is probably referable to the operation of causes of a temporary nature, such, for instance, as may arise from the opening of the district asylums. At present we are only concerned to point out that these figures, *as a whole*, give no evidence of a progressive increase of admissions from year to year, corresponding to the progressive increase of the number resident. It will be enough to give one illustration of what is meant by this, though it would be easy to give many from the figures relating either to England, Scotland, or France. We select the five years 1859 to 1863, during which, as the years went on, the admissions, so far from increasing, became less. Thus during

1859	there were	9104	admissions into the English asylums, and at the end of the year an increase, in the number of patients resident, of	1124
1860	there were	9248	" " "	1354
1861	"	8955	" " "	1139
1862	"	8803	" " "	1047
1863	"	8588	" " "	

The very considerable yearly increase of the number of patients, who are in the asylums of England, is not shown by these figures to be related to an increased production of lunacy, if that may be estimated by the number of those who are admitted into asylums. On the contrary, the yearly increase of the numbers resident did not rise and fall with the admissions, but maintained a progress which, if not wholly independent, was clearly so to a great extent.

The official documents at the head of this article appear, then, to furnish materials for the following conclusions: that there is an enormous increase of the numbers of the insane in asylums; that this increase is steadily progressive, and gives no indication of a tendency to pause; that the demand for admission into asylums is greater than it was; that the increase of the population accounts for much of this, but not for the whole; and that the part so unaccounted for is not such



as to indicate any marked growth in the people's liability to insanity.

That it is desirable to go over this ground, and to show what is taking place in reference to the numbers of the insane in asylums, will be apparent as we advance. It supplies information which is generally needed, for the much that is written about lunacy is not much read. Closely as the subject concerns us all, it is not one which proves attractive in whatever shape it presents itself, but especially when it comes before us in the serious shape of Blue-books.

Reverting, then, to the question of the increase of lunatics in asylums, it is scarcely necessary to point out that the annual *discharges* must be less than the annual *admissions*, by an amount which shall exactly represent the yearly increase of the number resident. In other words, the increase takes place by a process of this kind:—There are say 30,000 lunatics in the asylums of any country at the beginning of any year, and during that year 10,000 patients are admitted, but only 9000 discharged;—it is clear that at the end of the year we shall have 31,000 patients in the asylums, or 1000 more than at its commencement. If next year there be again 10,000 admissions, and only 9000 discharges, we shall have 32,000 patients resident, or an increase of 2000 in two years, and so on. This is more or less exactly what appears to be taking place in the various countries of Europe. More or less exactly, we say, but not exactly, since the demand for admission is also increasing somewhat beyond the increase due to a growing population. Still, such growing proportion of *admissions* to the population is not to be compared with the growing proportion of *residents* to the population. The last advances more rapidly than the first, and may even go on, at a considerable rate, when no increase is taking place in the admissions;—as happened, for instance, in the asylums of England during the period of five years referred to in the last tabular statement, which shows a decline in the annual admissions, yet gives at the end of the period, notwithstanding this decline, an increase of 5533 in the number of patients resident in asylums.

If the yearly admissions and the yearly discharges were equal, the increase of residents would of course cease, and the population of asylums would remain stationary. Such a result can only be brought about in two ways—by increasing the discharges or diminishing the admissions. Is there anything, then, to show that either or both of these can be done? There is much in the documents under review bearing on the question, which is one that presses on public at-

tention, for the constantly recurring demand for increased asylum accommodation is leading many to ask if there is no way of avoiding it without injury to the insane.

The official documents before us abound, as we stated, in allusions to the subject, and display on all hands a desire to discover a remedy for what is generally felt to be an evil. Before referring, however, to these opinions, we must examine one or two points in the character and movement of asylum populations, for the purpose of making such a reference more easily understood.

*First*, then, it must be borne in mind that lunatics in asylums are divided into two classes—*private* and *pauper*; and we have to point out that the increase is almost entirely confined to the last, or pauper class. Thus, the total increase of lunatics in the asylums of England and Wales, between the 1st of January 1861 and the 1st of January 1865, was 4095; and this increase was composed of 4040 pauper, and 55 private patients—being an increase in five years of about 20½ per cent. on the starting number for pauper, and of about 1 per cent. on that for private patients.\* The same thing is observed in Scotland, and is commented on by the Commissioners.

*Secondly*, discharges are made up of three classes, namely, *recovered*, *not recovered*, and *dead*. To augment the first and diminish the last of these classes seems everywhere to be earnestly aimed at; but with regard to the number of the middle class—the discharged unrecovered—there is a difference of opinion as to whether it should or should not be made larger. If it could be made larger, there would of course be *pro tanto* a check to the growth of the population of our asylums. And here we are led naturally to inquire whether the slow advance in the number of private patients in asylums, as compared with that of the number of paupers, can be due to a more frequent discharge of the unrecovered among the first than among the last. Whether it be or be not due to this, it appears that there is actually a constant and considerable difference between the proportion of the unrecovered to the total discharges in the two classes of patients, and we find the point thus discussed in the last Report of the Scotch Commissioners.

"The number of private patients annually brought under our cognisance is, as we have stated, more than a third of the corresponding number of pauper patients. The recoveries are nearly in the same ratio; but it appears that

\* After 1865, the inmates of the Naval, Military, and State Criminal Asylums are included in the English returns, and are all entered as private patients.



the proportion of private removed unrecovered from our registers is so much higher than that of pauper patients as to afford an explanation sufficient to account for the difference in the degree of accumulation of the two classes.

"This difference is a matter of so much practical importance that we may be excused for further illustrating it by reference to the Twenty-first Report of the English Commissioners in Lunacy. Of 24,590 patients in the county and borough asylums of England at 1st January 1867 only 216 were private. On the other hand, of 6694 patients in hospitals and licensed houses 5070 were private. In contrast, the number of patients discharged unrecovered from the county and borough asylums in 1866 was only 894, against 1106 similar discharges from the hospitals and licensed houses. The influence of this result on the accumulation of pauper patients in asylums is very remarkable. At 1st January 1866 the private patients in English asylums were 5276, and the pauper patients 24,995. At 1st January 1867 the private patients were 5286, and the pauper patients 25,998. There was thus in 1866 an increase of only 10 private patients against an increase of 1003 pauper patients. The proportion of private to pauper patients, estimated on the numbers resident, was as 1 to 5, whereas their rate of increase was 1 to 100."

This difference in the proportion of private and pauper patients discharged unrecovered may depend on certain private patients being improperly discharged, or on certain pauper patients being unnecessarily, and in that sense improperly, detained, or it may depend on other and more obscure causes. But so far as regards the increase of lunatics in asylums, it is clear that we are chiefly interested in learning whether there is any ground for the conclusion that it depends on certain pauper patients being unnecessarily detained in asylums. With this object, the first thing we have to do is to examine the constituents of the pauper population of our asylums, and the Twenty-first Report of the English Commissioners in Lunacy supplies the best information we have on the *description and state* of pauper patients in asylums. From it we find that "of the 24,748 pauper patients in public asylums in England and Wales on the first of January, 1867, as many as 22,257 are returned as probably incurable, only 2491, or 10 per cent., being considered as offering any hope of recovery." The two Middlesex asylums, with a pauper population of 3759, had only 139 curable patients, or 3.7 per cent. That this, or something closely like it, is the state of the case in England, Scotland, Ireland, France, etc., is not generally known. As regards England, it is no exaggerated statement, for in the same Report the Commissioners say,— "In distinguishing the probably curable from the incurable cases we suggested that those

which were regarded as doubtful should be included in the former class, so that the return may be regarded as in no degree exaggerating the chronic or incurable pauper population of our public asylums." We are accustomed to think of asylums as hospitals for the treatment and cure of mental disease, but it is not easy to understand how the huge asylums of Hanwell and Colney Hatch, with their 3.7 per cent, or the Surrey Asylum, with its 2.4 per cent., of patients giving "any hope of recovery," can be regarded in that light.

Of these two classes, the curable and the incurable, the latter was further divided into the *quiet and harmless*, and the *excitable, violent, or dangerous*. This gives us, in the 22,257 probably incurable cases, 14,620 returned as "excited, violent, or dangerous;" and 7637, or nearly a third of the total number, as "quiet and harmless." So that out of the whole number (24,748) of pauper patients in the public asylums of England and Wales on the 1st January, 1867, there were 7637, or about 31 per cent., who were both *incurable*, and *quiet and harmless*. Great as this number is, there is little doubt, from what the Commissioners say, that it is below the number of those who might properly have been returned as *quiet and harmless*. Eleven of the asylums, for instance, show only 8 per cent. of the *quiet and harmless* in their 4467 incurable inmates. If we deduct these figures, the remaining asylums show no less than 41 per cent. of the *harmless* in their 17,790 incurable inmates. One of these eleven asylums returns 42 probably curable cases. The probably incurable thus form nearly the whole population, and of these about 95 per cent. are tabulated as *excited, violent, or dangerous*. We turned to the reports made by the Commissioners at their annual visits to this asylum, and were gratified to find that they spoke of nothing but quiet and order, and not of what might reasonably have been expected from a crowd of lunatics, with a character so much worse than that given of the insane generally in the public asylums of England. We conclude, therefore, that this, and such exceptional returns, must have been due to some misapprehension of what was meant in asking them; and we think we may safely assume that *at least* 7637 of the pauper insane in the public asylums of England in 1867 are properly described as both *incurable* and *quiet and harmless*; and among these chiefly we must look for patients unnecessarily detained, if there are any.

It appears to us necessary that all should be said which has been said, in order to secure the reader's being made sufficiently master of the situation. We have endeavoured



to maintain a sequence in the statement, so as to make it easily followed by those who are not familiar with the questions involved. With the same object, we now repeat the conclusions already given, and add to them such other conclusions as seem to be warranted by the further stage of the inquiry, at which we have arrived.

We have found that there is a great progressive increase of the insane in our asylums, with no prospect of an arrest; that admissions into asylums are rising with the growth of the population, and somewhat beyond it, but not in such a way as to account for the great advances in the numbers resident, or to give grounds for the belief that men are in any marked degree more liable to insanity than they were; that the growth of the population of our asylums is mainly composed of paupers, and that men conversant with the subject have accounted for this by the more frequent discharge of the unrecovered among private than among pauper patients; that 90 per cent. of the pauper inmates of our asylums are probably incurable, and that only 10 per cent. offer any hope of recovery; that of the 90 per cent. of incurables, one third may be regarded as quiet and harmless; and that if we have more patients in our asylums than need be there, we may expect to find them among this last class.

We have seen, in short, that the great bulk of the pauper inmates of our asylums consists of chronic and incurable cases, many of whom are quiet and harmless, and that the continuing growth of the population of our asylums results from an accumulation and storing up of this class of the insane. If, then, the growth is to be checked, and the pressure for asylum accommodation relieved, one of the ways, by which we may hope to accomplish this, must be by a larger withdrawal of the incurable, or, in other words, by an increase in the discharges of the unrecovered. There are difficulties, however, in the way, and in practice these are neither few nor trifling. "It is very natural," the Scotch Commissioners say in their Seventh Report, "that superintendents of asylums should acquire the conviction that the insane can nowhere be under more favorable circumstances than in such establishments, and that they should even doubt the propriety of discharging any one who has not recovered." The Commissioners themselves, however, do not appear to be much troubled with this doubt, for further on in the same Report they say: "We are not of opinion that insane patients must necessarily be better cared for in asylums than anywhere else, and we are accordingly opposed to the view that, as a matter of course, lodgment in an asylum should always

be resorted to. The fact that there are many patients who cannot be satisfactorily cared for except in such establishments should not be allowed to lead to the belief that this manner of disposal is in all instances the best for the patients." "Viewed even in the most favorable light," they say in their Tenth Report, "detention in an asylum partakes a good deal of the character of imprisonment. There is a necessity to conform to the rules of the institution, to sacrifice individual inclinations, and to obey the orders of the officials and attendants." In spite of this view of asylum life, which is undoubtedly correct, when we read the Reports of the Commissioners and Inspectors of Lunacy, and see how much is done to promote the well-being of the poorest patient in an asylum, and how freely skill and time and money are expended to secure his comfort, we do not wonder that superintendents should hesitate before recommending the removal of a patient, even though incurable and inoffensive, from so much care. Yet they may be wrong, and the Scotch Commissioners right. If such a patient, for instance, were to pass from one of the magnificent county asylums of England to the ordinary wards of a workhouse, there are few who would not regret that so great a down-come had been regarded as necessary. But it appears that the regret may be about a loss which turns out to be no loss, but a gain; for the English Commissioners tell us in their Eighteenth Report, that "there is a class of patients among the idiotic and weak-minded, whose quiet habits and tractable dispositions not only permit of their living in all respects with the ordinary paupers of workhouses, but even render them very often the most trustworthy and useful of all the inmates in employments about the house. In very many of the smaller country workhouses, where the practice is encouraged of so mixing them with the sane, and, as far as possible, of employing them, the result is so satisfactory in all respects that their condition is, in our opinion, even preferable to that of the same class in some well-ordered asylums." To such patients, therefore, if this be correct, removal from the workhouse to an asylum would be a loss of happiness, and if that be so, why should the loss be sustained?

Suppose, again, that the patient went from the asylum to the care of his friends—poor working people—where he would live in a rough and perhaps dirty way, and where the outside of the aid he would receive from the parish would be 6d. or 9d. a day. Who of us would not pity him? Yet it appears that the change would probably give him a chance of living longer, for the Scotch Commission-



ers, who know more about their pauper lunatics in private dwellings than is known of the patients so disposed of in England, or Ireland, or France, tell us that the rate of mortality among them is lower than among patients in establishments, and they make the following remarks on this subject:—"That it should be less than the mortality among private patients is not surprising, considering the amount of active disease in such establishments; but that it should be so considerably less than what occurs in the lunatic wards of poorhouses must appear remarkable, especially when it is taken into account that the patients in such wards are, for the most part, like those in private dwellings, idiots and demented, and that, as a rule, the physical wants of the former are more amply supplied. We can offer no explanation of this fact, beyond the conjecture that the manner of living in private dwellings, involving, as a rule, greater freedom and greater variety, more than counterbalances the advantages which better diet, better clothing, better bedding, better housing, and greater cleanliness might be supposed to convey."

We have said enough to show that these official documents clearly indicate the possibility of providing for some of the insane poor otherwise than in asylums, not only without injury to them, but with probable benefit. This of course—the good of the patients—ought always to be the first consideration, and one which should give place to no other. But may we not sometimes be mistaken in thinking that a particular rule and method of doing good, to which we are wedded by long and pleasant association, continues, in all times and circumstances and for all objects, to be the unfailingly satisfactory method it was, as regarded those with whom it had at first to deal?

"In determining on the propriety of the discharge of a patient, whether private or pauper, it appears to us," the Scotch Commissioners say, "that, as a rule, superintendents of asylums give comparatively little consideration to the question whether detention continues to be necessary or proper, provided they are satisfied that the patient is still of unsound mind. But the statutory form of the medical certificates requires not only that the patient must be of unsound mind, but also *a proper person to be detained and taken care of*;" and they allude repeatedly to their reasons for holding that it is not "the intention of the Legislature that patients should be detained in asylums simply because they remain of unsound mind," and that, therefore, "their detention is justifiable only when their discharge would prove incompatible with the safety of the

public, or with their own safety or welfare." These are views which are commended by common sense, and which there is no gainsaying. It will sometimes be difficult, no doubt, to determine of an insane person that he may be liberated without risk to the public or himself, or to say of him that he is positively harmless. It does not appear, however, that this is a difficulty which in practice would seriously or generally interfere with the discharge of the unrecovered. There are very few who do not admit that a certain number of the insane may very properly be considered as harmless, and as being not more likely to prove an actual source of danger to the lieges than any other class of the community. The insane are more trusted and have greater freedom than they ever had, and all the documents before us show that in their management there is a tendency to attempt more in this direction. It appears, too, that among the insane in private dwellings, under the care of the Scotch Board, averaging from 1500 to 1600, no casualties have occurred during the ten years of the Board's existence; while, as regards the discharges of the unrecovered among private patients, which, as already stated, are so much more frequent than among paupers, the Commissioners say,— "Our information, so far as it goes, does not show that any injurious consequences have followed," and they add the important remark,— "Indeed, experience proves that danger is far more to be apprehended during the incubation of insanity, when mental disease is scarcely suspected, than at a later period, when its existence is fully recognised."

The following quotation from the Seventh Scotch Report will show with what breadth and fairness this question of the accumulation in our asylums of chronic and harmless pauper patients has been considered:—"It might be proper and humane to provide hospitals for the treatment of all the poor suffering under mental or bodily ailments, in which they would receive the most judicious treatment, and enjoy far greater comforts than they could possibly command in their homes; but the State would shrink from any such general measure of relief, not only as uncalled for, but as detrimental to the independence and moral character of the people. In all charitable undertakings their feasibility and ultimate effects should be considered; and it may accordingly be well to inquire whether it is necessary or even proper that the insane should, with but comparatively few exceptions, be separated from the rest of the community, and be congregated together in asylums."



Enough, we think, has now been said to show that there exists, in official quarters, a clear opinion that some of the pauper inmates of our asylums might properly be removed and provided for elsewhere, the costly appliances of a fully appointed asylum being regarded as unnecessary in their cases. In whatever manner we dispose of the patients so removed, their withdrawal would of course be a relief to the asylums, and an immediate answer to the demand for increased accommodation. In their last Report, the Twenty-second, the English Commissioners say,—“It is the presence in costly establishments of so many insane persons, to whom a less elaborate provision would be more suitable, that constitutes the real grievance to the ratepayer.” That there is a grievance is here admitted, and that it is one which is becoming more felt from year to year is beyond question. The annual cost of lunacy is already enormous, while its rate of increase is also great and constant, and gives no indication of a tendency to cease. In so beneficent a work as that of providing for the insane poor, the cost, we think, should not be too strictly regarded. If in anything, there should be liberality in this; but there should certainly be no *unnecessary* expenditure, which is waste. Real benefits should, if possible, be obtained for all the money laid out, and public charity should be ruled by the same considerations which rule private charity. This being so, if there are, as the English Commissioners here say, many insane persons maintained in costly establishments for whom a less elaborate and cheaper provision would not only be suitable, but “more suitable,” there does appear to be a “real grievance” to the ratepayer. In their previous Report (the Twenty-first) the English Commissioners speak also of the positive benefit to certain patients of an “expensive associated accommodation, homely in character and simple in architecture,” and they say,—“All our experience points to the manifest advantage which not only the quiet working patients derive from this description of accommodation, but even some of the less orderly and tractable.”

This high official approval of plain and inexpensive buildings for the accommodation of the insane poor is very important. Many of the county asylums of England are handsome edifices, presenting a most imposing appearance. Their very grandeur impresses us with the earnestness and largeness of English philanthropy in this field, and we cannot look on them without a certain pride. Yet buildings with less display of outward ornament, but with as much, or

even more, attention to internal comforts, might in reality have been the expression of a sounder philanthropy. The cost of three, for instance might have built four. But apart from the consideration of cost, it is difficult to understand that their architectural beauties can have any good or useful effect on insane persons, who belong chiefly to the lower and little educated orders of society. Indeed, it might be maintained, and with considerable show of reason, that for all classes of the insane poor, buildings of a less pretentious and *institutional*, and of a more home-like character would be an actual benefit. The tendency of present opinion, in fact, appears to be in this direction. The treatment of the insane approaches more and more closely to family life, and the accommodation provided for them may be expected to depart less and less from that of ordinary dwellings. The quotation just given from a recent Report of the English Commissioners, shows that for a certain number of the insane, not consisting solely of harmless imbeciles, but including some of “the less orderly and tractable,” simple and inexpensive structures are not only regarded as sufficient, but as better than structures which are more costly, more ornate, and more elaborate.

It would appear, then, from what has been said, that the English and Scotch Commissioners dwell much in their reports on the enormous increase that has taken place in the pauper population of our asylums, and on the rapid rate of growth still exhibited. The same feature characterizes the Irish and the French reports. On all hands it is felt that there is a problem to be solved, and that this growth is a thing which it is desirable to arrest. It appears also to be as generally felt that the accumulation of incurable and harmless patients in establishments erected at great cost, with all the appliances and machinery for the treatment of curable and the safe and proper keeping of dangerous or troublesome patients, is unnecessary and undesirable.

It must not be supposed, however, that the present state of matters is a thing altogether new, for however far back we go, we find that whenever an asylum was erected in a district, its population began at once to grow in the way described, and to assume the same character as regards the great preponderance of incurable cases. Asylums which at their opening are sufficient for the wants of the district—that is, which can receive every patient then in an asylum chargeable to the district, and have moreover, a proper reserve of empty beds—not unfrequently after two or three years are found full, or more than full; then comes a de-



mand for additions, which are made and filled in their turn, to be followed by a fresh demand for further additions. This is and has ever been, more or less exactly, the history of all asylums which have been in operation for any length of time. In their Twenty-first Report, for instance, the English Commissioners point out that the present state of matters was found to exist in the older county asylums a quarter of a century ago:—

"So long since," they say, "as 1844, the attention of the Commissioners who were appointed to report upon the condition of the various public and private asylums in England and Wales had been specially directed to the accumulation of chronic cases, which was, even at that period, taking place in many of the county asylums. They state at p. 92, 'In a certain portion of cases the patient neither recovers nor dies, but remains an incurable lunatic, requiring little medical skill in respect to his mental disease, and frequently living many years. A patient in this state requires a place of refuge; but his disease being beyond the reach of medical skill, it is quite evident that he should be removed from asylums instituted for the cure of insanity, in order to make room for others whose cases have not yet become hopeless. If some plan of this sort be not adopted, the asylums admitting paupers will necessarily continue full of incurable patients, and those whose cases will admit of cure will be unable to obtain admission until they themselves become incurable, and the skill and labor of the physician will then be wasted upon improper objects.

"Under these circumstances it seems absolutely necessary that distinct places of refuge should be provided for lunatic patients who have become incurable. The great expenses of a lunatic hospital are unnecessary for incurable patients; the medical staff, the number of attendants, the minute classification, and the other requisites of a hospital for the cure of disease, are not required to the same extent; an establishment, therefore, upon a much less expensive scale would be sufficient."

The whole matter under review is well and clearly stated in this quotation from a Report, which was written twenty-five years ago. The influence of that admirable Report on the well-being and happiness of the insane poor, not in England only, but in all the divisions of the empire, and in all the countries of Europe, and among all the civilized nations of the earth, must have far exceeded anything which even that distinguished philanthropist, whose name first follows it, could have ventured to expect when he affixed his signature. But in this particular matter the recommendations and suggestions of the Report have had no practical effect. They became and continued to be law till 1853, when they ceased to be law by

omission, that is, by being dropped out of the Act then passed. And now again, we find the Commissioners in successive Reports pointing out the same evil, and indicating the same remedy. But before examining the nature of this, and of other remedies which have been proposed, we stop for a little to draw attention to an effect of the great accumulation of incurable patients in asylums, which is alluded to in the quotation just given from the Report of 1844. We refer to the effect which that accumulation is believed to have on the higher functions of such institutions. We are told by the English Commissioners, in their Twenty-first Report, that to relieve asylums of the incurable and inoffensive patients who fill the wards, and for whom medicine can do little in the way of special treatment, would render them "effective for the reception of curable cases, and such as require special care." The higher aims of an asylum are here well defined as the cure of the curable, and the safe and proper keeping of those who, though not curable, may be in such a state from mental disease as to require special care, and all the machinery of a well-appointed asylum. These aims appear to be seriously interfered with, when the wards are allowed to be cumbered with incurable and harmless patients; and it is declared to be a waste of the physician's skill and labour when they are expended chiefly on such objects. This must be true, in an emphatic sense, if the presence in an asylum of a crowd of incurables leads to the exclusion of the curable. In the Report of 1844, the Commissioners say—"The disposal of incurable patients, although a very serious and difficult question, is certainly of less moment than the exclusion of curable patients from asylums, which have been erected at great public cost, and are fitted up with every convenience for the purpose of cure" (p. 93); and with reference to one of the causes which operate "to fill lunatic asylums with incurable patients, and to prevent the public from deriving any considerable benefit from them as hospitals for the cure of lunacy," they say—"This must continue to operate and neutralize all other efforts for the benefit of the insane, unless means are adopted to relieve the asylums from the pressure of incurable patients," (pp. 91, 92). If this were done, the duties of superintendents would no doubt become more medical and less administrative, and asylums would assume more the character of hospitals and less that of refuges for the infirm in mind; and from this change we might fairly expect a benefit in the long-run to mankind, through an extension of our



knowledge of the nature of insanity, and of the means of treatment. Referring to the time when many of the chronic insane who are incurable and harmless will be withdrawn from our asylums, Dr. Maudsley, in his work on the Physiology and Pathology of the Mind, speaks thus of the effects of such a withdrawal:—"Then will asylums, instead of being vast receptacles for the concealment and safe keeping of lunacy, acquire more and more the character of hospitals for the insane; while those who superintend them being able to give more time and attention to the scientific study of insanity, and to the means of its treatment, will no longer be open to the reproach of forgetting their character as physicians, and degenerating into mere house-stewards, farmers, or secretaries." This may be regarded as a strong way of putting the case, but it will be generally felt that it strikes at an evil which is real—at an evil, however, which cannot be quickly or easily corrected. All this, however, may be true of asylums—they may not be perfect; there may even be grave errors about them; and yet they may deserve to the full, as we think they do, the eulogy passed on them by Dr. Paget in the Harveian Oration for 1866: "To my eyes," he said, "a pauper lunatic asylum, such as may now be seen in our English counties, with its pleasant grounds, its airy and cleanly wards, its many, comforts, and wise and kindly superintendence, provided for those whose lot it is to bear the double burthen of poverty and mental derangement,—I say this sight is to me the most blessed manifestation of true civilisation that the world can present."

We come now to examine the remedies proposed for the evils, which are believed to arise from this great accumulation of incurable patients in asylums, and first as to the proposed *outlets*. These are—(1.) transference to buildings intermediate in character between the workhouse or poorhouse\* and the county asylums; (2.) transference to the workhouse or poorhouse itself; and (3.) transference to private dwellings.

The first is evidently the scheme which meets with most approval from the English Commissioners, and it is that which was most strongly recommended by the Commissioners of Inquiry in 1844. Already, indeed, in a certain sense, and to some extent, it has been acted on, as, for instance, at Kent, Devon, Chester, Prestwich, etc., where detached blocks have been

erected at a cost which is moderate, when compared with that of the main buildings. But the detached blocks in these instances must be regarded merely as enlargements of existing asylums, and not in any correct sense as separate institutions. They do not, therefore, obviate some of the evils which result from the accumulation of chronic harmless patients. They are simply additions to asylums, at a moderate instead of a considerable cost; and we can scarcely look on them as presenting a new mode of providing for a certain class of the insane. Detached blocks, erected at a moderate cost, might and perhaps should be a feature in the original design of every asylum; and in many instances certainly additions and extensions should be made in this way. On these views the English Commissioners appear to act, for with reference to this subject they say:—"In the enlargement of existing county asylums, as well as in the erection of new ones, it has been our practice to advocate, as far as possible, the construction, for the more quiet and trustworthy patients, especially those employed on the farm, or in the laundry and workshops, of inexpensive associated accommodation, homely in character and simple in architecture." Nothing can be clearer, we think, than the propriety of what is here recommended, whether in the interest of the insane or of the ratepayer. But we learn that a limit may be reached, and indeed has been reached, in making extensions on this plan—a plan which cannot properly be regarded as furnishing an *outlet* for the harmless incurables who crowd the wards and interfere with the usefulness of an asylum, since they are not thus really withdrawn from the establishment, but remain in it, though in a different part. Asylums might, as easily in this as in any other way, grow into monster establishments like those at Hanwell and Colney Hatch; and so nearly universal now is the condemnation of such asylums, that it appears scarcely necessary to point out that this should be avoided if possible. "Each succeeding year," the English Commissioners say, "confirms us in the opinion we have so often expressed as to the many evils resulting from the congregation of very large numbers of the insane under one roof and one management."

We think, however, that in this form of accommodation, "intermediate between the workhouse and the asylum," the Commissioners have more in view than simply inexpensive extensions of existing asylums; but effect has not yet been given, so far as we can discover, to any such view. Some-

\* What is called a workhouse in England and Ireland is called a poorhouse in Scotland.



thing of the kind, however, will be done when the district asylums are erected, for which provision is made in the hastily framed and ill-considered Metropolitan Poor Act of 1867. These institutions, it is true, are intended only for the reception of such patients as are presently in the workhouses of the metropolis; but there is every reason to believe that they will not stop there. They will of course receive such of the lunatic poor as are now in the workhouses; but it will be found in practice that they will also receive many patients who ought to be sent to fully appointed asylums, and many who have already been there, and many who, but for the erection of these institutions, would not have been sent as lunatics either to asylums or to workhouses.

We come now to consider the second of the proposed outlets for the incurables congregated in asylums, namely, a transference of some of them to workhouses or poorhouses. These are institutions which have not to be created. They exist already; and already, indeed, contain no inconsiderable number of such patients as it has been proposed to transfer to them from asylums. Thus, our latest information shows that on the 1st of January 1867 there were 10,307 in the workhouses of England; on the 31st December 1867, 2705 in the poorhouses of Ireland; and on the 1st of January 1867, 998 in the poorhouses of Scotland, making a total of 14,010 appearing in official returns as thus provided for. Large as this number is, there is every reason to believe that it is considerably below the real number of the insane who are presently inmates of our workhouses and poorhouses.

To adopt, therefore, this second mode of relieving the pressure for accommodation, and of obviating the extension of asylums, would merely be to give development to a thing which exists, and has long existed. Before expressing approval or disapproval of the scheme, we first turn to see what is said of the condition of those of the insane poor who are already provided for in this manner.

We may observe, before entering on details, that there has been, and still is, a general and strong dislike to this mode of providing for the insane poor, and that to foster it would be regarded by not a few as retrogression, and a departure from the benevolent views which, for the last thirty years, have regulated the care and treatment of these unfortunates. The very names, *poorhouse* and *workhouse*, appear to disclose an unfitness of things; and we start with a feeling that an incurable lunatic,

who is an object of great pity and generally infirm in body as well as in mind, and who is detained against his will and for the term of his life, should have much better treatment and care than is given to the ordinary poor in establishments, a main feature of whose organization and management is that they shall tend to the repression of pauperism.

If we turn, however, as we shall first do, to the Reports of the English Commissioners, we shall find that the condition of all lunatics in all workhouses is by no means described as unsatisfactory. On the contrary, of the condition of the insane in many of them these Reports speak well. We have already given a quotation from their Eighteenth Report, in which it is stated that in "very many of the smaller workhouses," where the insane inmates mix freely with sane, and are employed with them, "the result is so satisfactory in all respects that their condition is, in our opinion, even preferable to that of the same class in some well-ordered asylums." And this suggests the remark, that in workhouses and poorhouses there are two ways of disposing of the insane—(1.) in association with the ordinary inmates, and (2.) in separate wards. The first method, as we should expect, is generally found in small workhouses, and the Commissioners, reverting to the subject in their Twenty-first Report, write as follows:—"Where the inmates of unsound mind are not so numerous as to require wards for their accommodation, apart from the ordinary inmates, nor of such habits or tendencies as to render necessary a treatment not commonly extended to all, the report is generally favourable." It appears, then, that there are some lunatics in the workhouses of England who would not be benefitted by removal to asylums. These, however, are not in wards set apart for them, but are in association with the ordinary inmates.

What, now, are we told of the condition of those who are found in separate wards? These wards are on different scales—some large, and others comparatively small; and it is of the former—the larger—that the Reports of the Commissioners speak most favourably. "On the other hand," they say in their Twenty-first Report, "there has been frequent favourable report from houses under quite different conditions, where, as in many of the larger towns throughout the kingdom, the inmates of unsound mind, collected in the workhouses, have become so numerous as to require special arrangements for their accommodation;" and they speak elsewhere of the "creditable condi-



tion of the lunatic inmates in some of the larger workhouses." In one of them, for instance—the new Manchester workhouse—they tell us that "proper rooms, a good diet, warm clothing, means of employment, opportunities for air and exercise, and comfortable beds" are provided for the patients; and that "in every other provision for the insane, comparison might almost be challenged with a well-conducted county asylum." Little more than this could be expected or desired.

In so far as regards England, therefore, the most satisfactory state of matters is found on the whole in the very small and in the very large workhouses; and in a considerable number of these no objection is taken to the condition of the inmates, or to the manner in which their comforts and wants are provided for.

It appears further from the English Reports, that in many of the larger workhouses the state of the lunatic wards and the condition of the inmates has undergone a marked improvement as the result of the inspections of the Commissioners. But they complain that when such good has been effected there is no security for its permanence; that "such improvements in workhouses exist only by sufferance;" and that "what is done one year may be undone the next." This, it need scarcely be said, is a very grave objection, and must seriously interfere with the use of such institutions as an outlet for the harmless chronic patients in asylums. Indeed, where the Commissioners have succeeded in effecting improvements, it has not been in virtue of any power they possess to enforce their suggestions, but because the guardians happened to be actuated by a liberal policy, and were willing to adopt them. To this, and to a general support from the Poor-Law Board, they are obliged to trust; and such being the fact, nothing can be clearer than that there is in this matter some defect in the Lunacy laws of England. In spite of these difficulties, however, when speaking of the improvements they have been able to effect, the Commissioners say, in their Twentieth Report:—"Enough has been done to show that, under proper regulations, provided no recent cases are received, and with the protection afforded by rendering necessary the keeping of medical and other statutory records, a larger proportion of imbeciles and old chronic cases of insanity might, without impropriety, be retained in workhouses, and the pressure for increased accommodation in county asylums be thus proportionately reduced." If this be so, and if it be desirable, as they say it is, to reduce the pressure

otherwise than by building new asylums, or extending old ones, it is much to be regretted that failure should result from want of powers conferred on the Commissioners.

It is difficult to see why Boards of Guardians should be allowed to detain lunatics without that license which all other persons in the kingdom doing the same thing are required to obtain. If it were made illegal to keep insane persons in workhouses without a license from the Commissioners, we think that many difficulties and objections would be removed, and these institutions might with more confidence be used as refuges for some of the chronic cases now in asylums. In removing such cases from asylums, and placing them in workhouses, it is practically, as the law stands, a removal from those humane protections of the Lunacy laws with which they have been surrounded, and a transference to the care of irresponsible guardians. This is far from being as it should be, for the kindly and watchful protection of the law ought to be extended, as nearly as possible, to the whole body of the insane in the kingdom, and should not be confined to those of them who have drifted into asylums, and of whom many do not differ, as regards their mental condition, from those out of asylums, whether in workhouses or in private dwellings. In a very special sense this should hold good of the insane who are supported by the public charity, and who should be under the immediate care of the State, wherever they are placed.

If it were made necessary for a workhouse, before keeping lunatics, to obtain a license from the Commissioners, it could be refused except on certain conditions, and could be withdrawn if these conditions were not observed. Such conditions would have reference to dietary, attendants, clothing, beds, day-rooms, dormitories, furniture, airing-yards, occupation, exercise, amusements, etc. The admission of recent cases would also be prohibited, and regulations would be made to insure a proper selection of patients. Medical attendance would be secured; and it might with advantage be required that a medical officer, once chosen, should not be dismissed without the consent of the Commissioners.

If the condition of the lunatic wards of certain workhouses is found to be, or has been rendered satisfactory, there is nothing in the nature of things to prevent the condition of the others from being brought up to the same point of comfort. What appears to be wanted is power where power should be; and it should always be remem-



bered that the conferring of this power is desirable, not simply to make the workhouses available for the reception of chronic cases from asylums, *but also for the sake of the ten thousand patients who are already in them.*

So much, then, for the condition of the insane in the workhouses of England. We turn now to the class similarly disposed of in the poorhouses of Scotland, excluding, of course, those found in what are called parochial asylums (six in number),—institutions which have no exact analogue in England, and which receive all classes of pauper patients, curable and incurable. They were found in existence at the passing of the Lunacy Law in 1857, and were continued from a regard to vested interests. They are now licensed by the Commissioners in the same manner as private asylums.

The patients we have presently to deal with are those found in the lunatic wards of poorhouses which hold from the Commissioners a *limited license*—so called, because in granting it, it is a condition that none but incurables and harmless patients shall be received. For each case admitted the sanction of the Board is accordingly required. The dietary is also prescribed by the Commissioners, and a reference to it, in their Fifth Report, will show that it is as liberal as that adopted in the public and district asylums. The value of this sufficient supply of good food cannot be overestimated, for, as the English Commissioners tell us, “nothing has been so clearly established in the treatment of insanity as the importance of a good supply of nutritious food, whether to promote recovery in the curable, or to prevent deterioration in others.”

In various respects, as might be anticipated, the need of applying for a license is found to be productive of good results; and when the conditions are not observed, and all efforts to make the state of the wards and of their inmates satisfactory have failed, then the license is withdrawn, as appears to have happened in the case of two poorhouses, viz., those at Dunfermline and Stranraer.

When we read the earlier Reports of the Scotch Commissioners, we hear of little but “the generally unsatisfactory condition of pauper lunatics in poorhouses,” but as we reach the later Reports we become sensible of a change, and this not a change of opinion on the part of the Commissioners, but a change in the state of the poorhouses themselves. They appear, in short, to have undergone improvement; and, having ceased to be what they were, can no longer be

reported on in the same terms as at first. As we go on, we hear of greater readiness on the part of parochial boards to carry out the suggestions of the Board of Lunacy; of liberality in management; of an increase in the number of attendants; of provisions for exercise, occupation, and amusement; of the introduction of comfortable furniture and objects of decoration; of wards in excellent order, cheerful and well ventilated, with patients clean in person, well clothed, and well fed; of patients judiciously selected and well cared for; and of many other things which indicate a progress in the right direction, and which convey, on the whole, a favourable impression of the spirit in which these small institutions have of late been conducted. One important and pleasing evidence of the improvement which appears to have taken place, is to be found in the diminished rate of mortality. During the first five years, from 1859 to 1862 inclusive, the mortality was 10·9 per cent. annually on the numbers resident, while during the last five years from 1863 to 1867 inclusive, it had fallen to 7·3 per cent. a result probably due to improved hygienic conditions, that is, to such things as better food, better clothing, better housing, more exercise in the open air, more occupation and amusement, and less of a wearisome monotony in the existence of the patients.

It only remains now to notice the condition of the insane in the poorhouses of Ireland, which we shall do briefly. In their last Report the Inspectors in Lunacy say:—“We found the insane inmates of poorhouses inspected by us during the year, on the whole, well attended to, and their creature comforts duly provided for.” Poorhouse accommodation, however, does not seem to be much in favour with the Inspectors as an outlet for the harmless incurables who fill the asylums of Ireland, as they do the asylums of England and Scotland. They appear rather to be disposed to recommend that form of accommodation intermediate between asylums and workhouses, which we have already described. Indeed, in the Clonmel Auxiliary Asylum there is already an institution exclusively devoted to the reception of chronic and incurable cases of insanity, and they appear to contemplate the erection of other institutions of a like character, so that, as they say, “by establishing inexpensive refuges for the incurably insane, the district asylums may be left free scope to fulfil their true object of hospitals for the treatment and cure of lunacy—a position which most of them are far from occupying at present, owing to the fact that they contain 70 per cent. of chronic and in-



curable cases." Such establishments would undoubtedly relieve asylums of their incurables, and much can be said in recommendation of them. If extensively adopted, the development of poorhouse accommodation, under good regulations, would of course be unnecessary.

We have now examined two of the proposed outlets for the chronic harmless patients in asylums, viz., refuge asylums, and workhouses or poorhouses. There remains, however, a third,—that, namely, which would consist of the discharge of some of the unrecovered into private dwellings. And here again, as in the case of poorhouses, we should be dealing with a mode of providing for the insane which is already in extensive operation. In England, for instance, on the 1st of January 1867, there were 6638 pauper lunatics so disposed of; in Scotland, at the same date, 1548; and in Ireland, on the 31st of December 1867, 6564;—making a total for Great Britain and Ireland of 14,750. In England and Scotland the numbers refer only to those lunatics who are in receipt of parochial aid, but the number for Ireland includes more than these, though the vast majority may safely be regarded as belonging to the *insane poor*. Fifteen thousand lunatics at large appears a very great number, yet it is almost certainly much below the fact. In Scotland, indeed, it appears to be known that the number would be at least twice that given, if we included private patients, or those not in receipt of relief, a large proportion of whom, however, are said to be on the confines of pauperism. It would be safe, therefore, to estimate the number of the insane in private dwellings in Great Britain and Ireland as certainly exceeding 20,000.\*

Many, we think, will be surprised to learn that this large class of the insane is almost without legislative protection, except in Scotland, though what has been revealed from time to time as to their condition, and what might be expected in their circumstances, indicate that they require *State Care* as much as do the insane poor provided for in great establishments, which are presided over by physicians of a superior class, and governed by gentlemen of high social standing in the districts whose wants the asylums are intended to meet. The English Commissioners very properly feel that it would be a hardship to remove a pauper patient from a public asylum, when the doing so would deprive him in a great measure of

legislative protection and care; but unless it be worse to have had and lost than never to have had at all, a patient so withdrawn from an asylum is not more to be pitied than a like patient who has never obtained admission. So long, therefore, as the State has so trifling a control over the condition of the insane poor in private dwellings, and remains at so great a distance from them in its concern about their welfare, there must necessarily be hesitation in recommending the discharge from asylums of unrecovered patients who are to be provided for in private dwellings. In various Reports the English Commissioners point out the necessity of extending a larger amount of supervision over pauper patients who are detained out of asylums, and of affording them a greater protection than they have at present. Little, we are informed, is known of the condition of the 6564 pauper lunatics so provided for in England, and that little is not favourable. In many instances the Commissioners believe that they are "in a deplorable and neglected state;" and we fear that it is too true that this is the case.

In their Twenty-first Report the Commissioners tell us that the application of this system of placing the harmless and incurable insane poor in private houses, "as a means of relieving the asylums in England of their harmless chronic patients, and thus providing for the reception of recent and curable cases, has been strongly advocated in some quarters;" and they add that they "have strong reasons for doubting whether the system could advantageously be extended so as to afford any material relief to the county asylums, or that it works so satisfactorily in this country as to render its more general adoption at all desirable." We think these doubts are well founded, for the system, so far as we know, cannot be said to work well in England (which is the country here referred to); and to foster it as an outlet for chronic patients from asylums would be dangerous, so long at least as the Commissioners have no closer connexion with and control over it than the remote and almost nominal one which presently exists. That that control and connexion should be made closer is desirable for reasons altogether apart from the question of providing for the chronic patients in asylums,—reasons which might tend to reduce rather than increase their number,—reasons, in short, of humanity, having reference solely to the host of pauper patients already in private dwellings, whose state is too often most unsatisfactory, and who have as clear a claim on the State's care as many of their fellow-sufferers, who have drifted into asy-

\* In France they were estimated at 53,160 in 1861.



lums more by a sort of chance than by any essential difference of mental or bodily condition.

All this relates to England. The state of the case in Scotland differs considerably. There the control of the Board of Lunacy over pauper patients in private dwellings appears to be direct and immediate. In the first place, no patient can be so disposed of without the sanction of the Board, and, in the second place, all arrangements so made are personally inspected and inquired into by officers of the Board. These two facts alone seem to us to establish a wide and fundamental difference between the systems of the two countries; and this difference must make much possible and right in the one which would scarcely be prudent in the other, and may naturally be expected to lead to somewhat different views regarding this mode of providing for some of the insane. The experience of the English Commissioners must rest, in this matter, on their dealings with patients who are perhaps injudiciously selected, about whom they have little information, and over whom as little control, while such cases as are brought in detail under their notice are not likely to be the cases of patients who are living in comfort. The Scotch experience, on the other hand, rests on a minute knowledge of the condition of all cases, good and bad, and on constant and personal dealings with the patients,—in efforts to secure a proper selection, and to make their condition satisfactory.

This wider scope of the Scotch Lunacy Law is seen also in its relation to poorhouses. It is designed to embrace within its care the whole body of the insane poor, wherever placed, and it is in this respect more comprehensive, perhaps, than any of the Lunacy laws of Europe. In France, for example, the 53,160 lunatics in private dwellings are left without any special care on the part of the State.

The reports as to the condition of *these selected patients, whose residence in private dwellings has received the sanction of the Scotch Board*, is, on the whole, satisfactory, and it does not appear, from anything we can learn, that it would be a benefit to these patients to place them in asylums. Their condition, too, has undergone improvement. "We have acquired," the Commissioners say in their Seventh Report, "an extensive and accurate knowledge of the condition of pauper single patients in all parts of the country, and we have the satisfaction of stating that, by the repeated suggestions made at successive visits, a considerable improvement has been effected." Altogether, a perusal of the Report of the

Scotch Commissioners leaves little doubt as to the *possibility* of making such a provision in private dwellings for the comfort and safety of a selected class of insane persons, as shall be reasonably satisfactory, and advantageous both to patients and ratepayers. The Commissioners admit the value of "the greater amount of liberty accorded to the patients, their more domestic treatment, and their more thoroughly recognised individuality;" and they say, "there are many persons whose mental condition requires that they should be placed under the care and control of others, yet whom we would hesitate to deprive of liberty to the extent almost necessarily involved in sending them to asylums."

It is of importance to learn, as we do from the Eighth Report, that "accidents to patients detained in private dwellings with the sanction of the Board are of extremely rare occurrence," and perhaps of more importance still to know that, "so far as mortality is a test of treatment, the condition of single patients must be considered as more favourable than that of any class in establishments." These facts show that a great amount of liberty can be given to no small number of the insane without risk of injury to themselves or to the lieges, and that this freedom appears, in a sense, to be food to them, since, when in the enjoyment of it, with worse food and less care, they live longer. The system of providing for some of the insane poor in private dwellings may never receive, or may be long before it receives, any such development as will make it extensively useful as a relief to the pressure for asylum accommodation. There are many practical difficulties in the way, even if it were in every respect desirable that it should take this growth. But whether it does so or not, we think that the experience of the system in Scotland has been useful in showing (1.) the necessity of a careful and well-regulated supervision over pauper patients in private dwellings, and (2.) the great amount of freedom which can be safely and beneficially accorded to many of the insane; (3.) that it has thus exercised an indirect influence on asylum construction and management, and tended to widen our ideas of non-restraint. "I cannot but think," says Dr. Maudsley in the work already referred to, "that future progress in the improvement of the treatment of the insane lies in the direction of lessening the sequestration and increasing the liberty of them." Here and there, in the serial literature relating to mental disease, both of this country, and of France, and Germany, and America, as well as in



systematic works on the subject, opinions more or less like the foregoing have appeared from time to time, and with increasing frequency, during the last eight or ten years. One quotation we shall give, and we select it from the work on Mental Pathology and Therapeutics, by Professor Griesinger, whose untimely death is being, even now, so widely and deeply deplored. We give it partly because of the weighty name of its author, but in part also because it refers to a peculiar institution in Belgium, which has greatly modified the opinions even of those who dislike or condemn it:—

"A colony of the insane," Griesinger says, "has been formed in the remarkable Belgian village of Gheel, in which, for several hundred years past, lunatics have lived together with the inhabitants, and even resided in their families. In former times people frequently resorted thither to supplicate the aid of Dymphne, the patron saint of the insane, although people are seldom in the habit now of consulting her oracle. . . . Out of a population of about 9,000, it has from 900 to 1,000 inhabitants who are insane. . . . The lunatics enjoy an amount of pleasure and freedom which never could be permitted them in an asylum. All who are capable of it share in the mechanical or agricultural employments of the sane. The treatment, in the main, is very mild, and restraint is never made use of without previously consulting a physician. Suicide is rare, and the general physical health so good that in 1888 two of the patients reached upwards of 100 years of age. Owing to the peculiar situation of Gheel, escape by the patients is difficult. . . . With all its advantages, it has undoubted drawbacks. . . . But the experiment at Gheel has proved that the greater number of the insane do not require the confinement of an asylum; that many of them can safely be trusted with more liberty than those institutions allow; and that association in family life is very beneficial to many insane patients."

As regards the insane at large in Ireland, we have not much late information, except as regards their numbers; but we may safely assume that their condition in 1858, as disclosed in the Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry (page 38), has not undergone any material change. At that time the number of such patients was 3,852; and of these more than one-half (1767) were returned as "well treated;" ten-elevenths (3029) were considered "harmless;" and more than two-thirds (2371) were "resident with relatives." There were also, however, 1585 "neglected," 80 "living alone," and 565 "vagrant;" so that there was much room for improvement, and great need of humane enactments regarding them. These figures refer only to the *insane poor*.

From this examination of the three proposed outlets for the chronic insane who fill

our public asylums—that is, (1.) refuge asylums, as they may be called; (2.) workhouses or poorhouses; and (3.) private dwellings—it appears to us that, under proper regulations, they can all, to some extent, be made serviceable, and that a diversity of accommodation for patients in different conditions of mental incapacity is desirable, from considerations alike of science, of humanity, and of economy. It would make insanity differ from every other diseased state, to suppose that all those who labour under it must be disposed of and provided for in one and the same manner. What is necessary for one may be neither necessary nor good for another. Nay more, what is proper for a patient at an early period of his malady may be inappropriate at a later. No one would think of making the same provision for the shortsighted and the utterly blind, or for the club-footed and the legless. Between insanity and such conditions there is not, of course, anything like an exact parallelism, but there is a sufficient approach to it to justify the illustration we have used. The providing for the diseased in mind is a much more complicated and difficult matter than the providing for other classes of sufferers; and when we have succeeded in devising a scheme of provision which satisfies us, we are naturally, and we think properly, unwilling to quit it, or readily to admit that there has arisen a change in the circumstances which calls for a modification of the system, so as to maintain the efficiency of the higher purposes it is intended to serve.

If, then, it be desirable to relieve our public asylums of their harmless incurable patients, and if intermediate or refuge asylums, workhouses or poorhouses, and private dwellings are to aid in this and to receive such patients, it must be, we think, *by bringing them under better regulations and better supervision*.

But the question of an increase in the discharges of unrecovered pauper patients has other aspects besides that which relates to the provision of suitable receptacles.

It has been said, for instance, that it is highly desirable to bring the propriety of detaining patients periodically, and in a formal manner, under review. Many patients who enter asylums neither recover nor die, but remain there—still insane, it is true—but their bodily mental condition may have undergone great changes; and it is said that there ought to be some procedure which would force, as it were, a careful consideration of the question whether their insanity is still such as to warrant or need continued detention. To accomplish this, a change was lately introduced into the Scotch Lunacy



by Law, which is thus described in the Tenth Report;—"By sect. 7, 29 and 30 Vict. c. 51, it is enacted that the authority for detaining a patient in an asylum, conferred by the sheriff's order, shall expire on the 1st day of January first occurring after the expiry of three years from the date on which it was granted, unless the medical superintendent of the asylum shall then, and thereafter annually, certify, on soul and conscience, that the detention of the patient continues to be necessary, either for his own welfare or that of the public." This procedure, the Commissioners tell us, "resembles that established in France by the law of 1838, which requires that twice a year, in the first month of each half year, the superintendent of the asylum shall furnish the Préfet of his department with a medical certificate of the condition of every patient in the asylum; from the tenor of which the latter determines whether the patient shall be discharged or be further detained."—Similar provisions exist also in the Lunacy laws of other countries. In the Genevese law, for instance, art. 4, t. 1, is to this effect:—"L'autorisation ou l'ordre ne peuvent avoir d'effet pendant plus de six mois; ils peuvent être renouvelés. Après le troisième renouvellement, ils peuvent n'être renouvelés que d'année en année;" and it is further provided that on the expiry of the order, applications for renewal shall be accompanied with a certificate from the medical man in whose charge the patient has been. The law 14 and 15, enacts somewhat as follows:—"The physician of the asylum shall, during the first four weeks after the day of admission, make a daily record of the results of his observations; and he shall draw up a full report of these, and give his careful opinion thereon, stating whether the condition of the patient is such that his prolonged detention in the institution is desirable or necessary, either for the purpose of cure, or in the interests of public order, or to prevent accident to the patient or the lieges. At the latest within six weeks after the date of the order the report referred to in the foregoing article shall, along with a new petition, be sent to the district bench, who, if there be no reason against it, shall issue an order to detain the patient in an asylum for a period which shall not exceed one year." So on, from year to year, the renewal of the order is necessary, and is granted "on satisfactory evidence that reasons exist, beyond mere un soundness of mind, for warranting prolonged detention."

All these enactments are designed to prevent the unnecessary detention of patients in asylums; and with the same object the

facilities for the withdrawal of unrecovered pauper patients have been increased, and have been made, in Scotland at least, almost equal to those for the withdrawal of private patients.

Provision has also been made for the discharge of unrecovered patients *on probation*, and such discharges are encouraged both in England and Scotland. In their Ninth Report the Scotch Commissioners say, "It is frequently very desirable that before a patient is permanently discharged his powers of self-control and ability to be at large should be put to the test," and with this view they are empowered to authorize discharges on probation. In their opinion, too, such discharges "might be more frequently considered by superintendents in chronic cases, which manifest no strongly marked features of insanity, but which, nevertheless, are detained from year to year, more perhaps from habit than from any conviction of such a course being really necessary," and they give the following case in illustration of this:—"On the opening of the Fife District Asylum it became necessary to remove all the pauper lunatics of the district to that establishment. But it was then discovered that a patient who had been a long time in a Musselburg house no longer required asylum treatment. Instead, therefore, of sending her to the district asylum, she was allowed to go home, but with an intimation that if she did not find her position there comfortable, she would be received back as a paid servant. In a few days she returned to the asylum, where, instead of being supported by the parish, she is now in receipt of wages, although her mental condition is precisely the same as it has been for many years."

The total number of probationary discharges, between their authorization in 1862 and the close of 1867, was 499—a number by no means inconsiderable. Of the results all we learn is this, that only 68 of the 499 patients were replaced in asylums before the expiry of the probationary period.

So also in England, discharges on trial are encouraged by the Commissioners. We find them, for instance, in their last Report, recommending the superintendent of one of the large county asylums "to discharge upon trial to their friends such harmless and chronic cases as he may be able to select for this purpose, after satisfying himself that their friends would be willing to take charge of them."

Such, then, are some of the recent provisions of the law, tending to keep down undue accumulation of chronic pauper patients in establishments. All recent enactments,



however, have not that tendency. The "Metropolitan Poor Act, 1867," for instance, will practically have the opposite effect; so also will the act 24 and 25 Vict. c. 55, which relates to England, and throws the maintenance of pauper patients in asylums on unions instead of parishes. In many respects this provision of the law is a humane one; but its operation tends to increase and not to diminish the number of the chronic and harmless patients in asylums, by removing a main inducement to keep them out and get them out. The English Commissioners approve of this enactment, and point out that it will remove improper motives for keeping back patients; and they add that it may even do more, and give rise to an opposite desire, "as by placing them in an asylum the expense of maintenance will be at once removed from the parochial to the common fund of the union."

In France the maintenance of the insane poor is borne by the Departments, but the law requires the communes and hospices to share the cost; and in order to check in some measure the too frequent sending of harmless and incurable patients to the Departmental asylums, the contingent imposed on the communes is higher for that class than for the curable or dangerous.

We have heard it remarked that experience shows it to be almost impossible, in the present day, to overbuild for the accommodation of pauper lunatics, so rapid and steady is the growth of their number: We have shown how this growth takes place, and we have dwelt much, as all the documents before us do, on the fact that it consists mainly of an accumulation of incurable pauper patients, a large proportion of whom are quiet and harmless, and it is desirable to check and reduce this accumulation by a withdrawal of some of the patients. We have shown what proposals have been made with this object, and that it is an essential feature of all schemes that the withdrawal of such patients from asylums should not also be a withdrawal from the protection and care of the law. We have shown further what recent enactments tend to foster and what to repress this increase in number of pauper patients in asylums.

There are still, however, other considerations not yet alluded to, which affect the question.

It is said, for instance, that the better treatment of the patients prolongs life, and so tends to a storing up of incurables; and we cannot but believe that better treatment must to some extent operate in this way. We should most unwillingly accept an assertion that all the skill, care, kindness, and

money so liberally expended on these poor sufferers had been productive of no greater average length of life than they enjoyed under a treatment which was harsh, and which had but little regard to the comfort and happiness of its subjects. The reduced mortality in the lunatic wards of the poorhouses of Scotland seems fairly to be referable to the better diet prescribed, and the general improvement in the surroundings of the patients; and what has taken place there must, we think, have taken place in establishments generally.

What this better treatment of the insane really consists in, and how very great it is, but few among us now-a-days rightly understand. The distance between the present and the old state of things is the distance between humanity and cruelty, between knowledge and ignorance, between civilisation and barbarism. Asylums in former times were *madhouses*; chains and dungeons and tortures filled them; and their inmates were treated like wild beasts, and were objects of pity, less for the terrible malady which affected them, for the savage and brutal treatment to which they were subjected. It is difficult to believe that this describes, without exaggeration, what, half a century ago, was general in this country, and what existed in some parts to a much later time. The evidence as to the state of asylums before the Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1815 is a book of horrors—a revelation of almost incredible ignorance and inhumanity. For a long time reformation was slow in its progress,—unaccountably slow as it appears to us now; and it was not till nearly a quarter of a century after that evidence was taken that it could be said of any of the asylums of England that mechanical restraint had been abolished in them. With this reform in England the name of Dr. Conolly will be honourably associated for ever; but there were others, and not a few, who were early and earnest workers in the same direction. Among the valuable asylum reports of the time, there is no more remarkable one than that for the Lancaster Asylum in 1845. The details of the reform, so quickly effected there, are narrated as if nothing strange were being told: and its startling magnitude is left to reveal itself from the facts. One sentence we often remember, in which, without a word of comment, it is recorded that, "in the summer of 1842, upwards of nineteen tons weight of iron bars and gates were completely removed, and at the same time the small windows were enlarged and lowered."

Only thirty years ago, then, can reform be said to have fairly started. From that time



down to the present it has gone steadily on, till restraint in the treatment of the insane may be said to be unknown in the land. The most humane views now regulate the treatment of such persons. They are regarded as sufferers, having a strong claim on our pity and help. Everything which skill can suggest and money can buy is provided for their comfort and wellbeing. They are treated with gentleness, and the universal desire is to lessen their calamity. They have good food, warm clothing, and comfortable beds. Facilities for exercise, occupation, and amusement are abundantly supplied. Life in short, is made as pleasant to them, as it can be in their sad circumstances.

The influence of this happy change on the number of lunatics in asylums cannot fail to be great. It was a grievous necessity only which could have been held to justify the placing of a patient in one of these old mad-houses. The furious and dangerous would be those chiefly sent into them. They existed, indeed, rather for the protection of the lieges, than for the cure and treatment of the insane. They were strong places for the safe custody of furious madmen. The notion of a lunatic, in fact, in those times almost involved ferocity and danger, and there was a general and profound dread of any one who went by the name. Unhappily the public is not yet wholly disabused of this feeling—a senseless and groundless one as regards the great bulk of those who are now called lunatics. *Who are now called lunatics*, we say, because practically the class has been greatly widened. In a more especial sense this is true of *lunatics in asylums*. Lawyers, indeed, still adhere to the old notions of what constitutes *lunacy*, and resist the change which they are asked to make, and which must soon come to them as it has come to others. At present, however, we have only to do with the change which has taken place in the opinions of medical men and of the public, and which has indirectly resulted from the introduction of humane treatment of the insane. Asylums are no longer regarded with horror, and as dismal abodes of cruelty. There is no hesitation now in sending patients to them, from the fear of harsh usage and neglect. It is everywhere known that nothing but kindly intentions guide their management, and to none is this better known than to those who deal with the poor, for no class of the insane is more certain of good treatment than the pauper class. There is no such aversion to asylums therefore as to interfere with the placing of the insane poor in them. Persons labouring under the least marked forms of mental unsoundness, who would never have been sent to the old mad-

houses, are now sent to our asylums, and kept there. As it is not felt to be an addition to a poor lunatic's misfortune that he must be sent to an asylum, certificates are more easily obtained; and medical men and the public have thus become habituated, in dealing with lunacy, to include more than in practice was formerly included. Thus gradually what is meant by lunacy has become wider, and has been made to *approach more closely to the teachings of science*.

The tendency of this change of opinion is to increase the number of the pauper insane in asylums. It is possible that the presence of an insane member in a family is a greater inconvenience now than it was thirty or fifty years ago, when there was not so much bustle in life, and when social arrangements were simpler and more primitive; and the Poor Law and Lunacy Law give facilities for the gratuitous support of the insane in asylums. Application accordingly is often made for the removal of a patient to an asylum, as much for the comfort of the family as for his own welfare. He may not be dangerous, nor may his condition be such as to give any hope of improvement, but it is an advantage to his friends to be relieved of his support; and this advantage of course is the more readily sought that it is known he will be well treated in the asylum. The same knowledge leads also to a willingness on the part of friends to allow patients to remain in asylums, after they are known to have passed from active disease into a chronic and harmless condition. Overseers or inspectors of the poor, and parochial medical officers, again, have more anxiety about the insane who are out of asylums; and they are relieved of all responsibility and trouble by the removal of the patients to asylums. It is probable too, that persons who would formerly have been dealt with as vicious and criminal are now certified as insane and sent to asylums, making these institutions substitutes for prisons,—as prisons long were and perhaps still are for them, judging by the accounts we receive of the mental condition of many within their walls.

Everywhere we find the authorities urging the propriety of placing patients in asylums soon after the invasion of the disease, and all seem to agree in thinking that this would considerably increase the number of cures, and so lessen the number of those whose condition is rendered incurable by neglect of proper treatment when treatment is of most importance. It has even been proposed that gratuitous treatment in a well-appointed public asylum should be given for one or two years, to any one who applies for it within three months after the appearance



of the disease. The wealthy and well-to-do would not probably abuse this privilege; and it might be a benefit to many, who would not be able to establish, or willing to make a claim on public aid at the time when the disease first shows itself; but who, under a continuance of the disease, sink into pauperism, and eventually obtain assistance, when it is comparatively a small benefit, their disease being confirmed.

We must not look, however, to any of the measures discussed in this article for a real reduction in the occurrence and amount of lunacy in the country. That must come chiefly of a better and sounder education. Men must know more than they do of the relations between mental and bodily health, and of the duty which lies on them to act on such knowledge. They must be made, in short, "the intelligent guardians of their own health, both of mind and body."

In the meantime, we must make the best provision we can for the greatest possible number of those who are bereft of reason, and unfit to care for themselves. The number of these is already very large, and there is every reason to believe that it will yet be much larger. For this increase preparation must be made; and we are thus forced to inquire what scheme of further provision should be encouraged or adopted. The total number of insane persons officially known to exist in England, Scotland, and Ireland, may be roughly stated at upwards of 78,000. In England their number has risen from nearly 21,000 in 1844 to more than 50,000 in 1868. Between 1847 and 1867 the pauper lunatics in establishments in England rose from about 13,000 to about 36,000. In Scotland and Ireland our figures refer to shorter periods,—from 1858 in the one and 1857 in the other. During these periods the increase in the total number of the insane in Scotland was from 5774 to 6807; and in Ireland from about 9000 to 15,060. In Scotland also, the increase related chiefly to paupers in establishments, whose number rose from about 2900 to about 4000; and the same thing is probably true of Ireland, though, as regards it, the distinction between pauper and private patients is not so clearly drawn.

In view of such figures as these, there will be a ready and general assent to the statement of the English Commissioners, that "the subject of the continued and marked increase in the number of the insane poor is one of much importance." We have endeavoured to pass it in review in such a way as to make the whole state of the case apparent, and to show that while the importance of the question involved is great, so also are

the difficulties which surround its practical solution. We think, however, that the direction in which the solution must be looked for, has been indicated. It appears to us that the pressure for asylum accommodation could be relieved by the withdrawal of some of the numerous inmates who are declared to be *incurable and harmless*. The withdrawal of such patients from asylums, however, should not also be a withdrawal from the humane protection and care of the Lunacy laws. This benefit should be extended to the insane poor in all conditions and circumstances, and should follow patients so removed from asylums, whatever provision is made for them. That provision may take various forms. Some of these patients, for instance, may be removed to the auxiliary asylums for chronic cases, which were recommended a quarter of a century ago and are still recommended by the English Commissioners, and which would undoubtedly prove useful institutions in many districts, especially in those which are populous. Others, again, of these harmless and incurable pauper patients might be transferred to lunatic wards in workhouses or poor-houses, providing such wards were brought under control and supervision. It would thus be possible, we think, to make these institutions serve a useful public purpose, if power to direct their management were placed in the proper hands. A further number of the harmless patients withdrawn from asylums might be disposed of in private dwellings. As in the case of workhouses, however, this method of providing for some of the insane poor can only be encouraged when the control over it is made sufficient.

All these forms of provision might properly be in operation together. They would be supplementary, and usefully so, to the county asylum; and would give a diversity of accommodation for a class in whose condition there is no such uniformity as to make a uniform mode of provision either necessary or desirable.

#### ART. VI.—THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY.

LAST year a cry for help reached this country from the suffering inhabitants of the Red River Settlement. The response was immediate and gratifying. A like appeal made to Canada was answered with equal promptitude, the government immediately supplying the funds wherewith to relieve existing distress and avert impending calamities. Excepting the fact that the crops at the Red



River had failed, the public here cannot be assumed to have had much acquaintance either with that locality, or with the people towards whom their sympathies were tangibly manifested. Fortunately, general ignorance does not harden the hearts of the charitable. It is possible that a similar application for relief, if made on behalf of the dwellers on the shores of the Albert Nyanza, or of the Esquimaux who haunt the Frozen Ocean, would have been entertained by the tender-hearted with equal readiness, and responded to with equal cordiality.

Several things connected with the origin, history, and present condition of the Red River Settlement are as worthy of being brought to the knowledge of the public as the bare fact of its inhabitants having recently had a narrow escape from falling into the jaws of famine. The circumstances which require explanation and merit attention are diverse and complicated. They are interwoven with the history of England. They embrace such topics as the good faith of our monarchs, the statesmanship of renowned ministers, the principles by which free trade and commerce are regulated, the propriety of acts done in the name of Royal prerogative and unsanctioned by the representatives of the people. We have not simply to deal, then, with the deplorable accident of a bad harvest, or matters of local interest and fleeting importance. In giving some account of the Red River Settlement, we but write the preface to a larger subject, and prepare the way for the proper understanding of a momentous theme. For the Red River Settlement forms but one of the series of questions which group themselves about the Hudson's Bay Company whenever the constitution of that Company is impeached and the validity of its charter considered. It is the last of the great companies subsisting by virtue of a charter of incorporation granted at a time when the Crown exercised prerogatives since admitted to be untenable and now happily abandoned, and encouraged exclusive systems of commercial dealings which are no longer possible. In order to explain why our fellow-subjects at the Red River are dissatisfied with their lot, we must cast a retrospect over bygone centuries, and trace the series of blameworthy deeds, of which the first and most fatal was committed by the Monarch who never uttered anything foolish or did anything that was wise. The settlers who were the recipients of our charity in 1868 might then have been the objects of our envy, had not Charles the Second, acceding to the petition of Prince Rupert, the enemy of the Puritans, and the Duke of Albemarle, who betrayed the Commonwealth

in order to restore the King, granted an ill-defined and indefensible charter to a body of "Adventurers" in 1670.

The discoverer of Hudson's Bay has never been ascertained. That Sebastian Cabot was the man, and 1512 the date of the discovery, appears to be the best-founded conjecture. In 1610 a navigator named Hudson visited the Bay, gave his name to it, and lost his life either in its waters or on its shores. His crew having mutinied, they placed him in a boat; thus left to his fate, he was never heard of again. Fifty-eight years afterwards, Prince Rupert and others equipped an expedition thither. A fort was built on the Bay, and named after the reigning sovereign. In 1670 application was made by the promoters of this enterprise for a charter of incorporation. Their professed designs were the discovery of a passage into the South Sea, the prosecution of trade in furs, and the search after valuable minerals. The prayer of the petitioners was granted, and "The Governor and Company of Adventurers trading into Hudson's Bay" took rank among chartered companies. The pith of the grant is contained in the words, that the "Adventurers" were to enjoy "the sole trade and commerce of all those seas, straits, bays, rivers, lakes, creeks, and sounds, in whatsoever latitude they shall be, that lie within the entrance of the straits commonly called Hudson's Straits, together with all the lands, countries, and territories upon the coasts and confines of the seas, straits, bays, lakes, rivers, creeks, and sounds aforesaid, which are not now actually possessed by any of our subjects, or by the subjects of any other Christian Prince or State." This has been styled an indefinite grant; we might call it one which, if not illegal, was null and void. If the lands in question were under the dominion of the English Crown, the grant cannot be defended on constitutional grounds. The right of the Crown to alienate territory without the assent of Parliament is a right of which the existence is very questionable. There is no evidence, however, to support any claim on the part of the Crown to the lands of which, in 1670, it made so liberal a gift. Consequently, such a grant is as truly void as the donation of the New World which the Pope awarded to the Portuguese. Moreover, Hudson's Bay and the surrounding territories were then in the actual possession of another Christian Prince. Canada was first occupied by the French. In their eyes it was a country which would prove another France. By the name of *La Nouvelle France* it was long known and much beloved by them. They perceived not only the fitness of the



country for colonization, but also the profits to be gained by trading in furs with its savage inhabitants. Long before Prince Rupert acted as the promoter of the Hudson's Bay Company, a charter had been conferred on Frenchmen by Lewis the Thirteenth, containing terms almost identical with those referred to above. This was the Company of New France, founded on the 29th of April 1627. Its objects were similar to those of the Adventurers trading to Hudson's Bay. At the time, these facts were imperfectly known. For a brief space the Hudson's Bay Company traded on the territory it claimed as its own without provoking remonstrance from the French. Yet both Englishmen and Frenchmen did not long submit to the monopoly of trade and the rights of possession exercised and claimed by the Company. Unable to check these in a way of which the legality would have been undisputed, and doubtful as to the value of a charter which Parliament had not confirmed, application was made in 1690 for an Act confirming to the Company the privileges conferred by its charter.

This endeavour to secure a Parliamentary title was a skilfully planned strategic movement. A full and trustworthy account of the proceedings has not yet been given to the world. The following sketch, compiled from the Journals of both Houses, contains all the details of importance and value:—

After the Revolution of 1688, the power of Parliament was alike increased and acknowledged in new quarters. Those who had been accustomed to regard the Crown as the source of privilege, as well as the fountain of honour, became suddenly apprehensive of the value of grants made by virtue of Royal prerogative. Accordingly, applications were frequently made to Parliament for aid and countenance. In 1690 many companies petitioned the House of Commons to legislate in their favour, by securing to them the rights which had been accorded under Letters-Patent. The first of these applicants were "The Governor and Company of White-Paper Makers;" "The Royal African Company" next presented a petition; then followed a petition from "The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies;" and lastly, on the 7th of April, a petition was read from "The Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay," setting forth that they had been incorporated by Letters-Patent as a company to carry on exclusive trade in the Bay, "with its countries, coasts, and confines, and that the same should be reckoned as one of his Majesty's plantations,

which the Company has since kept, and settled a trade there;" that they had suffered serious losses at the hands of the French, and had been "disturbed in their trade by divers persons of this nation undertaking interloping voyages." Leave was given to introduce a Bill in accordance with the prayer of the petitioners. It was read twice in due course, and referred to a Committee. Two petitions against the Bill were received, the one from the Committee of Felt-makers, protesting against the monopoly, and praying for a copy of the charter, in order that they might "give further reasons against the Bill;" the other from Robert Bodington, setting forth that his ship "Expectation," with a cargo valued at £2000, had been seized and confiscated by the servants of the Company within Hudson's Straits. However, the Committee reported the Bill without amendments, and the third reading was fixed for the 13th of May. As it then stood, the Bill was a duplicate of the charter. Indeed, a clause set forth that the charter was confirmed as if it had been "word for word recited and set down at large." But immediately before the third reading an incident occurred of which a distinct explanation is not given, but for which we can assign a probable reason. It would appear that some members had become aware for the first time of the true import of the charter, and were opposed to giving in perpetuity that which would have been conferred had the Bill become a law. Hence the following rider was moved, carried, and added to the Bill:—"Provided always, that this Act shall continue and be in force for the time of seven years, and from thence to the end of the next session of Parliament, and no longer."\* It had been proposed to fix the period of duration at seven years, but a motion to this effect was defeated by a majority of 32. "Fourteen years" were then ordered to be inserted, and the Bill passed. The next entry in the journals is a significant one. It is in these terms:—"Ordered, That when any Bill shall be brought into this House for confirming of Letters-Patents, there be a true copy of such Letters-Patents annexed to the Bill; and that this be declared a standing order of this House for the future."†

\* This Act was printed for the first time, along with other papers, by order of the House of Commons in 1849, pp. 95, 96. An explanation of the incident referred to above is there given; but this is inaccurate, differing as it does from the version contained in the Journals of the House of Commons.

† Journals of the House of Commons, vol. x. p. 412.



As soon as the Bill had been read a first time in the House of Lords, a petition was presented from merchants trading to New York, praying that they might "be heard before the passing of the Bill." This was agreed to, and they were represented by counsel before the Committee to which it was referred. On the 15th of May, Earl Rochester reported, as chairman of the Committee, that the Bill had been amended. This consisted in substituting "seven" for "fourteen" years. Thus amended, it was sent down to the Commons, who assented to the alteration. It received the Royal assent on the 21st of May 1690.

By those who have treated this important episode in the Company's career it has been supposed that no steps were taken to obtain a renewal of the Act. On the contrary, however, a vigorous effort was made to get the Act continued. A petition was presented to the House of Commons on the 8d of March 1697, and leave was given to Mr. Edward Harley to frame and bring in a Bill in the terms of the prayer. The words of this petition were not entered in the journals. Some days afterwards, "The Merchants of London trading to New England, New York, etc.," prayed to be heard against the Bill. A petition was also sent by Captain Lucas, complaining of the capture of his ship by the Company's servants in 1683. On the 6th of April, the Bill was reported from the Committee, with "several amendments." It was then referred back to a Committee of the whole House. Moreover, it was "Ordered, That the Hudson's Bay Company do lay their charter before the House." This was done on the 9th of April, when it was resolved "that the said charter be referred to the Committee of the whole House, to whom the Bill for confirming to the Hudson's Bay Company their privileges and charter is committed." On the 7th of May the House went into Committee, and, after considering the measure, asked leave to sit again. Subsequently there were one or two adjournments, but no decision was arrived at. Probably the Bill was withdrawn. It is noteworthy that the obstacles to its progress proved insurmountable after the charter had been laid before the House. The conclusion is unavoidable that either the House had proposed to impose onerous terms on the Company, or else that the Company, finding it vain to press a measure which there was no hope of passing, preferred a discreet withdrawal to an open and damaging defeat. Yet the Company, though foiled in Parliament, did not give up the game. It has been bold enough to continue for upwards of a century and a half to exercise

rights based, not on the solid foundation of a constitutional Act, but on the dangerous quicksand of Royal prerogative.

The first legislative inquiry instituted into the Company's affairs was set on foot in 1749. A Committee of the House of Commons then examined witnesses with a view to elicit the truth as to how the adventurers had conducted their operations. This Blue-book is a curious as well as little known work, differing as it does in nearly every particular from the Blue-books with which we are now overburdened. Instead of entering into a detailed analysis of the evidence, let us merely indicate its scope. All those examined concurred in admitting that the Company had confined its trade to the shores of Hudson's Bay; that its servants never advanced farther than 100 miles into the interior; that settlers were discountenanced, and the tilling of the soil and working of the mines systematically discouraged. We consider it proved that no claim had been advanced in 1749 over the country which, at a later period, the Company alleged to have been included in the grant, and occupied accordingly. In one respect the Parliamentary investigation of 1749 proved highly favorable to the Company's servants. They had been charged with neglecting to prosecute one of the designs which the charter was originally intended to promote, and with having contributed nothing towards the discovery of a passage to the South Sea. In answer to this it was shown that between the years 1719 and 1737 nine vessels had been fitted out and dispatched in quest of a North-West passage. Out of these, two never returned, while the remainder wholly failed in their mission.

Long before this Committee sat, the Company had been engaged in disputes with the French as to the respective boundaries of their territory and that of Canada. An article in the treaty of Utrecht related to this point. Negotiations were entered into by the representatives of England and France in accordance with the terms of that treaty; but these led to no result, because neither side would recede from the position taken up. It is noteworthy, however, that the claim of the Company in 1713 and at a later date was of a very limited nature. No pretensions were then put forth for such an indefinite boundary as should give to the "Adventurers" a huge section of the American continent. If a settlement had been then made on the basis of the Company's proposals, we should have heard nothing at a later period of the Company's rights to a larger area. When Canada was ceded to England in 1763, all the soil over which France had



claimed or exercised dominion became part and parcel of British territory. Not even then was a distinct boundary-line drawn between the possessions of the Company and the dependency of the Crown. That any difficulty on this score would afterwards arise was not foreseen, otherwise provision would assuredly have been made to meet it. Indeed, the general opinion was that the vast extent of territory over which the Hudson's Bay Company neither claimed nor exercised jurisdiction might be turned to profitable account by others. Accordingly, in the year 1783, a number of Canadians became associated for trading purposes, under the name of the North-West Fur Company, and began to carry on trade in the territory which stretches from the head of Lake Superior to the base of the Rocky Mountains; sometimes, indeed, crossing these mountains, and extending their operations to the shores of the Pacific. More than one company had done this before: more than one did so after 1783. For the sake of clearness, however, we will speak of the North-West Company as if it were the sole competitor with the Company chartered by Charles the Second.

The success of the North-West Company was as gratifying to its promoters as it was galling to its rival. The latter had prospered exceedingly. It has been officially admitted that between 1690 and 1800 the profits on the original capital were from 60 to 70 per cent. Rejoicing in dividends like these, the shareholders were ill-disposed to brook any interference which might blast their prospects. The whole resources of the Company were put forth to compel the North-West traders to abandon their project and retire from the contest. Bloody combats ensued. The country was the theatre of scenes of brutal violence on the part of white men, which matched, if they did not surpass in atrocity and ruthlessness, the horrid scenes of slaughter in which the Indians gloried. While this sanguinary struggle was in progress, the Red River Settlement was founded.

Lord Selkirk, a Scottish peer, whose private fortune was nobly employed in furthering the philanthropic schemes of a mind bent upon ameliorating the condition of his destitute fellow-countrymen, devised a comprehensive scheme for their emigration to a land where they might easily gain a livelihood, and would probably rise to a state of affluence. He was a proprietor of the Hudson's Bay stock. It is said that the number of shares he held sufficed to give him a majority of votes, and that accordingly he could influence the Company at his pleasure.

This much is certain, that in 1811 a grant of territory extending over the enormous area of 16,000 square miles was made to him by the Hudson's Bay Company. In the following year a number of hardy Scotchmen, with their wives and families, left their homes at the instance of Lord Selkirk, and took up their abode on the banks of the Red River. They arrived at an unpropitious season. The warfare between the rival traders was at his height. In one pitched battle twenty-two persons were slain. To the traders of the North-West Company the new settlers were specially obnoxious. Again and again the infant colony was dispersed by armed and desperate marauders, and driven to seek safety in flight. Inexperienced as farmers and untrained as hunters, the settlers were often driven to great shifts in order to preserve life. But they persevered, for they believed that in a country so rich as that wherein they had chosen to dwell, the reward of perseverance would be splendid, even if long delayed. In 1821 they considered that the days of their tribulation were over, and that the era of prosperity had begun. Then it was that, exhausted by their barbarous rivalries, the two companies resolved to forget ancient feuds, and form a new association in which both might prosecute the desired ends for their mutual advantage. The North-West Fur Company was merged into that formed in 1670.

From this period dates the extraordinary claims made by the Hudson's Bay Company to exclusive rights to trade in, and to absolute possession of, the territories which are unwatered by rivers flowing into the Bay. In these pretensions their former enemies supported them with a vigour worthy of a more honourable cause. Among those who had attacked the Hudson's Bay Company with relentless energy, who had actively aided its rival, and who, when the ruin of both seemed impending on account of the exhaustion caused by merciless and costly hostilities, chiefly contributed to bring about an amalgamation, the late Right Hon. Edward Ellice was foremost. He had denounced the charter as illegal. He had denied the right of the Company to make a grant of territory to Lord Selkirk, maintaining that he ought to be ejected from lands wrongfully occupied by him, and really belonging to the Crown. At his instigation the opinion of counsel was taken in 1816 as to the validity of the Company's charter. Three of the most eminent English counsel of that day gave an elaborate review of the whole case. Sir Arthur Pigott and Serjeant Spankie, two out of the three counsel employed, were men whose legal attainments



were acknowledged by contemporaries to be very high. The third, who was less known then, has since acquired a fame which is universal. It is enough to say that the name of Henry Brougham is appended to this document, to satisfy thousands as to the weight of the opinion as a whole. In knowledge of pure law Brougham had many superiors; in the technicalities of English law he was comparatively unversed; but few men of his own or any day were better qualified for giving a sound judgment on questions in which serious constitutional maxims were to be as carefully considered as the precise legal bearing of Statutes. As the junior counsel, it naturally devolved on Brougham to write this opinion. A cursory perusal would convince those ignorant of this custom, that no pen but his had produced the paragraphs to which his seniors gave their approval and subscribed their names. We cannot quote this opinion in full without unduly encroaching on our space. Suffice it, then, to give the gist of it. This is contained in the following passage, wherein the extravagant claims of the Company are conclusively refuted. It was contended that all lands within the Hudson's Straits meant the land stretching back from the coast into the heart of the continent. To this the reply is:—"Within the Straits must mean such a proximity to the Straits as would give the lands spoken of a sort of affinity or relation to Hudson's Straits, and not to lands commencing at the distance of 900 miles, and extending 2000 miles therefrom; that is to say, of the coasts and confines of the seas, etc., within the Straits; such a boundary must be implied as is consistent with that view, and with the professed objects of a trading company intended not to found kingdoms and establish states, but to carry on fisheries in those waters, and to traffic for the requisition of furs and other articles mentioned in the charter." Nearly every law officer of the Crown, and every distinguished member of the bar, during the last century and a half, has been called upon for his opinion on this matter. It would not be difficult to show that those which appear the most favourable to the Hudson's Bay Company are in reality, and on the most important points, framed in the spirit of that just quoted. Should the subject ever be brought before a court of judicature, there is little doubt that the views so clearly and forcibly enunciated by Brougham would in the end prevail.

After the amalgamation of the rival companies, Mr. Ellice, who had proved so vigorous and indefatigable an opponent of the Hudson's Bay monopoly, became its most

conspicuous and ingenious defender. He was a member of the Committee of the House of Commons appointed in 1857 to investigate the whole subject, and suggest a mode of adjusting antagonistic claims while doing justice to individual interests. No member of that Committee worked more assiduously than he in defence of the Company, then called upon to demonstrate its title to consideration by exhibiting the advantages which had flowed from its existence. Having tendered himself as a witness, he furnished the Committee with the results of his experience. He passed through the ordeal of an examination with a success which would have been complete, had he not failed to explain satisfactorily why his opinions underwent a change equivalent to a revolution. When confronted with statements made by him when the brilliant advocate of the North-West Company, he was forced to make the humiliating avowal that at one time he had written with violence against its English competitor, and that, like other writers situated as he had been, he asserted many things which it would be difficult to substantiate. But neither his skill in fence nor his ingenuity in suggestion could remove the impression that after the amalgamation of the Companies both parties had agreed to sink all legal questions in the assertion of boundless claims; that the power of the united disputants had proved sufficient to baffle those who, in the name of law and equity, contended for the subordination of private interests to the public good.

In 1821 the two companies became united. Fifteen years afterwards the Earl of Selkirk died. During his lifetime he had given expression to the hope that thirty millions of happy and prosperous settlers would make the territory in which he had founded a colony the hive of industry and the granary from which the hungry at home might be fed. His anticipations seemed doomed to disappointment at the hour of his decease. That they were too high-flown we do not think; that they are still dreams of a happier future is due to the action of the Company which purchased from his heirs the territory in question. Eighty-four thousand pounds were given by the Hudson's Bay Company for the grant of land freely made twenty-five years previously to Lord Selkirk. Thus the Red River Settlement, which the Company had not the merit of founding, passed under its control, to be misgoverned, as all settlements are misgoverned by private associations having trading objects in view, and bound above all things, to provide large dividends for exacting shareholders.

Pages might be filled with the complaints



which the Settlement has made against the Company. Examples abound of the exercise by the latter of a despotic authority over the settlers which free men will not brook, and under which slaves cannot thrive. These complaints are written in Parliamentary papers, and have been substantiated in evidence before Parliamentary committees. In the Blue-book published in 1857, to which reference has already been made, it is shown how the regulations enforced by the Company interfered with the ordinary avocations of the settlers, and how justice was outraged by the decisions of incompetent and partial tribunals. Repeated endeavors were made to enlist the sympathies of others on behalf of the aggrieved. In 1849, a petition was sent to the Home Government, praying for a redress of the grievances detailed at length and supported by proofs. Earl Grey, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, refused to interfere, on the ground that the complaints were baseless. He formed this opinion after receiving an explanation from the Company; in other words, he believed the version of the accused to be more correct than the statements made by those whom the accused had wronged. In 1857 an earnest appeal was made to the Canadian Legislature. If but a tithe of the grievances recited by the petitioners were well founded, their condition must have been deplorable and heart-rending. The substance of the charges made by them is that the conditions under which they were induced to settle had been violated; that they had no security for their lives and properties; that freedom of trade did not exist; that they were denied the right to govern themselves, and were forced to pay taxes in the imposition of which they had no voice; that, leaving the British constitution, they longed to enjoy the benefits conferred by it on all British subjects, but that, having failed in evoking the assistance of the Imperial Government, they prayed the Canadians to extend protection to them, and secure for them the unfettered exercise of the liberties and the privileges which they claimed as their birthright. That these allegations were not made without reason was proved by witnesses before the House of Commons Committee which sat in 1857. Mr. Isbister testified that those holding land at the Red River Settlement, "are not allowed to import goods into Red River from any port but the port of London, nor from any part in that port of London but from warehouses belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company, nor in any other vessel or ship than the Company's ship. They are not allowed to introduce these imports into any port but one in Hudson's Bay, Port Nelson,

which is named as York Factory, and there they must pay a customs duty of five per cent." Mr. McLaughlin stated that proclamations had been issued ordering that all letters sent by post should have the writers' names written outside the covers, and that those who have not signed declarations against trafficking in furs were to send their letters unsealed to the office, in order that the contents might be read. All traffic with other places was forbidden as contrary to "the fundamental laws of Rupert's Land." These proclamations remained in force for several years. They were said to have been disallowed by the authorities at home. Yet this mattered little; for, as the same witness remarked, "there is quite a difference between the Hudson's Bay Company in London, and the Hudson's Bay Company in Hudson's Bay." The last assertion was confirmed by the Rev. Mr. Corbett, who, after adducing similar evidence, complained of the impediments thrown in the way of sending letters, and who, when pressed to give names, declined, because to do this would draw down the Company's wrath on the complainants. One settler, he said, wished to entrust him with a letter to England representing his case, but refrained from sending it, assigning these reasons, "If I allow you to take that letter, I shall not be able to sell my bushels of wheat, and I shall not be able to get clothing for my poor children." Nor was this settler the victim to a baseless fear. The monopoly of trade being in the Company's hands, the market for produce as well as the shops for purchase might be closed against those who had become obnoxious to the authorities. Instances were given in evidence of the exercise of this tyrannical control to the ruin of the persons whose conduct was disapproved by the Company. Hence, when the floods inundate the plains, or the blight commits havoc among the crops, the settlers are necessarily reduced to a miserable state of helplessness. They are virtually prohibited from providing for contingencies. They live, as it were, from hand to mouth, having no facilities for turning themselves to another pursuit when the fruit of their ordinary labor fails. Thus the bad harvest of a year ago was to them a sore trial. Sufficient help from the Company they had no reason to expect. But England and Canada stepped forward at this juncture, and enabled them to tide over the worst. The necessity for this interference need not have arisen had the settlers been free to act in accordance with their natural requirements, and to employ

\* Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company, 1857, pp. 135, 149, 265, 266.



their opportunities in the most useful way. The existence and action of the Company are the true causes of the complaints which the settlers at the Red River have preferred, and of the misfortunes they have had reason to deplore. The unwise charter conferred by Charles the Second in 1670 has thus been the bane of many an existence, while it has made the fortunes of a few.

Were the injurious effects of the monopoly, which the existing Hudson's Bay adventurers have inherited from the favourites of a dissolute Monarch, confined to the 10,000 settlers at Red River, and the smaller number who have settled at Manitobah, we might not be justified in regarding the points at issue as of moment to the whole Empire. But the subject is neither so petty nor of such merely local importance as may be supposed. It is not the tranquillity of a small colony, but the good government and the effective culture of a large territory which are at stake. Until what is called the Hudson's Bay dispute be equitably terminated, the Dominion of Canada, the last but not the least conspicuous candidate for a place among the great nations of the world, is doomed to forego the development of its resources and the consolidation of its power.

When Upper and Lower Canada, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, agreed in 1867 to form a confederacy, it was understood that this was but a preliminary towards incorporating under one government all the North American colonies, along with the younger colonies formed on the shores of the Pacific. It is probable that Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island will soon become parts of the Dominion. The colonists of British Columbia and Vancouver's Island have already intimated their desire to cast in their lot with their brethren living between the Rocky Mountains and the Atlantic. When this is accomplished, and communication opened up through the territory of the several provinces, it will be possible to travel under the protection of the British flag across the great American continent, and to conduct our trade with China and Japan unshackled by the regulations or the tariff of a rival Power. Nor would the limits of the Dominion of Canada be trifling, or its material influence slight, seeing that in extent its area would be as great as that of Europe,—a vast tract of its soil being fertile beyond comparison, capable of, feeding and sustaining an enormous population, well adapted for providing not only the food for which less favoured lands would gladly pay, but also for supplying to the industries and commerce of the world boundless stores of the useful and precious metals, lead and

copper, silver and gold. The pretensions of the Hudson's Bay Company constitute the sole obstacle to the speedy realization of these brilliant prospects.

This Company claims as its own, not only the lands adjoining the Bay, but also the tract which, stretching from the head of Lake Superior to the base of the Rocky Mountains, contains numerous lakes, of which Lake Winnipeg is the most important, and is watered by large and navigable rivers, such as the Red River, the Assiniboine, and the Saskatchewan. The most valuable portion of this territory is styled the Fertile Belt, which in round numbers may be described as 1000 miles in length and 200 miles in breadth; in other words, it is about the size of Great Britain. For many years this was supposed to be a desolate and uninhabitable region—a land of perpetual ice, and solely fitted to be the appropriate habitation of the beaver, the fox, the wolf, and the bear. This notion was fostered by the Hudson's Bay officials. It was their interest to conceal the fact that their most remunerative hunting-ground was designed by nature for the sustenance of man. As late as 1857 the fiction was gravely put forward as a truth.

Among the witnesses then examined before a Select Committee of the House of Commons, Sir George Simpson had earned the title to speak as one having authority. For thirty-seven years he had been in the Company's service as governor of its territories. He had traversed the whole country repeatedly, had thrice crossed the Rocky Mountains, and had made himself a thorough master of the character of the country over which he was the ruler. In answer to a question he made this reply, founded on his experience:—"I do not think that any part of the Hudson's Bay Company's territories is well adapted for settlement; the crops are very uncertain." This sweeping condemnation was repeated in detail, when specific inquiries were made as to particular tracts of country. The Red River and Rainy Lake River districts were instanced by him as irredeemably bad. At the latter he admitted that there was "a slip of land adapted for cultivation," but the censure followed that immediately behind were deep morasses which never thawed. This evidence startled some members of the Committee. They had read an interesting work published by Sir George Simpson, in which he related his opinions of the same localities formed after twenty years' acquaintance with them. This was entitled *A Journey Round the World*. Mr. Gordon, who appears to have been deeply impressed with the work, read a few passages to the witness, asking him to



reconcile them with his evidence. Referring to the Rainy River, with its slip of land and fringe of ice, he had written:—"Nor are the banks less favourable to agriculture than the waters themselves to navigation, resembling, in some measure, those of the Thames near Richmond. From the very brink of the river there rises a gentle slope of green sward, crowned in many places with a plentiful growth of birch, poplar, beech, elm, and oak. Is it too much for the eye of philanthropy to discern through the vista of futurity this noble stream, connecting, as it does, the fertile shores of two spacious lakes, with crowded steamboats on its bosom and populous towns on its borders?" There is no hint here about the slip of land and the perpetual frost. This must either have been a fact or an after-thought. Sir George's explanation was that he wrote in a poetic frenzy. Yet even a poet could hardly help seeing the morass. It was more visible than the prospect which the eye of philanthropy discerned through the vista of futurity. Mr. Gordon not being satisfied, continued his investigations. He read another passage to this effect:—"The soil of the Red River Settlement is a black mould of considerable depth, which, when first tilled, produces extraordinary crops, as much on some occasions as forty returns of wheat; and even after twenty successive years of cultivation, without the relief of manure or of fallow or of green crop, it still yields from fifteen to twenty-five bushels an acre. The wheat produced is plump and heavy. There are also large quantities of grain of all kinds, besides beef, mutton, pork, butter, cheese, and wool in abundance." When asked if he still adhered to the statement that no part of the Company's territories was "well adapted for settlement," Sir George replied in the affirmative.\* His written words when taken together with his oral statements constitute the paradox that a particular tract of country was like the Garden of Eden, yet unfitted for human habitation!

There is nothing either surprising or unnatural in the member of a powerful corporation desiring to uphold it by every means in his power. Fearing lest the Committee before which he was summoned might be inimical to the Company of which he had been the trusted and zealous servant, Sir George Simpson did what he could to prove that while the charges against the Company were baseless, the benefits which flowed from its administration were palpable and

precious. As the fur trade had been the source of the Company's income, it was unlikely that anything would have been encouraged which might put an end to the traffic from which the profits accrued. Now, if the territories in question were thickly peopled and highly cultivated, the wild animals would either migrate or be exterminated. Hence the Company's pecuniary interest was opposed to colonization. This was avowed before the Committee by that staunch champion of its claims and privileges, the late Mr. Ellice. After stating that the trade in skins had diminished by one half in the course of fifty years, he frankly admitted that the influx of settlers had done this. Moreover, he avowed that "the valuable trade of the Hudson's Bay Company is in the remote districts, where, nobody having the power to interfere with them, they preserve the animals just as you do your pheasants and hares in this country." While desiring that the monopoly should be continued in order that the trade in furs might flourish, and expressing doubts as to the possibility of cultivating the soil, Mr. Ellice was fair and prudent enough to concede all for which the opponents of the Company have contended. He made these, among other statements of a like nature:—"If the province of Canada requires any part of this territory, or the whole of it, for purposes of settlement, it ought not to be permitted for one moment to remain in the hands of the Hudson's Bay Company," and the latter "would be too glad to make a cession of any part of that territory for the purposes of settlement, upon the one condition that Canada shall be at the expense of governing it and maintaining a good police, and preventing the introduction, as far as they can, of competition with the fur trade."\*

That the territory of which Sir George Simpson gave such contradictory accounts, and concerning which Mr. Ellice thought there was no prospect of its being settled "in the lifetime of the youngest man now alive," is both valuable and well adapted for colonization, has been demonstrated by a host of credible and impartial witnesses. The Select Committee was convinced that the adverse opinions were incorrect, for in its Report the lands in question, which adjoin the Red River and the Saskatchewan, are mentioned as "likely to be desired for early occupation." Two expeditions were sent forth in order to explore the country, and report as to its capabilities and character. The one, under the command

\* Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company, 1857, pp. 45, 48, 50.

\* Report of 1857, pp. 329, 330.



of Captain Palliser, was dispatched by England; the other was a Canadian expedition under the leadership of Professor Hind. Four years were occupied by Captain Palliser in acquiring a thorough knowledge of the North-Western territory, and tracing the various routes leading across the Rocky Mountains into British Columbia. His report confirms all the favorable things which Sir George Simpson had written, and others had stated in evidence. He expresses his entire concurrence "in the hopeful views which have been expressed regarding the future development of this [the Red River] settlement as a British colony." He says, moreover, that "the lower part of the valley of the Assiniboine, for seventy miles before it joins Red River, affords land of surpassing richness and fertility, to the extent of several hundred thousand acres." Of the valley of the Saskatchewan he speaks in the highest terms, remarking that he has seen, not only wheat, but also Indian corn growing there, a cereal which will not ripen in the United Kingdom.\* No abstract or selection of abstracts would give an adequate impression of Captain Palliser's reports; suffice it to say that they excite in the reader a feeling of bitter dissatisfaction with those who have so long kept the gate of the North-Western paradise shut against the entrance of the industrious settler.

The investigations of Professor Hind's party were as minute as Captain Palliser's, and his reports are equally satisfactory. That the soil is fertile and the climate salubrious are not the only facts for which Professor Hind and his companions vouch. It is also shown in the interesting Blue-book wherein the doings of his expedition are narrated that the natural facilities for locomotion through the vast expanse of the Fertile Belt are greater than had been supposed. A route is described as practicable for steamboats from the Red River Settlement to the base of the Rocky Mountains. All that is required to render it instantly available is to dam up the waters of the South Saskatchewan at a point where the river makes a sudden bend, turning the stream into the Qu'Appelle valley, where it would flow into the Assiniboine, which communicates with the Red River. Indeed, when the snow melts on the mountains, and the spring floods swell the streams, this route is practically open, for the Saskatchewan then overflowing its banks, sweeps down this valley. The engineering work

would be easy and inexpensive. It would consist in building a dam 85 feet high, and 600 to 800 yards long, at a point where the South Saskatchewan is comparatively narrow.\* Other routes might be chosen, for this is but one out of many which can readily be prepared for the transport of goods or the quick conveyance of passengers. Consequently the emigrants who desire to settle, or the travelers who long to cross the American continent, would have every facility at their command for executing their purposes.

As non-official and independent explorers, as well as acute and trustworthy observers, Lord Milton and Dr. Cheadle deserve our confidence. From 1862 to 1864 they were occupied in examining the territory in question; they wintered in the heart of it in a log-house built by themselves, and lived the lives of the hunters who depend on the fish they catch and the game they shoot for subsistence. Adventuring upon a still more perilous experiment, they made their way over the Rocky Mountains, by a pass of which little was known, which Dr. Hector, who formed one of Captain Palliser's expedition, failed to cross,—which is styled the Leather-head pass, and is acknowledged to be one of the best yet discovered. In the very interesting record of their trials and successes are statements fully confirming the most highly coloured tales about the fertility of the North-Western territory. The following short paragraph is a fair sample of the whole:—"From Red River to the Rocky Mountains, along the banks of the Assiniboine and the fertile belt of the Saskatchewan, at least sixty millions of acres of the richest soil lie ready for the farmer when he shall be allowed to enter in and possess it. This glorious country, capable of sustaining an enormous population, lies utterly useless, except for the support of a few Indians, and the enrichment of the shareholders of the Last Great Monopoly."†

The last persons whose testimony we shall cite as corroborating everything that has been said in favour of the project for settling this territory are the present directors of the Hudson's Bay Company. Between 1857, when their old servants, like Sir George Simpson, and their indomitable champions, like the late Mr. Ellice, assured the House

\* The Journals, detailed Reports, and Observations of Captain Palliser, presented to both Houses of Parliament in 1860 and 1863.

\* Report of Progress, together with a Preliminary and General Report on the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition, made under Instructions from the Provincial Secretary, Canada. By Henry Youle Hind, M. A. Presented to both Houses of Parliament. 1860. p. 33.

† *The North-West Passage by Land*, by Viscount Milton and W. B. Cheadle, M. A., M. D., p. 41.



of Commons that the land was fitted only for the habitation of wild Indians and wild beasts, and 1863, when the Company's last prospectus was issued, an extraordinary change of opinion seems to have occurred. It may be attributed to the signal failure of the Company's servants and friends to convince the public that no change should be made, and that the license of exclusive trading in Vancouver's Island and British Columbia should be renewed. Many symptoms betokened to the shrewd observer that the days of the Great Monopoly were numbered. Several of the old shareholders seem to have lost their intense faith in the permanent value of their property. They were prepared to part with their interest to the highest bidder. The season was propitious for the transaction. Money was plentiful and the public credulous. New companies were projected daily, and "floated" in the course of a week. The shares in concerns which a few years afterward were proved to be utterly rotten then commanded enormous premiums. But no success was comparable to that achieved by Finance Companies. They were founded in order to undertake the lucrative business of company-mongering. Not only did their proprietors succeed in this, but they were as successful in convincing shareholders that the true secret of rapid money-getting had at last been found. The days of five per cent. were sneered at as times when antiquated prejudices reigned supreme. Dividends of twenty per cent. were stated to be the minimum amounts which an enlightened shareholder in the glorious nineteenth century might depend upon securing from the capital intrusted to the astute directors trained in the new school of finance. A favorite occupation of these financiers was the remodeling old companies, and converting private firms into public companies. That the public was not benefited by these operations is quite certain. Some persons must have been gainers, for in all financial operations of this kind a large toll is levied by those through whose hands the sums pass.

Without giving any opinion as to the propriety of the transference itself, and admitting that all the parties concerned may have been highly honorable men, let us simply note the fact that in 1863 the Hudson's Bay Company increased its capital and enlarged the number of its proprietors. At that date the share capital, which was £10,500 in 1676, had been raised to £500,000. The International Financial Society undertook to issue new stock, and thereby increase the amount to £2,000,000. The general public had now an opportunity for securing an interest in this prosperous and ancient Com-

pany. At the time it was thought the old proprietors had made a good bargain for themselves, and that the new ones would be disappointed in the anticipations they had formed. Nevertheless the transfer was duly made, the shares—which had formerly been dealt in privately—were admitted to a quotation in the list of the Stock Exchange, and every one appeared satisfied with the various arrangements. It is probable that the old proprietors, who parted with their stock at an enormous premium, are now congratulating themselves on their cleverness, and pitying the folly of their successors,—for the new shares on which £20 have been paid now fetch £18 10s. This means that the barometer of the money market is at Stormy, as far as the Hudson's Bay stock is concerned.

We have merely given the foregoing particulars as incidents which must be known by all who investigate the Company's fortunes. Moreover, they are instructive when considered in connexion with the statements put forth in the prospectus. Since the time when every one associated with the enterprise contended that large tracts of country were either deserts or ice fields, an important change must have been wrought. Bearing in mind what Sir George Simpson and Mr. Killice said about the unfitness of the whole territory for colonisation, let the reader peruse the following extract, issued when the Company was reconstituted in 1863:—

"The Company's territory embraces an estimated area of more than 1,400,000 square miles, or eight hundred and ninety-six millions of acres, of which a large area, on the southern frontier, is well adapted for European Colonization. The soil of this portion of the territory is fertile, producing in abundance wheat and other cereal crops, and is capable of sustaining a numerous population. It contains 1400 miles of navigable lakes and rivers, running for the greater part east and west,—which constitute an important feature in plans for establishing the means of communication between the Atlantic Ocean across the continent of British North America, as well as for immediate settlement in the intervening country. The territory is, moreover, rich in mineral wealth, including coal, lead, and iron."

As a rule, it is imprudent to put implicit faith in the paragraphs of prospectuses. These documents are often framed with a view to dazzle the imagination rather than inform the mind. In some parts of this prospectus the play of a vivid fancy might be inferred, and the desire to attract capital may have as strongly influenced its concoctors as the wish to furnish a plain unvarnished tale. Yet no doubts can be cast on the genuineness of the admissions, which tally with what independent



testimony has corroborated, while contradicting the assertions of the Company's ablest servants and most powerful shareholders. Thus a controversy no longer exists between the persons denying the suitability of the North-Western territory for colonization and those upholding the opposite view. That the wilderness can be reclaimed is certain. The words which Douglas Jerrold applied to the rich soil of our Australian colonies are equally true of the basin of Lake Winnipeg:—"Tickle it with a hoe and it will laugh with harvest." The problem is how to induce the settler to take possession of this rich domain. Fertility is not everything. The rose-gardens of Cashmere would be worthless, the vineyards of Champaign yield no profit, if they were inaccessible. A good road is as important a consideration as a temperate climate and a teeming earth. Now the drawback of the Red River Settlement is that it is practically cut off from intercourse with the rest of the world. Owing to the want of easy communication, its produce when sent to market cannot compete with that of other localities owing to the cost of transit, while the prices of imported articles are very high for the like reason. The truth is, as Mr. Ellice told the Select Committee in 1857; "it is very difficult to settle wild countries, even in the best situations, without the advance of great capital." It has been estimated that an expenditure of at least £25,000 yearly for some time to come will be necessary in order to render the territory of the North-West fitted for the habitation and enjoyment of civilized men.

Laborious though this task may be, the Government of Canada is ready to undertake it. Indeed, the formal acquisition of this country by Canada is the question of the day within the Dominion. All parties, classes, and creeds are as one on this point. Its settlement is urged with equal force by the French Canadian and the native of Upper Canada. That this unanimity of opinion should exist is a token of progress, and a proof that ancient jealousies have died out. In truth, the Canadians might long ago have accomplished this object, had they not been distracted by internecine quarrels. They have protested against the Company's monopoly during a century and a half. The most vigorous assaults upon it were promoted in Canada. The rivalry of the Canadians, both before and after the cession of Lower Canada by France in 1763, was the greatest difficulty with which the Company's servants had to contend; it was one before which they nearly succumbed. When the North-West Fur Company was amalgamated with its rival

in 1821, this was due to the conviction that the ruin of the elder company was inevitable if hostilities were prolonged. After this event the clamour in Canada subsided for a time, and was not renewed till within the last few years.

It is obvious, however, that if the allegations of the Company's opponents were well founded, and if its title to the territory in dispute rested not on legal rights but on the fact of long-continued possession, the task of evicting the intruders by force of a judicial decision might have easily been achieved. Yet, to use a familiar phrase, the bark of the Canadians was worse than their bite. They threatened, but hesitated to strike; denounced, but refrained from declaring war. The explanation is, that during these years the alleged usurpation was a mere sentimental grievance, and did no practical injury to many Canadians. Their acknowledged possessions were extensive enough for their requirements. The wild lands belonging to them were either pathless forests or fruitless swamps. To fell the trees and export them to Europe gave occupation to thousands of sturdy and willing arms. The cleared lands were taken possession of by the husbandman, and converted into valuable farms. As a result of this, thousands of acres formerly covered with timber are now fruitful fields, and the highway and railroad pass through places in which formerly the unaccustomed traveler lost his way, and the untutored Indian alone was at home. But forests, however dense and vast, like coal fields of an apparently illimitable area, become dangerously thinned as tree after tree is felled, just as every ton of coal abstracted from the mine contracts its capacity for production. It will excite the ridicule of many a lumberer, and the sneer of the backwoodsman, to affirm that even in Canada the forests may be prematurely exhausted, and the drain upon the future excessive. Yet it is none the less true that trees can be hewn down too ruthlessly, and the unregulated timber trade tap the resources of succeeding generations. These truths, which are rapidly becoming commonplaces, have been broached within the last few years only. They have already controlled the policy of those responsible for the conservation of our huge Indian forests. It would be surprising if they had escaped the notice, and produced no influence upon the conduct of the astute and far-seeing statesmen of whom Canada has good reason to be proud.

Again, a new country cannot flourish unless it offer a fairer field for the emigrant than one of older date and more limited resources. The people of the United States have not



yet celebrated the centenary of their independence; still the English settlers in the United States are the seniors of those who left this country and made Canada their home. For a time the emigrant to the Great Republic had to proceed to the backwoods in order to find the habitation which he desired. Of late years, however, the prairies of the West have been the great attraction to the emigrant. Railways have been constructed with a view to carry him thither, and transport to a good market the grain which he could gather in with little labor. An acre of prairie which is ready for the plough is worth five acres of wooded land, which must be cleared by the axe before a blade of corn will grow. In Illinois and Minnesota this desirable land is to be found in abundance. There it is that the settler loves to pitch his tent, for there he knows that his success is assured. Hitherto Canada has been able to offer no such inducements to the exile from Europe; but if the North-Western territory be included among the lands which she can offer to the emigrant, then the balance will be redressed, and the young man born in Canada who can find no outlet for his energies equal to that which is afforded him in the United States, as well as the European emigrant who might prefer to keep unsevered the tie which links him with the country of his birth, will gladly proceed to the splendid tract of fertile soil which the authorities of the Hudson's Bay Company have hitherto rendered unattractive to settlers, which can be cultivated with as great ease, and made to yield as luxuriant crops as the most favored spots on the American continent.

A year ago the question took a new form. The union of the maritime with the inland provinces necessarily led to a definition of the footing on which the trading company of Hudson's Bay was to stand in relation to the Confederacy. Hence the reconsideration of the claims advanced by that Company became inevitable. If its charter were valid and the possessions secured to it in perpetuity, then its representatives would have had a sure basis on which to take their stand in negotiations with the Dominion of Canada. On the other hand, if the Company had long occupied territory under a baseless title, then no demand could be made by it for more than nominal compensation. We may fairly assume that the powers conferred by the charter are of dubious value. They would hardly have been disputed so frequently had they been clear and definite. If Parliament conferred them, they would be admitted without question. If the terms of the grant had been less vague, few might have laboured to prove that it was wholly

void. At every turn, however, some moot point arises. Firstly, it is denied that the territories assigned by Charles the Second were dependencies or possessions of the English Crown. Secondly, it is a question if the Royal prerogative did not clash with the common law in granting such a charter, even if the lands formed part of the Sovereign's dominions. Thirdly, the indefinite character of the grant may be fatal to it. Fourthly, allowing the whole proceedings to have been regular, it is alleged that the existence of the Company is detrimental to the interests of the community, that the monopoly is no longer either justifiable or permissible. The first three of these considerations cannot be determined except in a Court of Law. The last one may be tried at the bar of public opinion.

We consider that the case has been fairly heard and finally decided. In default of another tribunal, we must regard a Select Committee of the House of Commons to be a representative of the views as well as an exponent of the wishes of the public. Before such a body of intelligent and impartial men, the Hudson's Bay Company was put on its trial in 1857. All that could be said against it was there forcibly stated; everything which could tell in its favour was strenuously urged. The accusation was, that a systematic method of exclusive dealing was followed, that the Indians were demoralized through the operations of the fur-traders, and that the spread of civilization was frustrated owing to the enforcement of the Company's rules. The defence amounted to this, that the Company had not supplied the Indians with whiskey, while it had paid large dividends. Among those who gave special attention to the arguments on both sides, and who estimated the worth of the conflicting evidence with marked dexterity, was Mr. Gladstone. He had made a careful study of the whole subject, had broached it in the House of Commons, and had frequently shown himself to be fully alive to its importance. After the late Mr. Labouchere, the chairman, had produced a report for the Committee's approval, Mr. Gladstone presented another, of a simpler and more straightforward character, of which the first four paragraphs were: "1st, That the country capable of colonization should be withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the Hudson's Bay Company; 2d, That the country incapable of colonization should remain within their jurisdiction; 3d, That power should be reserved to Her Majesty's Government to make grants within the said territory for the purposes of mines or fisheries, but with due regard to the immunities and trade of the Company; 4th, That such



jurisdiction should rest henceforward upon the basis of statute." When the vote was taken on the question of adopting the report of Mr. Gladstone or that of Mr. Labouchere, the chairman, the numbers were even, but the chairman's casting vote being given in his own favour, his report was accepted. However, on putting the final question whether or not Mr. Labouchere's report should be presented to the House, the motion was carried by a majority of one only. The tact and influence of the friends of the Company thus prevailed, and legislation adverse to their private interests was thereby postponed.

Yet, when the subject of uniting the Provinces into a confederacy came before Parliament in 1867, provisions for the future incorporation of the Hudson's Bay territory with the projected Dominion of Canada, were inserted in the Act. During the first session of the first Dominion Parliament, steps were taken in accordance with those provisions to promote the desired issue. The Imperial Legislature moved in the same direction, the result being that last year the "Rupert's Land Act, 1868," was passed, with a view to enable the Crown to arrange for the transfer to Canada of the North-Western or other territory which the Hudson's Bay Company now occupy. Mr. Disraeli's Administration endeavoured to give immediate effect to the wishes of Parliament. Negotiations were begun, and two members of the Canadian Government, Sir George Cartier, Bart., and the Hon. William McDougall, C. B., visited this country, on the invitation of the Duke of Buckingham, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, in order that the claims of Canada might be clearly understood and carefully investigated. Terms were ultimately made. These may be supposed to have partaken of the nature of a compromise. They were embodied in a despatch, which was forwarded to the Company as the ultimatum of the late Government. Before an answer could be returned, the Ministry resigned office, Mr. Gladstone taking Mr. Disraeli's place, and Earl Granville succeeding the Duke of Buckingham. Another change directly affecting the Company also took place, for the Earl of Kimberley becoming Lord Privy Seal, he had to resign his post of Governor. A successor was found for him in the person of Sir Stafford Northcote. Of all the puzzling situations contrived by the fertile brain of the sensational novelist or playwright, that in which Sir Stafford is now placed would appear to be the most embarrassing. As a member of the Cabinet in the late Government, he was responsible for its policy. Should its acts be now impeached,

he must take his share of the blame. Had he continued in office, he would have been a consenting party to such legislation, to carry out arrangements made with regard to the Company's affairs, as might have been deemed expedient or imperative. But, as Governor of the Company, he has rejected the proposition which as a legislator he might have sanctioned, and which as an ex-minister he must still defend in Parliament. The triangular duel imagined by Captain Marryatt for the confusion of Peter Simple is the only known counterpart to this situation. Sir Stafford is a target for the shots of two parties, while able to fire only at one. Lord Castlereagh's very mixed metaphor is after all less absurd than has been supposed; for Sir Stafford Northcote does seem to have "turned his back upon himself."

As a whole, the problem before the country is not a difficult one. Taking the case as it stands now, and allowing the blunders on the one side to be a set-off against the shortcomings on the other,—looking at the subject not as heated partisans or exacting shareholders, but as those who think the promotion of the common weal to be a higher duty than the satisfaction of personal and selfish interests,—the sole question requiring an answer is, Shall the convenience of a trading company, or the good of the community, have the first place in our thoughts, and absorb the chief share of our energies? Thus put, the reply is obvious. No one unbiassed by individual considerations can in these days maintain that a great landed monopoly should be deliberately upheld. What might have been deemed highly laudable in the reign of Charles the Second, has little chance of being regarded in the same light by those who, in the nineteenth century, boast of emancipation from the bondage of tradition. We may assume, then, that should Parliament be called upon to interfere, the Company need not hope to gain its point and maintain its position.

On the present Secretary of State for the Colonies now rests the grave responsibility of dealing with and determining the questions at issue. Should the terms proposed by Earl Granville be fair in the main to the parties immediately concerned, and be regarded by the public as reasonable and decisive, his capacity as an efficient head of the Colonial Office will be placed beyond all doubt. As a rule, our Secretaries for the Colonies are well-meaning but unpractical men. When colonies were small and subservient dependencies, the difficulty of managing them was slight. The will of the Secretary of State was law to them. Their complaints were disregarded. If they be-



came unusually troublesome, coercion was employed to silence discontent. A rude shock was given to this system of administration when, towards the middle of the last century, a few colonists challenged the right of the Home Government to act in an arbitrary way, vindicated by force of arms their title to respect, and compelled the recognition of their independence. But the establishment of the Republic of the United States did not instantly transform the policy of the Colonial Office from one of "meddling and muddling" into a policy of dignified forbearance when to interfere would have been dangerous, and of judicious furtherance of the true welfare of the colonists when action was desirable. It would be easy to adduce illustrations of this drawn from the past history of Upper and Lower Canada. Instead of doing this, however, let us again cite Mr. Ellice, who, speaking as one well versed in the subject, made this statement before the Committee of 1857, when referring to the manner in which Vancouver's Island had been treated by the Company and the Colonial Office:—

"At the time when the monopoly of the land was granted to the Hudson's Bay Company, in the terms of the grant, certain restrictions were imposed with respect to the price of the land, and certain other conditions with respect to the future government of the country, which insured from the beginning an absolute failure of the whole scheme. Lord Grey [then Secretary for the Colonies] insisted that the Company should not sell land under a pound an acre. *I believe that if one could recount to this Committee all the misery and mischief which has been done to our colonies by jealous and capricious restrictions imposed by the Colonial Office upon the dealings in land in our Colonies, they would be astonished.* These restrictions were idle. Any person accustomed to the settlement of land must know that if you take £1 from a man who comes to settle in a wild country, you take from him all the little capital which he wants to establish him on the land. The land is of no value to anybody until it is cultivated."<sup>\*</sup>

The words printed in italics condense the experience of a man well qualified to form an opinion, yet indisposed to say too hard things of any department of the Government. The concluding sentence is especially noteworthy; for it forms the key to many puzzles which successive Colonial Secretaries have had to abandon in despair. They set out with the notion that what is good for England must always answer in a colony. In consequence of their belief that the perfection of human wisdom is displayed in our

system of land tenures, they endeavor to extend the same arrangements to entirely dissimilar cases. The propriety of making free grants of land they are generally unable to appreciate, and as little can they understand that an acre burdened with a prospective payment, however small, loses half its value in the eyes of the emigrant. Leaving a country where to be a landed proprietor is a social distinction, the settler in Canada or Australia desires to become at once the absolute proprietor of a plot of ground. In the scheme proposed by Mr. Disraeli's Administration for making terms between the Hudson's Bay Company and Canada, this consideration being lost sight of, a tax was imposed on the land, the sum thereby raised being handed over to the Company by way of compensation. It is improbable that Earl Granville will approve of, or that Mr. Gladstone will sanction, any such arrangement. The shortest, simplest, and most rational plan is to extinguish the claims of the Company by an immediate payment in cash. This proposition has already found favour in the eyes of several shareholders, one of them having advocated it in a pamphlet\* which, notwithstanding many erroneous inferences and doubtful facts, is an able statement of the case from the point of view of an over-sanguine investor. We forbear entering into the details of this branch of the subject. What we have to do with is the principle involved. Once that is agreed to, a settlement might easily be brought about. Nor in arranging that settlement need the Company be dissolved. There are still plenty of furs in which it might trade. Indeed, centuries may elapse before the fur-bearing animals are exterminated from the inhospitable regions around Hudson's Bay. We should think the Canadian Government would readily afford the Company every facility for pursuing its business, provided that the Company retired from the territory it is now desired to colonize. Carrying on its operations by virtue of a Statute instead of under cover of an "Extraordinary Charter," the Hudson's Bay Company may have before it in the future a career of usefulness which no evened disputes will frustrate nor dangerous rivalry impede.

Hitherto we have considered the subject as if it were one in which a trading company and a North American State were alone concerned. But important as the acquisition of the North-Western territory is to the Dominion of Canada, and unwise as the existing monopoly of the Company undoubted-

\* Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company, 1857, p. 334.

\* *The Hudson's Bay Company, its Position and Prospects.* By James Dodds. 1866.



ly is, there are considerations of still greater import to be weighed before finally despatching the whole matter to the dreary and sterile desert of solved problems.

First among the reasons which may be urged in favour of the scheme here proposed, is that it will put a seal upon Imperial legislation for our North American dependencies. The people of this country are unanimous in according to them everything which they may fairly demand. Taught by the lessons of painful experience, our desire is to avoid committing any blunders either in kind or degree resembling those which have caused so much bitterness between us and the offshoots of this country which now constitute the American Republic. There is no danger of the blunder being either repeated or persisted in that led to the sundering in anger of a bond which, in the fulness of time, might have been severed in amity. If the Canadians should ever wish to be independent, the obstacle would not be the indisposition of the Mother Country to hasten that consummation. So long as they prefer to remain united with Great Britain, it would be unnatural and unjustifiable to render that connexion unbearable. The duty of our statesmen is to promote peace and good-will between all sections of the Empire; and in pursuance of that praiseworthy task, the Legislature has cordially assented to every measure designed to foster kindly feelings by providing for appropriate arrangements. Hence it was that when the several Provinces had settled the terms upon which they would live together in harmony and union, Parliament passed the Bill framed to suit their requirements. As a complement to the Act of 1867, the incorporation of the North-Western territory with the Dominion of Canada has been advocated, and will be proposed. To refuse assent to this would be to commit a blunder of which neither the present Parliament nor the existing Government is likely to be guilty.

That this measure would consolidate Canada admits of no doubt; that it would also be of immense value to this country can be demonstrated. Our greatest difficulty, as well as our most serious social danger at this moment, arises from the presence among us of a redundant population. Many hands are now idle for lack of employment. The will to work is strong, while the opportunities for work are few. No other remedy than an organized system of emigration will cure the evil by redressing the disturbed balance between supply and demand. There is room and to spare for our starving multitudes in the vast and unpeopled lands of our Australian colonies. The doors of the Uni-

ted States also stand open to all who wish to enter in and be satisfied. But then Australia is very far distant, and the necessities of life in the United States are at present much dearer than in Canada. Thus the choice of Canada is one which the weightiest reasons combine to favour. The working classes who wish to emigrate appear to have come to this conclusion. But it would be a misfortune if through mismanagement the movement should prove a failure. It is simply ridiculous to suppose that paupers and invalids who cannot earn a livelihood at home will thrive in a strange country. Perhaps the most hopeful experiments are those in contemplation for adapting the principle of benefit societies to emigration, combining the processes of emigration and colonization in one system. If working men would club together for these objects they might do much to elevate their class. Mr. Scratchley, the well-known authority on benefit building societies, has shown how this can be accomplished, as well as furnished many valuable statistics in the appendix to the fourth edition of his work entitled *Benefit Building Societies*, pp. 13-18. Unless, however, the other inducements to settle there are equal to those which have made the western prairies of the United States the favourite home of the exile from Europe, we cannot expect to see the tide of emigration diverted towards the British North America. As soon as the North-Western territory shall have been formally placed under the control of the Canadians, so soon will they be able to boast that in every natural advantage they are on a par with their neighbours, and are consequently prepared to offer an asylum to the houseless such as may be paralleled but cannot be surpassed throughout the length and breadth of the continent they inhabit.

Another point of great importance to this country, we can but glance at now. In the course of this year the Pacific Railway will be completed. As a consequence of this, it is expected that much of the trade between Europe and the East will pass over the iron way in the United States. Possibly, some of the glowing anticipations of the Americans may never be realized, yet it is certain that the possession of that line of rail will enable them to compete with us in the future much better than in the past. If we would keep pace with them, we must adopt their tactics. To do this is easy. The means for communicating with our Eastern markets are as great as those of our rivals, the essential thing being to turn them to as good account. Through the territory of the North-West, over the Rocky Mountains and across British Columbia to the splendid har-



ber of Esquimalt, or of Bute Inlet on the Pacific, the natural facilities for constructing a railroad are everything that could be desired. There are no difficult inequalities of surface to be overcome; the pass through the mountains is nearly one-half less steep than that on the American route, while the country is everywhere fertile, contrasting in this respect with the great desert across which, for a thousand miles, the Americans have carried their railway. But if this were all, we should despair of capitalists investing money in the undertaking, for they are unlikely to embark in an enterprise dictated merely by a desire to cap the achievement of a rival nation. Sentiment and dividends are incompatible. Money invested in order to yield a return must not be employed for the furtherance of fanciful views. In the present case, however, the certainty of profit is as clear as are the advantages of the work in other respects. The route to the East through the Dominion of Canada must be called the best, because it is the shortest. Now, the minimum of distance implies the minimum of fares, and confers the power to surpass all competitors by underselling them. If this railway were constructed, it is estimated that the distance between Liverpool and any port of China or Japan would be 700 miles less than if the overland journey were made across the United States.\*

Enough has been said, we think, to show the impolicy of conniving at the occupation by the Hudson's Bay Company of territory which can be turned to so many useful purposes, and made to prove advantageous to the Empire. It is fortunate that the ordering of the necessary changes has come within the control of such a statesman as Mr. Gladstone. He is unusually well qualified for deciding rightly on these questions, because he has made a special study of the points raised during the tedious Hudson's Bay controversy, having on more than one occasion, when a private member of the House of Commons, striven to bring about a settlement.

That the end is at hand we feel satisfied. Now that the public is awakened to the importance of the issues raised, delay is impossible. It was long before the opponents of the double Government in India succeeded in their object, but once they had enlisted popular feeling on their side, little time was lost in substituting the direct authority of the Sovereign in India for the anomalous rule of the directors of a joint-stock company. In like manner, the directors of the Hudson's

Bay Company must be compelled to abdicate, unless they wisely retire from an untenable position. As traders they may long continue to prosper; as investors they have a claim to compensation for, should they voluntarily surrender, the rights which it would be difficult to prove are founded on anything but possession. With the settlement of this dispute a long and most embittered controversy will terminate. An end will also be put to whatever is obnoxious in the last of those great governing companies, founded when the principles of the Constitution were either imperfectly understood or else were deliberately violated by usurping monarchs.

The understanding reader's imagination can alone picture the result when the vast British dominions, from the Pacific and the Atlantic Oceans, and from the boundary of the United States to the North Pole, shall constitute one grand Dominion, rivalling the most favoured country of the old world in every gift of nature, affording to pining and oppressed millions all the social and political blessings which render life happy and free-men proud. It is improbable that the forms and ceremonies adopted by Canada from us will long continue unchanged. Neither the Constitution of the United Kingdom nor of the United States is perfect. A new people must frame its own system of government. So long as the Canadians regard the happiness of the individual as the chief end of government, they will not be blamed whatever alterations they may think right to introduce. As neighbours of the most energetic and prosperous people in the world they must always be stimulated by a healthy rivalry. The fault will be their own should they fail to profit by their splendid opportunities. One conspicuous failure is already associated with their country. It was the dream of Cardinal Richelieu and the ambition of more than one French sovereign to establish a new France across the Atlantic. That their attempts miscarried is matter for rejoicing, because they cleared the ground for the trial of a far more notable experiment. In Canada, Frenchmen by descent, and those who by ancestry or birth are Scotchmen, Irishmen, or Englishmen, form a community, speaking the two languages which are most widely spread over the earth and are the most highly esteemed among modern tongues. As a consequence of this intermixture of races and intermingling of ideas, another nationality and a new people will in process of time be constituted. Towards ourselves that people will doubtless entertain feelings of tender admiration and unalloyed good-will. It is improbable that

\* For detailed information on this interesting subject see *The Overland Route through British North America*, by Alfred Waddington (Longmans, 1868).



we shall ever alienate or offend them in a manner so absolute and unpardonable as that with which George the Third and his subservient and foolish Parliament are chargeable in the case of those among our kindred who settled in America in order to exercise there the privileges of self-government. In the minds of the citizens of the United States there is a sore which time will never heal. Between us and them there is a gulf which peacemakers will never bridge over. If we desire allies in America on whose affection we may rely, and to whose self-interest we need not basely appeal, we must turn to the Dominion of Canada rather than to the Great Republic. We feel confident that even after the Canadians shall have established for themselves a claim upon the admiration of the world, they will still take pride in loving and cherishing all that is glorious in the traditions of the Mother Country. It is our sanguine hope that her example will long continue to exercise an active and a benign influence over their conduct. Moreover, we sincerely trust that their achievements will entitle them to a large share in the splendid heritage of her renown when, in the remote future, the sceptre she now majestically wields shall have dropped from her enfeebled grasp, and her envied supremacy be as a tale that is told.

---

ART. VII.—*Culture and Anarchy. (An Essay in Political and Social Criticism.)*  
By MATTHEW ARNOLD. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1869.

"WHAT is the chief end of man?" is a question with which Scotland has been familiar for two centuries. In its terse simplicity it states one of the ultimate questions in Philosophy. Its theoretical solution would be the answer to a fundamental problem in Ethics; its practical realization would be the ideal of a perfect life. In one form or other it occurs to all men in whom the reflective life has dawned, and who look beneath the surface of human action to discover its underlying root and its ultimate purpose. It arises from that instinctive craving for unity in our life, which is spontaneous and ineradicable. We are not satisfied by studying the phenomena of our human nature as a miscellaneous mass of mere detail; we desire to know the relation of the parts to the whole, and the connexion of the whole with its parts. The question thus raised has been discussed in every

philosophic school. It is as ancient as the meditations of the seers in Palestine and the remoter East. We find it treated with marvellous subtilty and great breadth of insight by the more noticeable of the Greek thinkers. Every philosopher of mark in modern times has rediscussed it, and in his own way deepened the current of research, or added a contribution to our knowledge of the problem; while it remains as fresh and full of interest in our own day as if the race had now awakened from the sleep of centuries to ponder it for the first time. Being thus one of the problems of the "*philosophia perennis*," its solution must vary with the character and progress of the great systems, and be essentially modified by the prevailing type of each. It is closely related to two other cardinal questions in philosophy, "Whence are we?" and "Whither do we tend?"—what is our origin? and what our destination?—questions which have nursed the speculative passion, and aroused the wondering curiosity of men in all ages. But the third great inquiry, "What is the ultimate meaning, the final purpose of our life as it now exists—what its present ideal?" is as fundamental as the others, and its solution is much more urgent. It may not be possible to give an altogether satisfactory answer to any one of these questions without partially answering the other two, as the three problems intersect each other, and their solutions are finely interlaced. The conclusions of Speculative Philosophy (culminating in Theology) and those of Ethics are ultimately based upon the data which human nature supplies; and as human nature is an organic whole, the results we arrive at in one department of inquiry will necessarily modify our views in all the others. Thus, if (as is the case on the hypothesis of materialism) we have no light as to our origin and destination beyond that which the law of evolution and the sequences of physical nature supply, our ideal of life in the present could scarcely be an elevated one. We could not find a motive for the culture of our powers that would not be crippled in its action, by the obscurity of the source whence we have arisen, and the dreariness of the goal to which we tend. And if we appeal to history, it will be found that those systems which have denied to man all certain knowledge of his source or of his destiny beyond the limits of organization, have invariably lowered his ideal of culture.

But the discussion of every great philosophical question must be untrammelled by the verdict which other problems yield us, or even by the data which kindred sciences



supply; and we propose now to examine the third of the correlated questions referred to, partly in the light of a recent discussion by one of the ablest of our living critics, and partly as a theme of permanent philosophic interest, which is unaffected by the passing controversies of the age.

The late occupant of the chair of Poetry at Oxford (himself a poet and a thinker of no mean rank) has recently brought the question of culture before the British mind with singular freshness and emphasis. But we shall not, in the first instance, follow Mr. Arnold into those bypaths of subtle criticism (confessedly unsystematic), where he ranges with so free a step, and applies his doctrine to the prevailing tendencies of England with rare discriminative power and classic grace. Mr. Arnold has needlessly cumbered his discussion of a theme which is a commonplace in the philosophical schools (though he has succeeded in illustrating and popularizing it), by criticism of British politics, contemporary newspapers, and religious societies. To that extent he has reduced the permanent philosophical value of his book. At every turn, one who may agree with the main doctrine which he teaches, is forced to dissent from his applications and illustrations of it. We may also regret a certain tone of harsh and almost cynical antagonism, which detracts from the otherwise constructive character of the book. We shall therefore approach the group of questions raised by Mr. Arnold through a brief discussion of the philosophical problem, "What is the chief end of human existence—the ideal of a perfect life?" We must distinguish, however, between the theoretic ideal as an object of thought and contemplation, and the practical realization of that ideal in a finite human life. The ideal stands always contrasted with the actual, as that to which no one can absolutely attain, however he may strive, and succeed in his approach to it. There are conditions by which the range of human culture is inevitably bounded, obstacles which resist its progress and impede its freedom, which are irremovable within the limits of our present life. But these do not concern us at present. We propose, in the first instance, to discuss the *Ideal* of culture by striving to answer the question, "To what would the most perfect education of the human faculties amount, supposing all hindrances to that education were withdrawn?" Having answered this question, we shall be in a position to consider how those hindrances which prevent the realization of the ideal may be most successfully overcome; or the relation in which the Actual stands to the Ideal in culture.

What, then, is the relation in which human culture, with a view to human perfection, stands to the supreme end of life, as an ideal aim? Our answer may be stated generally thus:—That culture (when the term is broadened and deepened in its meaning far beyond Mr. Arnold's limitation of it), culture prosecuted with a view to the entire perfection of our manhood and the reflex glory of God, is the one absolute and untransferable end of human existence. This is our thesis. We proceed to the proof of it. And it may conduce to precision of statement if we distinguish between the two principal terms made use of in the proposition with which we set out. The former, viz., "culture," we regard as the means of attaining the latter, viz., "perfection:" perfection denoting the ripe result, when all the human faculties act together, vigorously and harmoniously; culture denoting the process of education, by which these faculties are trained to reach that end in concord. The distinction, however, is fundamentally empirical, inasmuch as the resulting perfection, however harmonious and complete, can never be regarded as *final*. Its supreme value consists but in the condition it affords for a still further advance. The stages of partial perfection reached, become in turn, and necessarily, but "the stepping-stones of their dead selves," on which "men rise to higher things." In other words, the states of our human nature to which the terms *culture* and *perfection* are applicable, are at once both ends and means. Looked at on one side, they are ends, as possessed of a certain inherent value; surveyed on the other, they are but means, as the conditions of still higher ends. But the determination of the final end of man's existence as a being possessed of diverse faculties, the tenant of this earth, depends essentially upon the answer we give to the really prior question, What are the essentials of human nature? What are the fundamental characteristics of man as a being distinct from the other existences that surround him in the universe? Driven thus backwards to the human consciousness,—our final court of appeal in every philosophical question,—we discern (in a way we need not tarry to explain) the ultimate fact of our personality, and, along with this, as a correlated fact, our personal freedom. Let us assume, let us take for granted in this discussion, our free human personality, and along with it the possession of certain faculties (intellectual, moral, religious, æsthetical, social). It seems indisputable that if these faculties cannot be said to have a defined existence till their activity



is called forth, is educated;—if for man they are practically real, only in so far as by man they are consciously realized; and if they are consciously realized, only in so far as they are *used* (cultivated),—it is plain that in that case the very end of the possession is *use*; that the activity of the faculties constitutes the supreme human end of the faculties. The fullest, freest, least impeded, and best balanced energy amongst the several powers of our nature thus becomes that nature's end. Whether an ulterior end is or is not subserved by this proximate end is a further question which we shall presently discuss. But in so far as man is to be regarded as a centre of personality, and as reaching his manhood only through the concurrent action of all his faculties, it is clear that man fulfils the end of his being, is, in short, *truly man*, only in so far as he fulfils the law of catholic or eclectic culture. We thus view man as a personal and free agent, whose nature is made up of certain innate powers, faculties, capacities (let him name them as he will), and whose perfection consists in the harmonious action and reaction of all these faculties. The most perfect human being is he in whom all the faculties are trained in equipoise, and balanced in their activity; each of his powers being vigorous, and all of them advancing in harmony. The list or circle of the faculties is the same in every rational creature. However stunted, there is none absolutely wanting in any human being. Even in the idiot and the insane (these malformations of humanity), the missing power is but suppressed. It is buried under a bad organization, crushed by a weak physique. The supreme and final end of every human life is therefore the perfection of each faculty in detail, and the harmony of all in unison. Though no analogy can cast much light upon a truth so ultimate, the following symbol may be of slight use. Let us imagine an inverted cone, with its apex slightly blunted, but rising on all sides upwards to infinity. Round the narrow circle forming the base cluster the normal infant energies of human nature. From the apex there is an expansion upwards; but with the rise perpendicular, there is also an expanse horizontal; and the two are co-ordinate,—they are equally indefinite and limitless. The human faculties in their march from infancy to manhood rise as do the sides of the graduated cone, but as they gain in height they expand at an equal ratio in the widening circles of breadth. Progress intellectual, moral, æsthetical, religious, may be measured by the places gained by the agents who toil on the sides and circles of the cone. The base represents that

zero of ignorance whence we set out; the positions gained and the prospects beheld are the stages and the partial lights of knowledge. The lines and circles out-reaching to the surrounding infinite, and lost above and around in the clouds, symbolize that shroud of mystery which encircles our last truths, as it enveloped the first, that solemn veil of darkness which girdles our faculties when they have reached their loftiest culture, as it wrapped them round in their embryo development. The progress from absolute ignorance to partial science, ending in a return to relative ignorance (the sum of our intellectual destiny, and a favourite theme of philosophic men), is thus faintly symbolized in the inverted cone. It may at least represent a circle of faculties advancing in harmony, each one being supposed to be linked to the first circle which formed the inverted apex. But as analogy casts but a pale and lunar light upon a problem which touches the region of transcendent truth, we lay it aside; and content ourselves with announcing once more, as a first principle of philosophic doctrine, that man's chief end is to cultivate his faculties; that the great postulate in the perfection of his nature is now to secure the deepest, widest, and intensest life; and that all the education he receives is only a system of means by which this is more or less perfectly or imperfectly secured.

We may remember, however, that in that religious catechism with which Scotland is so familiar, "man's chief end" is defined as "to glorify God, and to enjoy him for ever," and no one who is at once thoughtful and reverent will quarrel with the definition. It states a great truth in brief compass. But it does not state the entire range of the truth. The aim of the compilers of that manual of instruction was not to write a series of philosophic aphorisms, but to arrange a practical digest of religious truth. And the philosophic student of the ultimate ends of human action may learn from the definition of the divines at Westminster, while he is in search of other aspects of the question with which they were unfamiliar. Let us take for granted that the chief end of the creature is to glorify the Creator; the further question immediately arises—*How* is he to glorify Him? By what means and instrumentality is he to proceed to the execution of the stupendous task? And if his answer is to be more than a barren formula—if it is to be a fruitful maxim of life and conduct, he must know how to translate the primary proposition we have referred to from indefiniteness into clearness. How is man to proceed that he may succeed in this



high and seemingly transcendent effort to glorify the infinite and limitless One? When, therefore, we perceive that by the cultivation and increase of all the powers of our nature to the greatest possible intensity, and in the greatest possible harmony, we are enabled to glorify Him in whose image our nature is cast, we feel that the formula is translated for us from the abstract to the concrete. It is by the use of all powers, by becoming the very best and highest that as human beings we can become, by neglecting no part of our complex natures, but developing to the very uttermost all the talents with which we are endowed, that our humanity can alone grow up into perfection, "compacted by that which every joint supplieth." In all this process of assiduous culture and effort, man is but an agent under the will of One higher than himself, whose perfection he is instrumentally revealing. He is achieving an end, and furthering a plan which reaches immeasurably beyond himself; and he may make that end, and realize that plan, as a conscious object of pursuit; but he is also an end to himself, and inward perfection should be a no less conscious aim of his life. We do not say that he may concentrate attention upon himself, and pursue his culture in exclusiveness and isolation from his fellows, but we do say that the perfection of his inward nature is at once a definite end of his labour, and the only means by which he can glorify Him who created that nature, and whose power co-operates with his own in all the processes of culture which tend to that glory. "It is manifest," says Sir William Hamilton, "that man, in so far as he is a mean for the glory of God, must be an end unto himself, for it is only in the accomplishment of his own perfection that as a creature he can manifest the glory of his Creator. Though, therefore, man by relation to God be but a mean, *for that very reason*, in relation to all else, he is an end." The apparent paradox is thus strictly true, that man is an end to himself, though that end is not selfish or utilitarian. At one and the same time he stands in a twofold relationship to himself and to God, and the self-regarding with the self-forgetting instincts are the two forces (centripetal and centrifugal) which, working in union—a union most perfect when it has become so natural as to be unconscious—cause his being to revolve in harmony around the central sun of the universe.

When, now, we turn to the educational schemes of the so-called "practical men" of our time, we find that they nearly all ignore the principle we have stated. The funda-

mental flaw which vitiates their system (whether they explicitly avow it, or only tacitly hold it) is the ignoble concession that man may renounce his prerogative as an *end*, and become mainly or merely a professional *mean*. The practical educationist abhors an ideal, as nature was said of old to abhor a vacuum; and his abhorrence of an ideal explains the fact that he cannot comprehend how a man can be an end to himself. He cannot appreciate culture which does not promise a return in some benefit beyond itself; and to secure some obvious practical utility, certain educational appliances are set agoing to obtain it, in the shortest possible time, and with the least possible cost. It is desirable to know the facts of history, and the laws of social statics, because these bear practically upon modern political progress. It is wise to wrest its secrets from the shrine of nature, for these can be made available in industrial production, and increase the "well-being" of man. Science is a fruitful branch of education, because science has joined hands with utility. But the ideal of a many-sided culture, in which a man regards the attainment of that culture as an end in itself, and not as a means to any end lower than himself, resting in the insight and intellectual harmony which culture brings him, is regarded by our practical educationists as at once unsubstantial, and incapable of realization. It is also represented as inconsistent with the position men occupy in a world of manifold competition, and highly complex civilisation, with enormous subdivision of labour. We admit that to succeed in any one pathway of culture, a man must willingly renounce much that lies along its margin, and invites him on either side. There must be the distinct concentration of a special faculty on a special object to effect a special end. The brevity of life, the division of labour, the complexity of our modern civilisation, and the many new and recondite paths of research that are continually being disclosed in the onward march of discovery,—these things necessitate a sacrifice of some things for the attainment of others; and while without division of labour no culture would be possible, with that division comes inevitably *the narrowing influence of the exercise of a special faculty*. As our doctrine applies not merely to the few who have the leisure, and the means for the prosecution of the highest culture, but also to the many who have them not, we admit that most men must concentrate themselves with a piercing intensity of aim on one field of action. There must be some point towards which our main efforts tend,



and around which our chief sympathies gravitate. Without such precision of aim, even splendid powers would be lost. The practical man works by concentration and limitation. Admitting this, we at the same time contend that the general cultivation of the other powers, on every possible occasion, should not lame the special power. General education, with its wide and varied culture, while it gives a larger mental horizon, and broadens sympathy, should not paralyse special effort in a chosen sphere. But the position assumed by the advocates of special and practical, as opposed to general and catholic culture, is usually tainted by the base spirit of utilitarianism. Whether in its grosser or more refined form, it estimates the value of culture, in the special department it selects, by the use to be made of it, by the ends it may subserve. It thus degrades it to the position of an instrumental means. It reverses the true position of the "means" and the "end" respectively. Instead of regarding the universe as a storehouse of educational forces, and man himself as greater than anything that educates him,—instead of interpreting the whole arrangements of human life as a complex apparatus by which the powers of the soul may be educated to their noblest height, it turns these powers into a number of passive instruments for the conquest of nature, and the accumulation of results! But to estimate the value of any department of culture by the extent to which it is available for professional uses, is as complete a degradation of our faculties as to measure the worth of knowledge by its market value in the world. It turns man into an ignoble utilitarian machine,—an instrument for the attainment of some trivial end relative to this brief time-life; nay, we maintain that professional success, however brilliant, if unidealized by this wide view of human culture and wide sympathy with man's varied nature and possibilities, while it narrows and hardens the character, is of slightly higher value than mere skill in a handicraft. Therefore, to train and to invigorate the entire circle of the powers; to form not so much the accomplished professional man, the thinker, or the artist, or the man of science, or the statesman; but to form a harmonious human being, with all his faculties educated to the fullest self-government, self-possession, repose, refinement, and activity, is the very goal of human endeavour. To secure the inward ripening and the outward expansion of our life, the culture of thought and feeling, of imagination and sympathy, of our powers of reflection and our powers of action in a harmonious many-sidedness, is a clearly intelligible end of human existence. To feel the rich

prolific powers which we all possess in germ, budding forth into leaf and bloom and fruit, not for the sake of the use to be made of that fruit, nor even for the reflex joy which the growth and expansion yield, but for the larger *wealth of experience* which they confer, while the glory of Another ascends from it, and our culture is pursued with a tacit reference to Him, is unquestionably a nobler ambition than to convert one's-self into a passive means for the attainment of some result connected with our earthly life. And in order to reach it, to make our inward being vaster, fuller, more mellowed and refined, we strive to deepen our intelligence, to etherealize our feelings, to chasten yet intensify our energies.

But as this doctrine of culture has been rashly stigmatized as an appeal to the selfish principle in human nature, we must observe the real breadth of area which it covers. It is not separative and exclusive, but intensely social. A profound interest in other lives, sympathy with other minds, and effort to carry them with us in the pathways of culture, is so essential, that without the possession of that sympathy, and without the forthputting of that effort, no man is himself truly cultivated. One large section of our complex humanity of which the powers must be evoked, is that which unites us with our fellow-men. It is at the peril of our success in personal culture that we neglect to carry others with us to the best of our ability. Efforts to educate and raise the tone of society, to redress all the wrongs we see and can redress, to relieve misery, to promote the freedom and happiness of our fellows, and the moral health of the community in which we live,—all these are parts of our culture. It is true that the doctrine which we teach tends to concentrate thought and attention in the first place on the perfecting of the individual, but as he progresses towards the goal a corresponding influence is sent outwards on all sides along his path, to aid his fellow-creatures who are toiling with him. He strives after the realization of the ideal in himself, but this realization is impossible if he does not interest himself profoundly and unselfishly in the good of his fellow-men. Thus as he advances he creates around himself an altered world. In all culture we must "consider our neighbours with ourselves;" only it is necessary that our consideration be enlightened and courteous, and that our deeds be wise,—not the crude and hasty efforts of our own idiosyncrasy, but broad, large-minded, and humane. If those actions which tend outwards from self to reach and help our fellows are to prove either stable or produc-



tive, they must be based on wisdom, they must spring from a cultivated state of soul. But the ideal of culture as certainly includes the self-forgetting as it embraces the self-regarding instincts. We dwarf our natures by the neglect of self-sacrifice as much as by despising any section of knowledge. Healthful culture is not the mere expansion of the individual, who, while pursuing his own perfection, feels "his isolation grow defined." Such culture narrows the soul in one direction while it widens it in another; and the human ties which connect man with man, which unite one thinker with another, the speculative philosopher with the poet, the poet with the man of science, the scientific labourer with the industrialist, and so forth, must be recognised by each labourer while he pursues his course along his specially selected pathway. It is true that this recognition and sympathy will be more or less intense according to the interest we take in the results of the labour pursued by our fellow-men; it is usually quick or sluggish in proportion to our actual identification with them. But whether identified with them or not, we may learn to extend a frank and manifold sympathy towards regions of human effort which we may never be able ourselves to enter.

One of the very best criteria of a well-educated mind is the range of its sympathy with departments of human labour and study with which it has a very partial practical acquaintance, and over which it may have no expectation of ever ranging freely. An ungrudging recognition of their value, as probably equal to that which the individual is pursuing, and a power of appreciating their results, while the processes by which these results have been reached are not known, is as rare as it is fruitful to the mind that has attained to it. But surely it is possible to glance over some broad area, or down some long avenue of culture, which we can never hope ourselves to traverse step by step, without falling into the snare of the dilettante. We may sympathize with much which we cannot personally pursue, and appreciate much that we have neither the leisure nor the genius to explore. And thus our many-sided culture grows. Our faculties are not left to stagnate, even although we can carry their culture but a little way; and it is the *tendency towards* perfection thereby fostered which secures a gradual harmony in the soul. No faculty is consciously arrested, but all are evoked according to opportunity. The result is the concord of many powers co-operant to one end.

The advocates of a partial and utilitarian, as distinguished from a harmonious and many-sided education, aim at completeness in one special direction. It is in this their strength lies: their clear mastery of what they do achieve. And so far as their practice tends to thoroughness, as opposed to a shallow surface culture, it is a useful protest against dilettantism. But too often the concentration of effort to one path begets a bias in favour of it so strong that it at once absorbs the entire energy of the man, and blinds his eyes to the value of what lies on either side. Thus most of the advocates of scientific culture, not content with magnifying the value of a wide knowledge of the laws and phenomena of nature, proceed to depreciate classical or æsthetic culture; or the partisans of classical study similarly ignore the claims of physical science. The speculative thinker, the poet, the historian, the mathematician, the artist, the musician, severally exalt their own department to the disparagement of the other (as they think), outlying realms. Each elevates his own section to the foreground, but usually he sacrifices his completeness to his speciality. So far it is essential that he should do so; for the prosecution of culture no less than the business of life is regulated by the division of labour. But when the partisan of one department would urge all men to follow him, and desert the ancient pathways with which he is unfamiliar, or which he has no genius to pursue, he transgresses against a primary rule of culture, and a fundamental law of progress. Thus Mr. Lowe and Mr. John S. Mill would remove from the old curriculum of university study, or shut up within the narrowest possible limits, sections of culture most valuable to the race, which have hitherto evoked its noblest powers, and proved their value by their fruits, because to themselves they are of little worth, and possess but a slight significance. Such reformers, like all iconoclasts, betray a certain rudeness towards unfamiliar phases of knowledge and of human interest, not far removed from that conceit which vaunts its little light, though it be but "the twinkling of a taper," as the most important light for future ages.

To possess a soul at once intense and many-sided, free in thought, flexible in sympathy, yet energetic in action; ready to receive and to retain new impressions, yet swift in its executive function which carries these into practice; willing to see as many sides of every question as the question possesses for finite minds, yet not paralysed by the multitude of competing views, and not



indifferent to a decision because a fragment of truth may lie in every one of these; not languid in action from the width of the intellectual prospect it surveys—such is the ideal of an educated life. It involves the possession of the amplest knowledge that is possible in alliance with the largest feeling, the widest range of sympathy in alliance with the most vigorous and energetic action;—every healthy human tendency finding free scope for its exercise, every desire that is legitimate finding satisfaction, every one that is illegitimate being controlled, the defective called forth into power, those in excess restrained;—in other words, the highest human culture is *the greatest possible health of the whole man*. All our powers must be braced by exercise, if they are to be healthy; while the activity of each power is at once a stimulus and a check to the rest. From the very constitution of human nature, each power must be curbed to make room for the action of the others; and self-denial, instead of being a special duty to be exercised towards a special portion of our nature under a religious sanction, is *a universal necessity of our human life*, if we are to approach towards the ideal of health. Health is maintained only through the control of each of our powers by the joint action of all the rest. A curb must be laid upon certain appetites, if a human being is to be even a healthy animal. Restraint must be laid upon his animal nature if he is to be a healthy human being, and his intelligent nature unstarved. But he must deny himself the exclusive pursuit of knowledge, as much as the unrestrained pursuit of mere physical perfection. He must check the outflow of his feelings by his reason; his moral perfection must go hand in hand with the culture of his imagination; his religious aspirations must have free course to ascend above the horizon of the present, and to start their hymn of praise as they ascend, but they must rise in union with his reason, and in harmony with his understanding. We do not mean that he is to turn to one part of his nature for guidance in the education of another; but he is to allow no part to encroach upon the rights of another, and that involves self-restraint in the culture of all. Thus our doctrine is opposed to all the unbridled individualism of modern culture. It opposes all forms of anarchic liberty in the prosecution of a special end, on the plea that such is the one thing needful for man, as much as it opposes a general torpor or lazy acquiescence in one set of ideas or one system of thought. It will thus be seen that religious culture is but a

part (though by far the highest part) of this universal completeness which is the ideal of man's destiny. We assume it as an axiom which no thoughtful man can gainsay, that *exclusive* absorption in religious enterprise, or devotion to religious thought and contemplation, is not the absolute end of a human being's existence. It is in these things that our human nature culminates. In these it finds its richest bloom and fruit. Within the area, so to speak, of religion, we find the sphere for the highest exercise of our highest faculties. But if the call to be devout were a call to subordinate the whole nature to the religious faculty, to secure for that not only a dominant and regulative, but an exclusive authority over us, then, in consistency, the sooner we adopted the rules of asceticism the better, and that unlovely ideal of the mediæval church were made real on our modern earth the better. We may not confound the perfection of our religious being with the perfection of our whole nature. Many a man is tolerably well disciplined as a religious being, who is signally defective as a thinker, as a student of nature, and of humanity, or as a member of society. His mind may never be permitted to receive the genial influences of Nature, or, it may be so cabined and confined to the narrow path of some *outré* experience that it may shrink sensitively from exposure to the bracing air of the world of thought. His feelings may be austere, his sympathies with his fellow-men soured and contorted, his very patriotism twisted, all through his exclusive absorption in what he deems religious culture. But ultimately his religion itself will suffer. It will pay the penalty of its own ambition. Desirous to absorb the whole nature, it may ultimately lose its rightful hold of a part. And even spiritual progress may be pursued in such a fashion as to take all grace and loveliness out of it, and turn it into the grim and forbidding image of a superstition. Nay, it is possible, in an unhealthy and overstrained sanctimony which is not religion, to neglect the common duties of life, on the plea that all the energies of the soul are engrossed with devotion. In all ages, the *merely* "religious world" has tended to narrowness, by contracting the basis from which devotion springs. "More spirituality," says one of our most thoughtful writers, "seems to exhaust the soil that rears it, so that Christianity must always gain much from extraneous sources." But, on the other hand, a culture which ignores religion,—which is so devoted to the perfecting of the other powers that the reli-



gious instincts lie untouched,—is equally biassed, defective, and narrow. The apostles of such a culture forget that our powers must culminate in worship, ere they bear their noblest fruit. Wordsworth used to say that the man who despised anything in Nature had “faculties within which he had never used.” The same may be said of those who omit the faculty of worship from their inventory of the powers of the soul. The speculative thinker, the poet, the artist, or student of science, who are so absorbed in their special pursuit that they do not allow the religious instinct to assert itself, or do not give it free scope for its fullest development, are *to that extent defective as men*, however perfect as thinkers, poets, artists, or men of science they may be. They practically allow a portion of their wondrous nature (and that the noblest) to lie unused within them; and a singular nemesis attends the neglect. The very faculty in course of time vanishes. The repressed instinct ceases to assert itself. They become accustomed to the want, and can dispense with the action of the faculty, and ultimately they may traduce their very nature, by denying the existence of that to which they were at first indifferent, the culture of which they found irksome, and finally ignored. We may thus explain the attitude assumed by some of the greatest teachers of modern science towards religion. They have been so absorbed with the study of nature, so engrossed with the scientific passion, that they have quietly ignored the grander sphere of religious feeling. Those instincts which would naturally have asserted themselves, and ascended in worship, have been compressed under the force of a scientific bias. They have gradually collapsed, and, long neglected, they have finally ceased to make any appeal, being crushed out by mere disuse and neglect. We may place in the same category those very biassed advocates of logical culture, whose ideal consists in the character which Wordsworth happily satirized, as

“A reasoning self-sufficient thing,  
An intellectual all-in-all.”

The merely knowing man is in reality an uneducated man, *because* he is so exclusively knowing. He cannot fail to be so; as he ignores those feelings which either underlie or are intertwined with all our knowledge, and, in so doing, he not only mutilates his nature as a whole, but attenuates his very *intellect*. No purely intellectual conclusion is ever reached, or, if reached, is of much value, without the co-operation of those instincts and emotions which intertwine their

roots with all our knowledge. Thus the logical mind, always clear and exact, but sharpened to a thin point, may tunnel its way into the heart of problems, but it works like the mole underground. It lacks vision in lacking heart, which is often the very *eye* to knowledge. And so those systems of the universe built up by the logical mind alone, present us with the mere skeleton or framework of knowledge. They are not clothed with muscle and flesh, or animated with the warm blood of our humanity; while the cloistered students who elaborate them, cut off from the complex and many-coloured streams of human feeling, are generally as imperfect men as their systems are defective structures.

But, to return to the relation in which religious culture stands to human perfection, it is true that instead of regarding the religious as one of the several faculties which we must cultivate in order to be perfect men, we may broaden the meaning of the word “religion,” and include within it the harmony of the whole individual life, as it is *re-bounded* to God, in obedience to the precept, “Be ye perfect.” It is a fair question whether this extension of the meaning of the word is not at once a more accurate interpretation of it, and a better safeguard both for religion and for culture. Religious culture would thus be the culture of the whole powers of man's nature in their upward tendency. It would describe the uprise of the several powers—their *homage* in the course of their education into life and power. But in either case we must guard against identifying a narrow range of special thought and feeling which we choose to call “religion,” with the true destination of man, the end which all men ought exclusively to aim at.

In advocating this many-sided culture, we do not forget that the majority of men must limit themselves to a very narrow sphere of effort, and that the perfection to which they attain cannot but be exceedingly partial in the present life. This fact, however, does not invalidate the general axiom that the grand aim of every life, fettered as it may be by circumstance, should be to expand to the very utmost limit of which it is capable. That remains its ideal, however much its realization is hindered by the accidents of its present lot. And the injury that would otherwise accrue to one who is meanwhile “in narrowest working shut,” may be indefinitely lessened, if he admits that his nature ought to be trained to the very highest energy and harmony of which it is capable; and if he refuses to acquiesce in bland contentment or dull apathy with



the limits of inevitable fate. It is the recognition of the ideal, we might almost say its worship, that is the grand condition of progress and of expansion in this life; and by analogy we infer that it is also the condition of our growth hereafter. Now, it is said by some, "we postpone our culture in this world, because there are gigantic practical evils around us; we need to meet and counteract these evils, thinking of other things than of self-improvement. There will be leisure for that in another world." We answer by a question: "What, on this principle, becomes of the law of habit? Does not that law act with such inexorable force, that the man who neglects the present culture of powers, which he might have nourished into strength, will find "that from him who hath not, shall there be taken away even that which he hath"? Experience shows how difficult and rare it is for those who have passed a certain period of life without becoming, for example, catholic in sympathy, ever to attain to true catholicity. As there is a tide in the beliefs of men which, taken at the flood, leads on to faith, so there is a tide among their sympathies which, taken at the flood, leads on to culture; omitted, all the voyage of the life may be among quicksands, and may end in confusion and wreck. The law of intellectual and moral habit operates with irresistible force on human nature as at present constituted; and we ask on what principle it can cease to operate, or be superseded, while human nature survives in its integrity? On what grounds should a man who voluntarily cuts himself off from ennobling culture now, expect not to suffer for it by being proportionally incomplete hereafter? He will doubtless be greater than his fellows in the special sphere he has entered, and in which he has, it may be at much personal cost and sacrifice, chosen to remain. But on that very account the rest of his nature will suffer loss. His mere intensity in the special line in which he has laboured, however high, religious, or sacrificial it may have been,—though it may compensate to his own mind for lack of sympathy in other directions,—will never give rise to these sympathies in a future state. He must recognise and pursue the ideal now, or he must reckon upon inevitable one-sidedness hereafter. We do not forget, as we have said, that a vast number of men must be contented to go on in the tread-mill round of industrial production. They are doomed to toil at a handicraft, or to concentrate their powers on the mechanical processes of trade. Yet they may lift their eyes from the fixed routine of daily

work, and in imagination see the fairer ideal hanging over them, as it were, radiant in the clear blue of heaven. They may also derive inspiration and energy in their toil, from the contemplation of culture as yet unreached, but not despaired of. Looked upon as a possibility of the future, it tends to elevate present labour, to ennoble what would otherwise be drudgery, and to redeem the meanest terrestrial work from degradation.

Three results seem to follow from the admission of what we have advanced. One of these is a large-minded Catholicity. This arises directly and inevitably. No man may scorn another's pathway to perfection, however different from his own, if it be really a path towards that goal. As the original balance of the powers is different in each man's life, so the course of his culture must vary; the order in which his powers awake to action will vary, and the harmony that results will vary also. As every class in society has something to gain from contact with every other class, as from each stratum in the great social fabric sympathetic movements may pass and repass endlessly, so the most cultivated man in one department may learn how best to advance, by studying the course which other men are pursuing; and all may learn how richly varied a treasure-house our human nature is, how manifold are the pathways of its progress, and how endless are the lights of knowledge which all guide to one end. One of the most direct and evident inferences from the varieties of human nature and the possibilities of human progress, is the value of an eclectic spirit, and of sympathies that are truly and inexhaustibly catholic.

A second result of the recognition of the ideal, as we have defined it, is, that self-satisfaction, indolent conceit of attainment (that worst foe of progress), becomes impossible. Every one who feels that a perfect ideal overhangs his actual performances will retain a sense of insufficiency. Ever craving a deeper insight and a larger wisdom, ever aspiring towards new attainments, and on the outlook for fresh knowledge from every quarter, he will show a proportionate humility and candour towards new truth. No conclusion that has been reached as the result of honest search by other men will be despised, and none that he has gained will be dogmatically assumed to be final. There may be confidence in what has been reached, in alliance with that grander Socratic feeling, "All that I know is that I know nothing." We may have learned that "best of all philosophical lessons, we know in part," without ignoring



the value and the validity of what we know. We may repose in the light we have, while we seek its increase, and sensitively shrink from that intellectual vanity, which deems its little light the centre of all truth and knowledge.

Thus culture, while diffusing intellectual calm, always induces a slight intellectual restlessness. As it is a movement towards a result which can never be wholly reached—a constant process of *becoming*, of which the issues are most dimly seen,—the very stimulus it receives from the unattained breeds humility in the pursuer. In proportion to its manifoldness, and to the number of forces that co-operate to produce it, with the unforeseen issues that arise out of it, there is a loss of intellectual serenity, and therefore of the self-satisfaction which accompanies a clearly defined mental horizon. Self-complacency is impossible to one the possibilities of whose nature are infinite. The pride of attainment, however frequently it exists, is philosophically inadmissible in one who recognises the doctrine we now teach.

Another result of equal value is that the harmonies in search of which some of the ablest minds have toiled so earnestly,—harmonies between reason and faith, between the spheres of knowledge and of feeling, between science and religion, emerge naturally, and without a struggle. If we recognise the fact that all our human powers are in their own place lights and guides, that all co-operate to one end (inasmuch as human nature is a unity),—and that our perfection consists in the harmony of all and the suppression of none,—then the very possibility of a collision between faith and reason is prevented. If we have a faculty of reason, and also an instinct of trust which outsoars the methods of the reason, and which carries us into regions where the understanding does not follow,—except to put into shape and form the conclusions which that instinct reaches,—there can be no final antagonism between such portions of our nature. Every faculty or instinct leaves scope for the simultaneous action of every other tendency. Moreover, it is evident that in no inquiry can we employ only one portion of our complex nature; least of all, when our study is directed to a revelation which addresses the whole nature. We may not at one stage of our inquiry make use of reason alone, and at another fall back on faith exclusively; any more than we may propose to solve all the problems touching the history of the human soul by rational analysis alone; or to elaborate the canons of criticism by a succession of acts of faith, or by the mere juxtaposition

of sentences, wrenched from their context, and taken at random from a long series of historical books. But equally, at all times, and in every inquiry, we find we must combine the action of our several powers, so far as that is possible, and exert the entire force of our being. The isolation of one portion of our nature from the rest produces immediate disease, while the dismemberment of our nature would be its death. Thus, to arrest by some intellectual ligature the free circulation of the moral life, or the spontaneous action of the heart in its uprise towards God, would be as great an evil in the interest of Philosophy, as to cramp by some religious fetter the keen sweep of our rational faculty would be a mistake in the interest of Religion. To be the partisan of the higher portion of our nature is as foolish a procedure, as to be the hired and biassed advocate of the lower; and all such exclusiveness brings with it, soon or late, the penalty of anarchy within, a tumult of the powers more or less conscious. It has the brand of imperfection stamped upon it at the first, but in addition it works to its own destruction. Thus the command to give unto reason the things which are reason's, and unto faith the things which are faith's, is anticipated as we study our human nature with a view to the harmony of a perfect life. We are conscious of the faculty of reason, and of the instinct of faith. We are compelled to honour both. We find we have not to stint our reason in deference to faith, or to withhold our faith when reason is dumb, but that both, acting simultaneously, work in concord, and to a common end.

But the question may still be put, Can any one realize this fair ideal? It is easy to issue the abstract precept, "Be perfect,"—cultivate your nature till it is perfect. Can any one approach even to within distant range of that perfection? Has not the pursuit been always destined to disappointment, and does not the heavenly precept, when tested by actual practice, seem issued in a sublime irony to man? as most of the answers to our philosophical problems seem little more than the echoes of the questions proposed; or, as Carlyle says of Hope,

"What is Hope? a smiling rainbow,  
Children follow through the wet;  
'Tis not here, still yonder! yonder!  
Never urchin found it yet."

Is not the same true of this Ideal, held up, like the cup of Tantalus, before human lips? Are there not gigantic obstacles in the way of its realization, inevitable bias,



incurable one-sidedness, faults of mental balance irremovable by culture? Nay, is it not better that the imperfections of the individual should last, and the race, composed of many individuals, attain to that which no one man can reach? And is it not true that in proportion to the eagerness with which any one aspires after this all-sidedness, he falls short in details,—that he loses the perfection of the parts, in aiming at the perfection of the whole? Does not universal culture lose in intensity what it gains in breadth, and while it widens the horizon of the mind, enervate and dim its sight? Finally, may not the cultured contemplation of many sides of a problem—especially if it concerns human duty—relax the sinews of moral effort, emaculate the man, and result in dilettantism?

It must be admitted that such objections are not to be lightly dismissed. It is true that no man has ever attained to the absolute ideal; but that is only saying, in other words, that all are incomplete, that no one has exhibited the perfect harmony of a perfect life. It is also true, as we have already stated, that the perfection of human achievement is only possible through a division of labour, and that in proportion to the excellence to which a man attains in one department is his inevitable deficiency in another. With the individual and with the nation alike, the flow of the tide on one shore involves its ebb from another, the rise of the pendulum on one arc implies that it has descended the other. And it is a problem whether this oscillation will ever end, whether one nation can ever unite in its national life, as at a common focus, the grander characteristics of all its predecessors, just as it is a question whether an individual will ever arise with an individuality so great as to be absolutely cosmopolitan, and who will therefore comprehend the scattered excellencies of his fellows blent in harmonious union. It is not likely, though we cannot say it is impossible. The analogy of the past is against it, but the possibilities of the future embrace it. It may be, however, that in the future, as in the past, the man of thought will be lamed for action by the very fact that he is widened for contemplation, and that the man of practice will be narrowed in thought by the very fact that he is animated in action. The temperaments men inherit may condition the types of character and culture which they realize; and it may be as impossible for the individual to choose his own type, or to regulate it when chosen, as it is for him to alter the form of his countenance or to add a cubit to his stature. It may be that in some natures the

strength of one faculty *implies* the weakness of another. But we may remember that in one historic Life all the diverse tendencies of human nature were brought into perfect focus, and held in divine repose, and that in that unique Ideal Life we find the harmony of opposite or usually antithetic powers. The realization of the ideal in that "Life which is the light of men," is a historical witness to the fact that it is within the limits of the attainable, and a ground of hope for man. We do not forget that the Divine was inwrought within that Nature as it is not within ours. None the less is that Life the pattern for humanity. The very law of the Christian life is the reproduction of the image that was in Christ. If we add to it the prospects of a state of being in which humanity may expand on all sides beyond the boundaries which now hem it in, the precept which ordains perfection becomes intelligible. If we superadd to the present in which we both know, feel, and act in part, that future in which we shall know as we are known, and feel and act with unimpeded powers, we may see how our approach toward the ideal may then be incalculably quickened. Let us admit that no man is able in this life to reach that ideal harmony to which the laws of culture point, none the less is that the end of his existence; and he may start on his sublime journey ever approaching nearer to that which he can never wholly reach. While he lives on this planet he is surrounded by most imperfect educational influences. He inherits a certain bias from his ancestors. He carries it in his blood, and develops it in many forms. He acquires another bias towards special lines of thought and feeling and action. He contracts it by contagion in subtlest ways from all with whom he associates. Certain prejudices, sympathies, and antipathies are inextricably bound up with the very constitution of his nature, while hindrances lie across his path in the very realms of culture into which he enters. In part, man shapes his own ideal. Humanity shapes for him the other part. The best that he can therefore hope to reach is an approximation to that which for ever eludes his grasp. He even ascends to heights which he finds he is incompetent to keep. He breathes for a time a serener and less troubled air, and is blessed by some gleaming prospect from the mountain summit; but he must soon descend again to the more prosaic valley, perhaps to toil in some vineyard in the heat of the day. The very definition of his chief end is, as we have said, a constant *process of becoming*, rather than an act of realization. It is a movement, now swift and now tardy,



towards a goal which ever shifts and recedes as his culture rises. Always about to be, it never fully is. The ideal grows as he grows, advancing towards the measure of the stature of the perfect. The very power of intellectual vision which enables him to discern in the distance that bright vision of the perfect, reveals at the same instant his own defects, and he feels from what a solemn depth of human experience the poet Wordsworth spoke when he wrote of those

"Fallings from us, vanishings,  
Blank misgivings of a creature  
Moving about in worlds not realized,  
High instincts before which our mortal nature  
Doth tremble like a guilty thing surprised."

But if we admit the ultimate necessity of cultivating all our powers in obedience to the precept "Be ye perfect," how, it may be asked, are we to know what our immediate duty is, with a view to that perfection? What particular powers ought we to cultivate at a given time to secure a special end? Since all the powers cannot be trained together, is there no risk of arbitrary selection in the choice of one for culture at a particular period? Nay, is there no risk that the inventory which we make of the powers and capacities of human nature may be as incomplete as our own idiosyncrasy? Manifestly we *may* become the victims of a very faulty ideal, and may carry on the education of our natures along some beaten track of mere individualism, mistaking it for what is broader and freer. We may never traverse the wide areas of existing knowledge, feeling, and action, just as we may obstinately take "the rustic murmur of our burg for that great wave that circles round the world." Hence the need of a wide acquaintance with what our fellowmen are doing around us, of the pathways they are traversing, of the inheritances on which they have entered, or the regions they are exploring. We may say of culture, as Tennyson says of freedom, let it

"broaden slowly down  
From precedent to precedent."

We must be guided by our predecessors, while we are not their slaves. We enter into their labours, while we cannot *rest* in any of them. But we are in no case left to the workings of mere caprice in the choice of a special pathway of culture at a special time. Our great guiding instincts decide these pathways for us. The balance of our powers being, as we have said, originally different in each man, and the subsequent training of the faculties being very diverse

from the first dawn of intelligent life, we find that long before we reach a time at which we must decide what track we shall mainly pursue, it is already marked out for us by the working of these instincts themselves. That we may often begin and continue to educate ourselves amiss, we must accept as more or less inevitable. We may end with being to some extent unsymmetrical, because we began with an unconscious mental twist which we inherited. But it is the function of culture to rectify the bias, to redress the inequality, and to readjust the balance of the powers, so far as that is possible. One thing no man is at liberty to do,—to yield hopelessly to the difficulties of his position, and acquiesce in his inevitable fate to remain the victim of a bias. We magnify the virtue of the chase, even though the pursuit is not always rewarded with immediate success. It is the condition of future attainment, and is nobler even without the attainment, than is the attainment without the chase. He who gives up the pursuit not only succumbs ignobly to defeat, but that defeat becomes more real and appalling as he continues to succumb. His eye, that once discerned it, now becomes blind to the real destination of man and the grand end of his existence; and he becomes perhaps the slave of some profession or trade or handicraft, solacing himself, after the ignominy seems past, by the more obvious practical utilities of this life. If space allowed, it would be easy to show in detail how fatal to the highest life of the individual is this despair of culture, and of how little worth is any material benefit he may confer upon his fellows if his own life has withered, and its growth been arrested at the root.

There is a wide difference between the preceding doctrine and the manifold special schemes which have been devised and submitted to men for the rectification of human life. The laws of culture are briefly summed up in this, "*Let your whole nature expand to the very uttermost of which it is capable, in every possible direction, that it may grow into a perfect structure, compacted by that which every joint supplieth.*" It prescribes no rules. It is utterly catholic, cosmopolitan, and inexhaustible; yet it is precise, defined, and clear. It bids us "forget what is behind, and reach out to what is before us," "nevertheless whereunto we have already attained," it bids us "walk by the same rule, and mind the same thing." Now, in contrast to this severe simplicity, we may have noted—perhaps with surprise—that many of the sages who have taught wisdom to past centuries point to one special end, the attainment of



which would lead mankind, they say, to blessedness. Sanguine that they had discovered some scheme by which to rectify the disorganisation of man's life, they have assumed the office of guides, and have said to others, "Follow us; act thus, and you will be blessed; take this road, and you will reach the shrine." Let us select any one of those schemes devised and lauded as a cure for the varied ills under which humanity labours; suppose it in full operation, and achieving those results which the most sanguine of its teachers could desire,—would the result be really a perfect human state, or one approximately perfect? Would there be an approach to the ideal of human nature? We venture to affirm that even the most ardent and enthusiastic man who had sung the praises of his special scheme, would, in the gradual working out of his idea, pause, and wish that some new expedient might be added to it. He would find that as men gradually adopted his suggestion, it appealed but to a part of their nature, and while it might quicken that part, it could not stand alone—that its isolation was its weakness. He would speedily desire to supplement or underprop his scheme by sundry new devices of larger import; and whether he did so or not, humanity would soon overstep the limits prescribed to it by its self-constituted teacher. It would either quietly or tumultuously break down the barrier, and advance on its many-sided career to a destiny beyond its own calculation to foresee. It is for this reason that systems of Philosophy are endlessly changing, that new schools of Poetry and Art rise and fall again. It is for the same reason that History is re-written by new annalists, who study the fossil remains of humanity from fresh points of view; and that Science marches ever forward with unimpeded feet on the pathways of discovery. We might add that, indirectly, it is for the same reason that social and political schemes are perpetually oscillating, and that commerce finds endless outlets for its energy. The great tidal waves of human thought, feeling, and action sweep onwards with the revolution of the ages, and a different deposit is each time cast forth upon the shore, to become the successive strata, each with its own record of past life, which some future interpreter may decipher and reveal.

In the light of what has now been advanced, we may be able to estimate the value of Mr. Arnold's teaching on the subject of culture. There are two tendencies which stand somewhat sharply contrasted in human nature (but which are not so distinctly opposed as Mr. Arnold asserts)—that, viz., which goes forth towards thought and contempla-

tion, and that which tends to work and action. To these two tendencies Mr. Arnold has given the names—open themselves to criticism—of Hellenism and Hebraism; because the former, or the tendency to thought and contemplation—was the ideal of the ancient Greeks; the latter—the tendency to obedience and action—was predominant in the Jewish race, and characteristic of the Hebrew law. He says that "the force which encourages us to stand stanch and fast by the rule and ground we have is Hebraism; and the force which encourages us to go back upon this rule, and to try the very ground on which we appear to stand, is Hellenism,—a turn for giving our consciousness free play, and enlarging its range." "Cutting our being into two, attributing to the one part the dignity of dealing with the one thing needful, and leaving the other part to take its chance,—that is the bane of Hebraism." "In Hellenism we find the impulse to the development of the whole man, to the harmonising all parts of him, perfecting all, leaving none to take their chance." In this statement of the case we detect a very decided Hellenic bias. In proportion to the extent of its national literature, the Hebrew race gave marked proof of the vigour of its thought. It did not traverse so wide an area as did the contemporary or succeeding schools in Greece, but it thought as profoundly and as effectively within its narrow region. The scribes and seers of Palestine did not sail out over the distant seas of knowledge (as the Jewish merchants did not traffic much with the traders of the East or West), but they took deeper sea-soundings within the limits to which they were confined. Besides, the Hebrew race was working out an experiment that was scarcely consistent with vast width of thought and a many-sided national culture. Its scribes were not encyclopædists, *because* they were the custodiers of a special theology, and because religious worship was the centre of their culture. Turning to Greece, where Mr. Arnold says we will find a tendency to the perfecting of the whole man, "leaving no part to take its chance," it is not historically certain that religious culture, morality, and obedience to law, were pursued with any ardour except by one or two of the most exalted spirits of antiquity. But when we examine the great systems of thought that have come down to us from that classic land, instead of finding that a life of contemplation constitutes the Greek ideal, we discover that the whole drift of Socrates's teaching was practical,—though his doctrine of virtue was not; that Plato's ideal (the man to whom we owe the consecration of the term) was not a speculative one; while Aris-



totle's moral system is from first to last a eulogy of the practice of virtue. On the other hand, there is much to justify Mr. Arnold's phraseology. It signalizes a radical distinction between two tendencies of our nature. His terms Hellenism and Hebraism may be held as descriptive of the two main streams of human effort, as these tend respectively to thought and to action. It is undeniable that they often act as counter currents in the sea of human life, producing storm; while they ought ever to blend and co-operate to one result. Mr. Arnold thinks that a predominance of Hebraism now menaces our English national life, and all our modern culture; and he would correct this by a strong infusion of the Hellenic element,—that spirit which sits apart from practical questions, and lets the mind and consciousness play around the problems which are raised. "Now, and for us, it is time to Hellenize, and to praise knowing; for we have Hebraized too much, and have over-valued doing." We heartily respond to all that Mr. Arnold so powerfully and beautifully teaches as to the need of increased light, and of a larger amount of the Hellenic spirit in our time. But we may ask if there is no risk of our culture degenerating, and losing the vigour of its tone from that subtle quietism which steals over the mind that is always contemplating, and hence postponing action. And is there not a further risk of missing the very light, which flows only in the wake of action? Let your "thought and consciousness play freely around the problem," says Mr. Arnold; whatever that problem may be, of graver or of lighter character. If this be but a summons to thoroughness of investigation, and freedom from all bias in the discussion of the problem, if it be merely to call to exercise a just and rational insight into every question, we cordially assent to it. But it is evident that Mr. Arnold would postpone all practical action till thoroughly assured of the wisdom, not only of the result aimed at, but also of all the steps to be taken towards that end. It is in this that we detect the Hellenic bias. But is not light frequently denied to a man or to a nation till they begin to act? Does not mental clearness sometimes follow practical action, and not precede it? Is it not sometimes morally fatal to postpone an action till all its issues are intellectually seen? And in this advice tendered to modern Englishmen, to allow their thought and consciousness to remain in a lambent state, to let their faculties play around all problems, if it really means anything beyond a summons to clearness, to thoughtfulness, to thoroughness, and to catholicity,—if meant as a check to our

British love of "realized ideals," we are convinced that Mr. Arnold errs through his meditative bias. The mere play of consciousness upon a problem that concerns duty will not solve it, unless action is contemplated as a sequel to thought. Hellenic contemplation, presenting all the possible sides of each question, and weighing them in delicate intellectual balances, may directly enfeeble the will and enervate the practical worker. Mr. Arnold would recall our statesmen from practical reforms to the meditative state. He counsels the leaders of opinion and of party, not only to care less about mere party (advice most opportune), but not to busy themselves with the redress of evils which they feel to be the immediate duty of the hour to them, to preserve a soul at leisure from itself, a consciousness unobscured by the mists which gather round and cloud all minds restless for action. "Let your consciousness play with the problem," he says, "let thought stream in upon it." "Good," reply the practical reformers, "we have done so, we have studied its conditions, we have sought its solution, but have found that the problems are not to be solved by thought alone. The mysteries of moral action do not yield up their secrets of light, while we

'Sit apart holding no form of creed,  
But contemplating all.'

The enigmas of the spiritual universe do not reveal themselves to the speculative faculty roaming in search of them, as the mediæval knights wandered in search of the sangreal but found it not. And while we continue to meditate, there is some risk of our being 'sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought.'

The contrast between the two tendencies is seen in its sharpest form in the way in which they would respectively deal with the practical evils which menace every human life. "Sit still, and profoundly contemplate them," exclaims the meditative sage with the Hellenic spirit. "Arise and abolish them," says the deeper wisdom of the Hebrew nature. "Let your consciousness play freely around the problems, lest you fall and worship the fetish of some practical reform," says the man of thought. "Get thee forth into their midst, and 'whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might,'" says the nobler law of Hebrew action. It seems evident that to continue thinking over problems that relate to action, without proceeding to act, is to become speedily paralyzed. Our faculties of thought may refuse to play longer around the problem, lest in that very process it becomes a different but more unworthy fetish than the other. It might



these are valued; the motive that urges to their cultivation is, according to the Hellenic ideal, the desire of individual completeness. This contraction of the area of culture attenuates while it refines the spirit, and dries up some of the purest springs of human energy and hopefulness. When the Greek ideal is exclusively present to the soul, it restrains unnatural fervour, it represses fire and enthusiasm, but it also begets a distinctive type of sadness, intellectual languor, and ennui. We trace this in some of Mr. Arnold's subtlest and finest poems, as well as in his prose essays. Exquisite and delicate thought is exquisitely and delicately expressed; but a sad refrain of life-weariness seems to underlie or to haunt them all. It is partly the absence of faith in the power of unselfish action which imparts this tone of sadness; and partly the tendency of the Hellenic ideal to isolate its votary from his fellows. We miss the spring of creative joy which wells up in that man's heart, who grapples with the evil he laments, in heroic self-forgetfulness, and in the patience of hope.

For the same reason we find that some of the most exquisite phrases of culture are overlooked by Mr. Arnold altogether. The conscious pursuit of self-perfection necessarily fails in those regions where greatness, to be sublime, must be *unconscious*; and we never find the unconscious grace of culture when the individual does not act, as well as think. Our thought is most vigorous when it is most conscious; our actions are the fairest when they are least consciously performed; and by far the larger portion of *moral* culture is unconscious. Even in those cases in which an effort of the will is needed, self-consciousness, and the desire to perfect our being by the act, is fatal to the act's perfection. For example, if in benevolence we think of any after gain arising from its practice, the moral quality of our deed disappears. It ceases to be charity, and sinks to the level of almsgiving. So with the gain resulting from acts of self-control and sacrifice. It is only to be won when the very process of winning it, and the compensations which it brings, are altogether forgotten. We must discount these from our calculations, or rather make no account of them at all, if we would secure their richest bloom and fruit.

Several minor points in Mr. Arnold's teaching remain to be noticed. One of these is his separation of Culture from Religion, and even from Poetry, Philosophy, and Science; though he maintains that they all co-operate to one end. In vindicating his doctrine from assault, he seeks to prove that an enlightened religion and culture have a common tendency; comparing their respective

ideals, he finds that they agree in the precept, "Be ye perfect." We think that in this statement of the case, he has unduly narrowed the range of culture, and exposed himself needlessly to a flank movement of attack. It is at once simpler, and philosophically more accurate, to regard religion as one part of the universal culture, which, in its totality, is the true end and ideal of human life; or, as we have suggested in an earlier page, to broaden the meaning of the term Religion, and regard it as the homage of all the powers in their uprising towards God. Either the term Culture should be used generically as inclusive of all the human faculties and all their tendencies—in which case it will include the religious instincts within it—or the term Religion should be widened to embrace the action of all the faculties when they ascend in the tribute of adoration. In either case Mr. Arnold's limitation is unwise.

Further, we think that he has put himself into a position of needless and (at times) of almost cynical antagonism to what he calls "machinery." He uses the term in a double sense,—the ordinary one of mechanical contrivance, with its new inventions and large industrial results; and (as an idea derived from this) the routine or stock notions, and processes of action, which have been mechanically adopted to secure certain ends. As to the former, we cannot think that human nature, in finding an outlet for its many-sided activity in the direction of "machinery," acts in a way that is hostile to culture. We prefer (as in the case of religion) to include the practical tendency which finds scope in new inventions to accelerate labour, and to supersede manual toil by mechanical contrivance, within the sphere of culture. Let it be admitted, that it is intrinsically of much lower value than any other kind of effort, bearing on the perfection of the individual. Still, as it implies the victory of man over nature, insight into her laws, and the utilisation of her processes, it is the condition of other and higher grades of culture; and inasmuch as it is a virtual necessity of human life, let us concede its value and respect its tendency. As to the latter, we think that what Mr. Arnold would substitute in place of the machinery he rejects, runs no small risk of becoming itself mechanical. Frequently he speaks of culture as if it were some magical instrument or weapon which its followers must wield to effect certain ends otherwise unattainable, to get rid of certain blemishes otherwise ineradicable. Culture, he says, does this, culture asks that; culture forbids this, culture enjoys that. We become weary of the reiteration; and though the



worship of machinery is everywhere denounced, and the effort to accomplish by certain stock methods certain preconceived results is represented as the very bane of our modern civilization, we cannot avoid feeling that the new instrument may be worshipped as a new "machine," though baptized with the name of Culture. This result is almost certain should Mr. Arnold have the satisfaction of seeing a school of disciples arise to follow him in their devotion to the Hellenic ideal. In their hands it would degenerate. The *μυστήρια* of the master would become a stock notion to the disciples; and either dilettantism would ensue, or a more defined system would arise, and the pupils learn to swear by their rabbi. As we have used the term Culture, it only amounts to a convenient phrase by which the *process of education* is tersely described.

Then when Mr. Arnold endeavours to explain the ultimate meaning of his doctrine, he tells us that his aim is "to see things as they are." "To this culture sticks fondly." Again and again he reiterates the statement that culture refers "all our operating to a firm intelligible law of things;" but when we ask what this law is, we have no firm intelligible answer. We are not landed in the ultimate mystery of a first principle, but we are lost in the mist of an abstract proposition. We ask for an interpretation and we obtain a formula, we desire bread and we receive a stone. Instead of a fruitful and elastic rule which might become a guiding principle,—a test by which to distinguish the spurious from the real,—we have a barren aphorism, which in its turn runs no small danger of being "worshipped as a fetish" by those who may adopt it.

To say that a tone of intellectual arrogance, especially towards this generation, characterizes all Mr. Arnold's teaching is perhaps to say too much; but his attitude is austere, and his work is not lovingly and healthily constructive. He would have accomplished a nobler and more durable result had he restrained his powers of polished satire, and while more sparing in his criticism of minor men and measures, had contented himself with holding up an exalted ideal to his contemporaries. Respect for your adversary is a prime condition of success in intellectual warfare; respect for your pupils (even although they are Philistines) a condition of successful teaching. A singularly acute and victorious critic of our existing systems, Mr. Arnold proclaims that they all lack "sweetness and light." It is well that we have one amongst us so profoundly in sympathy with the Hellenic ideal, and so swift to correct our British

"Philistinism" with its rash impulses, its stock notions, and vulgar appreciations. But we cannot regard the critic's as the highest type of mind. Mr. Arnold is not of the mould of Carlyle, who with all his destructive energy is kindly within, and creative, with no touch of the cynic in his nature. He has the critic's clear eye; but he lacks the warmth, the large fertility, the creative sympathy and kindliness of the seer. He has told us over and over again that he is a man without a system. He can hardly expect to induce the age to follow him towards an ideal of which the root is so very vague. But while theoretically disowning system, and hitting hard at the system-makers, he is practically forced to depart from this attitude of negation. He brings forward several highly elaborate and suggestive schemes, which he tells us "culture approves." He is anxious to guard us against supposing that when by the help of culture he "criticises some imperfect doing or other, he has in his eye some well-known rival plan of doing which he wants to serve and recommend." But in spite of this protest against a course, which he elsewhere describes as "giving the victory to some rival fetish," he is compelled to do much more than merely "turn a fresh stream of thought on the matter in question." Thus he praises a National Church, and is vehemently opposed to all disestablishment. He even satirizes the advocates of the latter, and imputes unworthy motives to the present Liberal leader; and in his opposition to the unbridled individualism of Dissent, he wishes us to fall back on "what has commended itself most to the religious life of the nation." But may not the idea conveyed in this phrase become as absolute a "stock notion" as any of those which Nonconformity worships? It may degenerate into the mere authority of the past, and the nation find itself fettered by tradition. And may not the advocates of Nonconformity make a similar appeal to "what has commanded itself to the religious life of the nation," and plead a *raison d'être* in pointing to the past history of their sects? Mr. Arnold finds that culture "leads him to propose to do for the Nonconformists more than they themselves venture to claim," more than the Dean of Westminster and his party have proposed in their scheme of a National Church of the future. Culture, he says, leads us to think that the best thing is "to establish, that is, to bring into contact with the main current of national life in Ireland, the Roman Catholic and Presbyterian Churches along with the Anglican Church; and in England a Congregational



church of like rank and status with our Episcopal one." Is not that a gigantic "rival plan of doing"? and its proposer has not told us *how* "culture approves" of it. We have only his individual opinion that such is the verdict of cultivated thought on the point in question. Said we not truly, that his repudiation of practical schemes breaks down; and that the link of connexion between the scheme he actually submits, and the culture which he teaches, is so vague as to be imperceptible?

Again, we find Mr. Arnold frequently generalizing from data which do not warrant his inferences; and it is the tendency of all comprehensive generalization to become vague in proportion to the breadth of the area it covers. Thus in his remarkable classification of British society into the three grades of the Philistines, the Barbarians, and the Populace, while he has successfully named and acutely criticised the first of the three, and may be almost said to have minted a new term for current use in the English language, it is not likely that his second term will be either appreciated as accurate or adopted to any extent. On the whole it is a mistake to divide society by sharp lines of demarcation into classes founded on intellectual differences. In no case is the risk of false classification greater, as we deal with a type of existence of which the forces are so manifold, so protean, and so many of its phenomena latent, while their sources are so obscure. Each caste or class in society shades into that which is contiguous to it by fine and almost imperceptible gradations; they sometimes intersect each other, and often meet in the same individual. This fact has not escaped the notice of so observant a critic as Mr. Arnold. But we doubt if he has given due weight to it, or if he sufficiently recognises the presence of the Barbarian element among the populace, and of the Philistine element amongst his barbarians. If the crossings and blendings of these types are very numerous, the success of his classification is weakened. And if the variability of the type is admitted to the extent which we think it must be admitted, the distinctive features of the three classes, as they now exist, would need to be much more marked, to warrant Mr. Arnold's classification.

As a further instance of rash generalization, we are told of "a law" which "forbids the rearing outside of National Establishments of men of the highest spiritual significance." The accuracy of this estimate will depend on the ideal of spiritual significance which the student of history forms, and also on the glass through which he stu-

dies historical phenomena. But we hazard the counter assertion (with a strong bias in favour of Establishments), that there are as many minds of the highest spiritual significance outside of all Establishments as within their venerable precincts. The explanation of the law he has discovered, which Mr. Arnold gives, is, that Nonconformity is "not in contact with the main current of national life." The explanation is as inconclusive as the law. Surely the current that sweeps outside of Church Establishments is as broad, as various, and sometimes as deep as that which flows within their banks. All the facts, we are afraid, do not tally with this theory; and in those individual cases to which Mr. Arnold's statement applies (and it applies to many), the real explanation of the defect is not remoteness from the main stream of national life, but an inability fully to comprehend that stream, and to sympathize with the mixed elements of which it is composed.

It may seem ungracious towards a writer who has done so much to illustrate and to advance some of the choicest forms of culture, to object to the terms he has made such frequent use of in teaching these. But Swift's phrase, "sweetness and light," which Mr. Arnold thinks the most appropriate to describe the twofold tendency of culture toward the Beautiful, and toward Intelligence, is far from felicitous. Sweetness has a flavour of mere sensation, with which we would willingly dispense; and light is not sufficiently discriminative if it is to be confined to the action of the intellect. There is moral as well as mental light.

At the beginning of this article we referred to the relation in which the doctrine of Ideal Culture stands to kindred problems; and there are at least two other questions closely related to the one with which we started, "What is the chief end of Man?" They are these—"Whence have we come?" and "Whither do we tend?" We may be able to answer the first of the three, without obtaining a philosophical reply to the other two; but we cannot *pursue* the course which that answer indicates, without some approximate solution of the others. And every doctrine of culture which ignores them, or pronounces them insoluble, is to that extent defective in moral power, if it does not lack all moral leverage. We need some ἀρχή-ηγεως. What force is to urge the soul forward in this career of many-sided life? What is to facilitate the progressive harmony of its powers? Is it true, as Mr. Arnold represents Empedocles as saying—

"Once read thy own heart right,  
And thou hast done with fears;



Man gets no other light,  
Search he a thousand years " ?

Must the force proceed from human nature itself, and its relation to this present state of being ? or must it not rather spring from a perception of our Origin and our Destination ? If we perceive that we have emerged from the Infinite, not as atoms developed by the slow evolution of an eternal Force, but as beings cast in the image of the Creator, and destined to immortality, we have a motive for the culture of our powers that is inexhaustible. If, on the contrary, we merely stand by the side of the stream of human existence, or float on its upper surface, wholly ignorant of its origin and of its issue, we may drift with the current, but we can have no motive to advance. It would be a matter of indifference to us where we stood along the margin of a line, both ends of which are lost in the darkness of the Infinite. But as we need inducements and stimuli to urge us forward, we must know the points from which and to which we tend. Where can we find a motive to progress, if not in the ambition to reach "the measure of the stature of the perfect ?" When we remember our origin and discern our immortality, we continue the laborious quest for knowledge, we willingly renounce beliefs that have proved their immaturity by our advancing growth. Every branch of philosophic study, of scientific labour, or of artistic toil, yields us some new element with which to carry on the education of our powers. We venerate the past and strive to learn from its rich accumulations, but we aim at a larger and more mellowed culture than any that the past has bequeathed to us ; while we remember that Man himself is "greater than anything that educates him," greater than any object that surrounds him in the universe of finite existence.

#### ART. VIII.—PUBLIC WORKS IN INDIA.

1. *Reports of the Proceedings of the Government of India in the Public Works Department.* Printed at Calcutta by order of His Excellency the Governor-General in Council.
2. *Administrative Reports of the Public Works Department of the various Presidencies of India.*
3. *Indian Polity.* By Major GEORGE CHESNEY, R.E., Accountant-General to the Government of India, Public Works Department. London: Longmans, Green, and Co.

"Roads for India ?"—"Why, India is itself one great road !"

Such was the evidence tendered to a Committee of the House of Commons, which happened not long ago to be engaged inquiring into the wants of our Eastern Empire—the witness in this instance being a member of Parliament enjoying the reputation of knowing India well.

By the assertion that India is itself a road, this gentleman meant to imply that the sun-dried soil and empty water-courses found there during the rainless months of each year afford every requisite facility for the movements of its inhabitants. To him, and to a once considerable but now scarcer class who think with him, there seemed nothing amiss in a condition of things which compelled the cultivator, when carting his produce to market, to undertake a journey across country in fox-hunting fashion, or at best along roads of a description so rude as to entail a certain waste of time, and a considerable risk of accident. For, notwithstanding frequent invocations of his gods, and many stimulating twistings applied to the tails of his oxen, the driver might consider himself lucky who reached the end of his journey without sustaining injury in cart or bullocks—racked to pieces in ruts which immersed wheels up to the axle-tree, or goaded to death in struggles to cross passes hardly practicable for unladen animals.

The setting in of the annual rains of the tropics, which saturate the loamy soil and flood the bridgeless rivers to an extent prohibiting the passage of travellers, and which, in fact, is the signal for the owners of carts to remove the wheels and store them in dry places throughout each June, July, and August—this complete suspension of the traffic of the country might at all events have seemed capable of evoking an admission of the necessity of some remedial measure. But no ! In the minds of certain Anglo-Indian praisers of past times, this very consequence of a want of roads appeared to offer a conclusive proof that no roads were needed.

We trust we are correct in saying that views of this retro-active nature are no longer prevalent among us ; and that they need now be considered only in the light of causes which explain the faint progress works of improvement have hitherto made in India. Of late each fresh Secretary of State for India—and during half-a-dozen years we have had about as many occupants of the office—has lost no opportunity of stating his conviction of the importance of roads and canals for his charge. And,



doubtless, each has used efforts to give his views effect. Some progress, too, has actually been realized in this direction. But much, very much, work yet remains to be done. Districts as large as half-a-dozen English counties put together, and possessing a soil more fertile than is to be found in Europe, are without roads for the conveyance of their crops to market. Others, equally rich and extensive, are liable to periodical visitations of famine, owing to the want of water, which might with care be led along channels, to irrigate their fields. In such parts of India a year of drought means a year of death.

No doubt the task of meeting these many requirements is no easy one. The field of labour is so vast: the means immediately available for work appear so inconsiderable. Nature seems there so all-powerful: Man so feeble, so liable to be soothed into sloth by the enervating influences of climate. The very extent and intricacy of the official machine by which an order is conveyed from the lips of the Minister in London to the ear of the man who is to work it out in India, would alone interpose serious risks of delay, if not of absolute abortion. And the Minister must find it no easy matter to hit off a happy medium between the execution of imperfect projects, pressed for his adoption by enthusiasts within or schemers without, and the no less mischievous alternative of inaction to which the faulty system of Public Works\* finance or the advice of over-cautious counsellors might well drive him.

He cannot adopt the course pursued in the case of the grand mosques, temples, and tanks which mark the reigns of former rulers of India. Shah Jehan might unhesitatingly order every labouring man and every beast of burden within a given circuit, to be impressed into the task of damming up an artificial lake for irrigation, or of opening a way across a mountain pass. But Queen Victoria could not venture on so Eastern a form of procedure. Compulsory labour has an evil sound in the ear of an Englishman. He cannot be brought to consider its application in other countries as in any degree excused by the fact of its having not long ago existed in principle in his own.

Yet in justice to our predecessors in the

\* In describing works of improvement we shall hereafter adopt the comprehensive designation of Public Works used in Anglo-Indian official language, and of which we give the following interpretation by Major Chesney:—"In India the term Public Works has always been applied to every kind of building operations undertaken by the Government, and includes, therefore, the construction and repairs of all State buildings, civil and military, as well as the prosecutions of roads, railways, and irrigation works."—*Indian Policy*, p. 357.

East, it must be acknowledged that forced labour was in many respects not ill adapted to the circumstances of their subjects. The languid temperament inherent in inter-tropical nations, added to habitual subjection to arbitrary authority, has rendered the native of India more inclined to obey a command to work than to respond to an invitation that work shall be done in consideration of a recompense. As in France the national need for despotic control is alleged to be shadowed forth in the words "*Il est défendu*," which everywhere meet the eye of the traveller in that country—so in India the inborn reverence for authority is typified in the idioms of its language, of which "*Hookm hai*" (It is decreed) appear the words ever on the lips of its people. The very terms in which a prohibition is expressed serve to show this national craving after commandments. The doorkeeper whose duty it is to bar the entrance of a mosque, or other forbidden place, stops the intending trespasser with the injunction, "There is no order for you to enter here." And so it is in almost every phase of thought or action.

Government, in the mind of the man of Hindustan, means a mighty inscrutable thing, endowed with undisputed power to use its subjects as to it seem best, and called upon to regulate by rule every act of their existence. With him all sense of individuality is effectually merged in a consciousness of constituting a marvellous small fraction of a great human whole lying at the absolute disposal of his sovereign. An order to labour on behalf of this master seems to him a very reasonable exercise of power.

Nor must it be imagined that labour was exacted after the fashion of the hard taskmasters who exist in English minds in association with this state of things. Those who have mixed much with the natives of India know that in their treatment of servants they are kind and considerate. The word "slave" has no proper equivalent in their language. "Son of the house" is the term generally used to denote the African who at times may be found in the domestic establishment of a Mussulman—slave in so far that he was bought in the market—but wearing his bonds lightly, as may be imagined from the kindly epithet accorded to him. To meet slavery in its English sense, one must pass the mountains of the Hindoo Koosh, and seek for it in Balkh or Bokhara.

In carrying out this compulsory process, the Mogul Shahs observed in a fair degree the dictates of humanity and the prejudices of religion. Labour was demanded only during the season when agricultural opera-



tions in India are at a stand-still, and moderate wages, or rations of food, were allowed to the workmen. Nor were the less substantial luxuries of sweetmeats and fireworks wanting to reward them for the successful completion of their task—and sweetmeats and fireworks are, to the working man of India, the same source of gratification that fire-water is to an English navy. To men thus gathered together there was no great hardship in being compelled to sleep under a rainless sky; and shelter, if necessary, might almost anywhere be found in the temples or houses of fellow caste-men, or be easily improvised with branches of trees and coarse matting.

But widely different as was the Indian system of old from the oppression practised in the land of Egypt, either in the days of Pharaoh or of Mohammed Ali, its adoption at the present time is of course out of the question. Such works as we require must be made by volunteers, for whom the wages we offer shall present a sufficient source of attraction. And on this score we need have little cause to fear, seeing the readiness with which workmen flock to the operations of the Indian railways. The difficulties in the way of providing public works for India are of a different nature. To understand them, it is necessary to keep in view the peculiar position which the British government occupies in that country.

Her Majesty's Viceroy at Calcutta, in addition to his functions as chief magistrate of her Eastern dominion, has to perform the less showy duties of land-steward over an estate larger than France, Spain, Austria, Prussia, Italy and the United Kingdom, put together. And to increase the difficulty of dealing with so unmanageable a property, he is compelled, by the usage of public business in India, to enter personally into almost every affair which concerns it. A question of such small importance as the construction of a few miles of road, which happens to have been proposed by the officials of some remote village, is liable sooner or later to find its way to the desk of the Governor-General; and on arrival there it is no longer in the shape of a simple plan and estimate for carrying out the proposal, but is swelled into a bulky budget, composed of criticisms and counter-calculations of engineers, of voluminous commentaries by collectors of districts, and of able but embarrassing *résumés* of these discordant documents, prepared by energetic under-secretaries, possibly endowed with a talent for epigram.

The results of this system are such as we might expect them to be—much writing, little working.

The energies of the Indian Public Works Department are chiefly occupied in drawing up plans on paper, or in combating objections offered to them. Indeed, the temptations presented to all concerned, to display their powers of perception, and of picking holes, are so great as to be nearly irresistible to men sitting in offices in India, where during most of the hours of daylight the climate renders out-of-door occupations impossible, and where the cheaply paid swarms of public-office clerks are naturally enough disposed to beget the work which is needed to justify their employment. Then too, as we must all know, there is in the minds of most men a latent conviction of a capacity for engineering. As almost every Englishman conceives himself a competent judge of a horse or a bottle of wine, so do our countrymen seem to consider themselves fitted, with few exceptions, to pronounce sentences on any proposal embracing bricks and mortar.

Members of the Civil Service of India, thoroughly conversant with questions affecting their proper duties, as Collector of a district or Commissioner of a province—questions of so abstruse and so hard-named a nature as to be unintelligible to ordinary Englishmen—these gentlemen appear often to care less for the credit fittingly accorded to their knowledge of Ryotwarree Tenures or the Hindu Law of Adoption, than for a reputation they seek to acquire for a certain acquaintance with earthwork and masonry. In short, almost every official in India is more or less of an amateur engineer, ready to cavil at any plan placed before him, and in occasional instances equally prepared to suggest an alternative scheme of his own. Then, too, death, disease, or a desire to run home to England, are causes always operating to bring a rapid succession of fresh incumbents into Indian offices; and each new man comes to look on the acts of his predecessor with a critical eye—unable, possibly enough from inexperience, to grasp at once the view it may have cost the out-goer many years of toil to master. So that the general result may be summed up in this form—that at least twice as much time is consumed in that stage of a public work which is described in official returns by the words “under consideration,” as would suffice for its effectual construction.

Nor do the drawbacks to the operations of the Public Works Department of India end here. Even in the case where these protracted preliminaries have ended in an order for breaking ground, there yet remains an uncertainty as to funds being available to meet the cost of execution.\* A bad year's

\* This state of things has not yet been so suffi-



rents, a short crop of opium, an outcry for economy—these, and many other contingencies, are at any time capable of cutting off the necessary supplies of money; so that the officer in charge of a work is often compelled to carry it on in a most unsatisfactory manner. Unable to count on any sums beyond the allowance doled out to meet the wants of the year in which he finds himself, he is deprived of aids which in undertakings of this nature are essential to reaching the end in view, either speedily or economically. Contracts he can hardly venture to enter into, unless these be provided with breakage clauses on behalf of the Government, such as no contractor would accept, save on terms of an extravagant sort. The plant and machinery requisite to assist and cheapen his operations he at best can only acquire piecemeal, whereas the greatest service these accessories afford is often to be found during the earlier stages of work. The very laborers whom he may with much trouble have gathered together from distant places, for operations in a thinly-peopled locality—these very men, when leaving at the outburst of the rains, for their fields and farms, can meet with no assurance from their employer, that their services shall be required on the re-opening of the working season.

From the day the first sod of a canal is turned, or the foundation of a bridge laid, until the time he is able to report his task complete, it is with him one long struggle to make the most of imperfect means; while, to aggravate his evils, his mind is kept in constant anxiety regarding every shilling expended in his district. He is held to be responsible not only as a designer and a constructor, but also as a paymaster and accountant. It would not be surprising were men in this position to lose all zest for their duties, and rest satisfied with attending to official correspondence, and a vigilant superintendence of their ledgers and treasure-chest. It would be hard to blame them were they to show themselves little inclined to see works of importance set agoing in their districts.

To the credit of the officers employed in the Public Works Department of India, it must be said that, in spite of many disheartening influences under which they are placed, they almost invariably work with all their heart both in-doors and out of doors. And if the office labours be at times uncongenial to an active man, it must be admitted that against these duties there is a de-

ciently remedied by the recent system of Public Works' loans, as to permit of its being described in the past tense.

lightful set-off in the shape of work in the field. Indeed, it would be hard to conceive a more wholesome or happy existence than that passed by one of these officers during his annual turn of camp life in the districts under his charge. Provided with a couple of suites of tents, so as to permit of one set being sent in advance to be ready to receive him at the end of the morrow's journey, he is enabled to carry on his duties with as much regularity as if he were staying at his head-quarters. About an hour before sunrise he swallows the cup of tea and biscuit which constitute the "small" breakfast of India, and at his tent-door finds a horse being led before it in readiness for him. If the stage before him be a long one, or if works on his way require inspection, he gets at once into the saddle, and moving clear of the falling tents, the piles of baggage, the prostrate forms of much-roaring camels, and other litter incidental to the confusion of striking camp in the dark, he jogs quietly along until the dawning day changes the drowsy sort of foot-pace his nag has observed through the darkness into a skittish inclination now exhibited for a run over the firm far-reaching plain that lies ahead. And it is really wonderful to notice the intelligence which the little Arab horses, used in India, do display in seizing an opportunity of this kind. The animal which allowed itself to be kicked along sleepily through the dark hours before dawn, no sooner feels the cheering influence of the coming day, than, shaking his bit saucily, and assuming a jaunty style of action, he invites the man across him to a frolic together over the flat. A couple of Persian greyhounds are likely companions of the morning's march, and as hares are plentiful, it is hard if man, horse, and dogs do not get one or two good runs on the road.

If the officer be not pressed for time, he probably does not leave his tent till day-break; and then starting, gun in hand, and with a horse led after him, he makes his camp-followers beat a broad belt of the bush, field, or swamp that borders his way, and so manages to get a fair bag of quail, bustard, snipe, duck, hare; if he cares to stalk, he can in most places find herds of antelope or spotted deer. And when at length the sun has worked some way up the sky, and the pangs of the stomach begin to prevail over the claims of sport, he gets across his horse, and canters hungrily home to his camp. Yes! we may safely use the word *home*. For everything about the place looks thoroughly comfortable and well-ordered. At his tent-door stands a groom ready to lead his horse off to the line of



pickets in rear, where his stable-companions are already ranged. On the table inside he finds his newly arrived letters laid out to meet him. In his dressing-tent his bath and fresh clothes are in readiness for use. And, once dressed, he is in an excellent condition to approach the very substantial breakfast proper which is now served in his mess tent.

After breakfast begin the labours of the day. In an adjoining tent, which serves as an office, are seated the few native assistants required to aid him in correspondence or in surveying. A couple of camel trunks contain such files of correspondence as are likely to be required during his tour. If his encampment happen to be on the spot where an important work is actually in hand or is possibly projected, his time is of course much taken up in giving audience to the village authorities and landholders of the locality, as well as in hearing the reports of his out-of-door assistants. In short, the heat of the day finds him so fully occupied that by the time the sun has sunk low enough to let him leave his tent he has often to burst forcibly away from his *levée* in order to make use of the few hours of daylight that yet remain in inspecting works or in completing surveys. In this evening stroll he possibly enough comes across a friend, in the shape of the collector of the district, or one of his assistants, whose camp may be close at hand. Arrangements are made for dining together in whichever camp promises the best fare—for an Anglo-Indian dinner provided for one knife and fork is always capable of serving the wants of several; and if need be, the simple kitchen gear in use there enables an entire meal to be taken to any table within half a mile of the cooking tent. So when the short twilight has darkened into night, host and guest sit down to table, and a very pleasant dinner they have. News are exchanged and sporting experiences recounted. Nor are the subjects which come under the category of that comprehensive word "shop" forgotten from the talk. Sooner or later their daily work takes a chief place in their chat, and the late hours of night probably find the *convives* seated outside the tent-door smoking their cigars under the bright moon of the East, while discussing all sorts of matters connected with their district—a much-needed bridge at one point, a favourable spot for throwing up an irrigation-dam at another. Plans are formed for visiting some such place on the following day; trysts are made for seeing more distant localities at a future time.

In short, the life of an officer of the Pub-

lic Works Department engaged in making a tour of his district is a singularly happy mixture of healthy exercise for the body and interesting occupation for the mind. His work is not confined to the mere routine labours of many fellow-engineers in Europe,—to simply arranging with contractors for certain operations at certain places. In addition to the technical duties proper of his craft, he is called upon to exercise his wits in many irregular ways. As a geologist, he has to explore the country for suitable beds of stone, or possibly to determine the means of overcoming some constructive obstacle caused by a peculiar conformation of strata. As a diplomatist, he has to conciliate or coerce some neighbouring potentate into affording the necessary assistance towards obtaining a supply of labour and materials. The resources of the locality have not only to be turned to account; in all likelihood they have in the first instance to be discovered. As for the machinery and plant required to aid his efforts, he is probably too far from any source of supply to hope for such accessories, and is accordingly driven to improvise some rough sort of substitute. The expedients he adopts might excite the amusement of many an engineer in England; but they would meet with a sympathising approval from men able to appreciate the quality of mind which makes the most of whatever comes to hand. What he has to do must be determined promptly, for ahead of his working season there looms the annual monsoon, which in a couple of days after its outburst may fill the rivers he is bridging with floods which sweep before them the timber stagings it has cost him much trouble to erect; and this gear may in all likelihood be yet intended to serve for many more arches along his line of operations. The loss of apparatus of this kind would not only retard his work. In increasing the general outlay beyond the amount estimated, this mishap might in all probability lead to a sharp official reproof for such an excess of expenditure, unavoidable though it proved to be; and not impossibly end in an attempt, on the part of a secretary sitting under the soft breeze of a punkah in Calcutta, to make the officer refund the extra charge.

However heartily these officers might struggle to provide instalments of the many works wanted in India, their endeavours were usually of small effect, in consequence of the intricate system of control to which they were subject, and from which it is to be feared they have not yet been set free. Individual energy, no matter how earnest, sooner or later expended itself in vain ef-



forts to quicken the action of the many authorities who interposed between the man who asked for money to meet the cost of a work and the man who had the power of granting it. Here and there an officer might be found whose sense of a pressing emergency, or even of the clear economy of the step, prompted him to break ground in anticipation of an official sanction. But zeal of this forward kind was seldom exercised with impunity. A hard-worded reproof was hurled at the enthusiast, accompanied, in all probability, by an intimation that the money thus expended would be deducted from his pay.

An upright man of action, impressed with the necessity of immediate measures, and pushing on works whose stability was possibly dependent on their completion by a day near at hand, might not unnaturally consider that his time was better employed in personally insuring the accomplishment of his task than in preparing comparative statistics of the precise cost of each portion of it. But the man of the pen, viewing the matter from a tranquil stand-point of authority established on the pine-clad slopes of the Himalaya, might not be disposed to indorse this line of conduct. Seated at his desk, in sight of the distant snowy range, the Secretary might not think it out of place to put on paper "the feelings of surprise and disapprobation with which Government have learned that no returns of detailed expenditure have been rendered by Captain Dash for several successive weeks." These sentiments of surprise might no doubt have been dissipated had this dispenser of decrees, which in India go by the name of Government Resolutions, but cared to ascertain that for a couple of months past every hour of Captain Dash's waking moments had been spent in the saddle, riding over his extensive district—here superintending the keying-in of a bridge, there making all ready for the admission of water to a canal; and that in his endeavours to insure the safety of his works before the bursting of those ominous banks of clouds which came rolling up each day in greater masses from seaward, the Captain was leading a nomadic existence, spending his nights in idol-temples or roadside rest-houses, his camp being unable to keep pace with his movements.

Rebuffs of the sort we have described soften the energy of most men. When they are followed up by that argument applied to the pay of the enthusiast, which in Anglo-Indian language is termed a retrenchment, the energy is apt to disappear altogether. Then, too, increasing years of subjection to that strange influence which we call System seem gradually to beget a reverence for rou-

tine in even in the most truculent heart; so that it is not unusual to find a subaltern who commenced his career with an eager appetite for work and an impatient antagonism to vexatious regulations, grow by degrees into an ardent upholder of them.

The financial arrangements of the Public Works Department of the Indian Government have, up to a very recent period, been altogether faulty. Formerly, its available funds were confined to such sums as could be spared from the revenues of each year; and the Chancellor of the Indian Exchequer, whoever he happened for the time to be, was usually too intent on framing a favourable balance-sheet on which to build up a reputation for future use in England, to listen to the cry for roads and canals which came up from all parts of the country. Indeed, the very multitude of the demands afforded a plausible pretext for passing them over, one and all. At times it might chance that this gentleman was coerced into liberality by one of those ephemeral epidemics of indignation which, at long intervals, prevail in England; and of which leading articles denouncing our neglect of India, or speeches demanding measures of improvement for that country, may be regarded as symptoms. But grants extracted from him under such circumstances only served to meet the wants of the current year. Long before he sat down to frame his next budget English interest in India had probably vanished; for, unless during very exceptional seasons of sensitiveness, our countrymen have little care for the concerns of their Eastern possessions. As a rule, the talk of the town turns to any topic regarding an individual at home, with a relish it cannot extract from the anguish of a multitude abroad.

The details of Derby bets lost by decrepit peer of five-and-twenty would probably excite more attention in London than news of the starvation to death of a hundred thousand human beings in Orissa. The only motive that can be counted upon to keep up English sympathy for Indian needs is self-interest. We all saw, that so soon as the blockade of the Southern States of America shut off the supplies of cotton we drew from that country, the men of Lancashire set vigorously to work to insist on our Government constructing the road and canals required to facilitate the export of that material from India. Throughout our manufacturing districts crowded meetings passed resolutions condemning the want of communications in the country which they now discovered might be serviceable to them. Influential deputations continued to impress on Her Majesty's Ministers the necessity of immediately intersecting each portion of it with



water-channels and turnpike roads. And often-urged appeals of the same import were raised in the House of Commons by members representing our great centres of industry. Newspapers were established to serve as organs of agitation. At least one delegate was deputed to proceed to India to stir up the energies of the local Governors suspected of supineness. All these praiseworthy efforts of our countrymen on behalf of India are fresh in our recollection.

But equally fresh, unfortunately, is our remembrance of an after-phase to this episode of enthusiasm. The efforts of these reformers of Indian grievances ceased with the cessation of the American blockade. No sooner was cotton procurable from the West than the single-minded spinners of our northern counties gave up all care for the fields of the East. The pressure they had been able to exercise on Government officials—who possibly looked forward to the contingency of having to solicit the suffrages of these gentlemen from the hustings—being thus withdrawn, the old system of starving the Public Works of India again obtained. According to this system, out of many projects put forward in any one year, only a few were favoured with funds, and these were doled out so sparingly as to render energetic action impossible. Almost every proposal was pared down below the limits of stability. And this policy, pursued in a climate subject to destructive alternations of drought and damp, led to rapid deteriorations in roads, in masonry, and in wood-work. In point of fact, the repairs required for works in existence would, if properly carried out, have swallowed up the better portion of an old Public Works budget. So, to prevent this result, the repairs were cut down to a point scarcely consistent with safety, and the work of dilapidation went on apace.

Even at the present time, the inadequacy of attempts to provide works for India out of mere savings of income has been but partially recognised by those who administer it. Men who, in their capacity of English landlords, avail themselves of loans granted by the State for draining, fencing, and otherwise improving their estates, seem, in their capacity of statesmen, incapable of admitting the necessity of similar assistance for India, where a little reflection would show it to be still more required. For, whereas in the United Kingdom capital is abundant and enterprise excessive, in India such capital exists in the shape of bags of rupees buried in hoarding-places under the soil, or of jewelled ornaments locked up in carefully concealed strong-boxes. As for

private enterprise, it may be said to be unknown. In the East, then, the need of assistance such as is afforded to improve English farms and forests is essential. And, so far as the experience of works actually in operation can be relied on, there is reason to reckon on any judicious outlay on this score being fairly remunerative. The Indian railways, although yet in an incomplete state, are earning good receipts. The Ganges Canal, which has still to be furnished with distribution channels and other accessory works, yields 3½ per cent. on its outlay. The Jumna Canal brings in nearly 9 per cent.; while several extensive irrigation works in Madras have within a comparatively short time repaid themselves twice, and in one case even three times over. Then too it is to be borne in mind that many other advantages are derived by the land-owning State from such works, which although indirect are not the less substantial. Waste lands are reclaimed into rent-paying fields. The rent of land already under cultivation is capable of being increased, or, in the case of the districts where the rent is permanently settled, may at all events be counted on as no longer subject to demands for remission, which in years of drought seriously diminished the public revenue. In the famine of 1837–1838 the loss under this head was about half a million sterling. And it is calculated that a somewhat similar loss must have been sustained in 1861, but for the irrigating waters of the Ganges Canal. Again, the customs dues are very largely swelled by the increased trade arising from easy communications. Indeed, this is a prospective vein of income which a Chancellor of the Exchequer might well envy for his operations. At present, notwithstanding the large comparative increase of the last dozen years, the total customs dues of India do not exceed two and a half millions sterling. Then, too, the cost of moving troops and Government stores is reduced by railways to half its former amount, while the efficiency of the troops is certainly doubled by the same agency.

On the whole, therefore, there seem many inducements to lay out money in improving India. And money for this purpose may be had at once.

So implicit is the confidence of the English investor in the securities of the Indian railways, so good a price do these command, that the Secretary of State for India has taken advantage of this circumstance to reduce the rate of interest guaranteed to them by the Government—for his recent policy of obliging these railway companies to issue their fresh stock at a considerable premium



does in reality bring about this result. At the present time any amount of money likely to be required for public works in India might be obtained on loan at  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. And surely English money would seem capable of being laid out at least as securely and as profitably in perfecting our means of retaining India, as in furthering the designs of the great military Power whose policy points to an ultimate attempt on that country. It is unsatisfactory to see our citizens furnishing funds for railways which are to render Sebastopol an impregnable base for operations on our communications with the East; while the road which would best enable us to combat the advance of a Russian army on the Punjab is left unheeded. The completion of the Indus Valley Railway—for which capital might be obtained in forty-eight hours—would place Peshawur, our stronghold of Northern India, in connection with Kurrachee, the true base of operations for the entire northern frontier. And now that European troops are sent to India, according to a system of reliefs moved forward from England, Gibraltar, Malta, and Aden in succession, succour might be thrown upon that strategic point of the Punjab within a week of its being demanded by telegraph; while from each station in rear of Aden men might be pushed on to fill the several gaps. It would be pleasanter to see English money spent on English territory than to look on while it is being sown broadcast over the world. Few sights can be less flattering to us as a nation than that of Her Majesty's Minister for Foreign Affairs endeavouring to obtain redress for indiscreet compatriots who happen to have lent money to some repudiating monarchy or republic. Few situations can be more unseemly than that of a decorous British diplomatist engaged in an affair of this kind—now coaxing, now complaining—at one time offering advice which is unasked, at another venturing upon demands without having the means of enforcing compliance.

It is to be trusted that the principle of providing adequate funds for improving India—which may be said to have been first properly recognised by the debenture loan for public works effected in 1867—may in future be accepted as a fixed policy.

Guarded as were the words used by the present Secretary of State for India, in reply to an address presented to him soon after entering office, by a deputation who desired to plead the want of roads and canals under which the country he administers still labours, they were yet sufficient to show that he, at least, may be counted upon as an upholder of this principle. Let his

Grace beware of taunts which may reach him alleging the inability of the Public Works Department to expend with profit the amounts now placed at its disposal. It is true that just at present the outlay on certain works, especially canals, is less than the amounts allotted for them in the annual budgets. But it by no means follows from this circumstance that the limit of useful expenditure has already been passed, or even reached. The fact is, that the staff retained to superintend works under the less liberal conditions of the past is insufficient to deal with the ampler funds all at once provided for the future. Along with more money, there must be more men; and to explain the present method of meeting such a want, we cannot do better than cite a passage from a recent work by Major George Chesney, which, under the title of *Indian Policy*, affords a valuable fund of information on almost every subject connected with that country:

"The staff of the department," that is, the Public Works Department, "is derived from four principal sources—1. Officers of the corps of Engineers. The greater part of the old corps of Indian (now Royal) Engineers has always been employed during time of peace in this manner; the rest have been chiefly attached to the survey department, only a few being engaged on regimental duty with the corps of Native Sappers. 2. But from earliest times the strength of the Engineer corps has been insufficient for the duties placed on it, and the deficiency was supplied by officers from other branches of the Indian army. Of late years a very complete professional test has been established for regulating their admission to the department, which practically involves that the candidate should first undergo a two years' course of study in engineering and surveying at the Roorkee College, established by Government in 1847. 3. The same college furnishes a supply of civil engineers to the department; the candidates—many of whom are sons of officers and other members of the Indian service, while some are natives,—besides the professional test, are required to pass an examination in the subjects of general education, of the same kind as that laid down for admission to the British army. Another Government civil engineering college was established in Calcutta in 1856, from which a good many civil engineers, principally natives of Bengal, have been supplied. There is a similar institution at Madras.\* 4. A specified number of young civil engineers is now sent out annually by the Secretary of State; these are nominally selected by competitive examination, but inasmuch as the number of candidates who pass the prescribed minimum standard (which nearly approaches to that of Roorkee) is usually less than the number of appointments offered, the

\* And also a small one, we believe, at Poona, in Western India.



test is usually that of a pass examination. Besides these sources of supply, the demands of the service, arising from the rapid extension of public works, have led to the direct appointment to the department of a good many civil engineers of standing, drawn principally from the various Indian railways."

Of the different classes of recruits here enumerated, it may be said that the military members tend each year to decrease in numbers; for on the part of the army authorities there is a disinclination to see officers employed on what they consider purely civil duties.

As regards the pupils trained in India, a few may prove fit for the higher offices in the department, but the greater number cannot, even in the expectation of the most sanguine advocates of the engineering colleges, be reckoned likely to be useful except in a subordinate capacity—at all events, not for many years. The aspirants obtained from England consist chiefly of young men just set free from their indentures in civil engineers' offices, and even of this class there is, as Major Cheesey remarks, a comparative deficiency. Of the civil engineers of standing mentioned under the fourth heading of the quotation, the number is as yet comparatively few, but is rapidly increasing in consequence of the liberal salaries now offered. The almost entire suspension of work in England has also tended to swell the numbers seeking employment in India, so that we may hope to see a strong staff of men available ere long in this department.

Another reason often urged against extending the operations of the engineer in India, is the insufficient supply of labour said to be experienced in that country. Indeed, it is alleged that all, or nearly all, the available workmen there, are already occupied on the railways, canals, roads, and barracks now under construction, and that fresh works could not at present be undertaken without interfering injuriously with the labour market. This allegation is to some extent true. But the circumstances on which it is based admit of modification to an extent which would make it no longer tenable. For, in the first place, manual labour is exercised in India in so rude a fashion, that the result is but a fraction of that which the same hands might turn out if properly applied to the task. In the case of earth-work, the operations of excavating and embanking are performed with an implement resembling a hoe for weeding turnips, which is used to loosen the soil as well as to fill it into baskets not much bigger than a wash-hand basin; and these in turn serve as vehicles for its conveyance to

the spot where it has to be eventually cast. A more inefficient application of human strength than is to be seen in long strings of labourers, each carrying on his head a tiny basketful of earth on its way to a bank or a spoil-heap, can hardly be conceived. Yet this is the almost universal fashion in which such work is done in India. The effective forces of these workmen would be multiplied manifold were they transmitted through the ordinary accessories of the English navy—the spade and wheelbarrow. No doubt some trouble might be experienced at the outset of any attempt to introduce unfamiliar implements of this kind. But by degrees their adoption might be insured. In point of fact, cases have already occurred where a persevering English overseer, in the employment of a railway contractor, has taught gangs of natives working under him to use these aids to labour. And indeed, in almost every operation connected with earth-work, masonry, and wood-work, similar opportunities exist for increasing the present performances of the artisan.

On the other hand, too, the physical powers of the Indian workman are capable in many instances of being augmented by means of better food than hitherto has been accessible to him. Contractors for Indian railways have found that labourers entering their service in the ill-nourished condition arising from feeding on inferior descriptions of grain, come to develop considerable increments of strength and endurance under the generous diet which good wages enable them to indulge in. Instances of this kind are specially frequent among Mussulmans and the less rigid sectaries of Brahmanism, who without hesitation eat animal food, as well as other things considered unclean by a high-caste Hindu—a noted example being afforded in the native Sappers of the Madras Presidency, who, during every recent campaign in the East, have done as hard work as Europeans, in drawing at the same time the same sort of rations as their white comrades. If we except the districts which of late have been ravaged by famine, we shall find that the standard of diet has within a few years advanced in India in a very appreciable degree, owing to the liberal rates of hire obtainable on railways and other works, as well as to the high prices fetched by cotton and other crops of the cultivator. So that we may well look forward to a corresponding progress in the bodily strength of its people.

In the pages of *Indian Polity* the question of the agency best suited for the works of improvement required in India is ably



discussed, and many arguments are advanced to prove that on the whole it is better that these should be executed by servants immediately employed by the State, than that they should be made over as objects for the enterprise of individuals, as in the case of the Indian railways. Major Chesney's reasoning rests on solid ground when he points out that the guarantee, without which no works would be undertaken by private enterprise, does in reality impose on the Government which gives it the responsibility of failure, without any prospect of compensation in the event of success. Already the Government has been called upon in its capacity of guarantor to take over the Calcutta and South-Eastern Railway, as well as the works of the East India Irrigation Company, in repaying in each instance the money expended by shareholders. And doubtless, in the event of unremunerative results, the same expedient would be resorted to by every company placed in the same relation towards the State. For the articles of agreement between the contracting parties provide for such claims being recognised,—subject, it is true, to certain modifications regulated by the market price of the companies' shares.

And in addition to this and other considerations of general expediency urged by the Major, there are many reasons which go to prove that direct State agency for construction as well as for after control does possess certain advantages. The overshadowing influence of authority which the very name of Government imparts in the mind of an Oriental to anything the State undertakes, as well as to any person it employs, gives it a great assistance in this direction—not merely in the shape of words of respect or acts of obeisance offered to its agents, but also in the more substantial form of cheap work. For example, it has happened of late years that works were carried on in the same locality by Government engineers and by railway contractors, simultaneously, and at times side by side; and in many instances it was observed that the Government officers could obtain labour and materials at rates sensibly lower than those paid by the others.

In the instance of irrigation works the case on behalf of direct State enterprise seems specially strong. Revenues of railways are easily collected on behalf of associations who may have constructed them. But the means required to recoup the shareholders in an irrigational canal might prove difficult of application. Indeed the benefit which any individual field may derive from such works is often so dependent on the na-

ture of the tenure on which the land is held as to be incapable of being settled apart from this. Moreover, the discernment of local needs, and the ability to contrive a system of collection sufficiently supple to adapt itself to the circumstances of the different cultivators concerned, may reasonably be looked for in a civil servant of the Crown, knowing well the country, its customs and its language. But it is unlikely that these qualities would be found in agents of joint stock companies occupied with the sole end of swelling the receipts of their employers. It would be an objectionable thing to confer on any irrigation company the power of forcing the farmers along its line of operations to pay for its waters although they might not care to profit by them. And it would be no less inconvenient to permit a company of this kind to withhold at will the water which years of use might have rendered essential to the system of cultivation actually in force. The authority and forbearance required to regulate most questions connected with irrigation might well be exercised by a powerful Government, which could afford to wait many years for a return on any outlay on this head, knowing that meanwhile its property is being benefited, and its general revenues increased by many indirect sources of gain. But the case might be different were the promoters of the enterprise uninfluential individuals, to whom want of dividends may mean want of bread. Irrigation works, too, offer tempting facilities for the exercise of extortion—the sufferers being the owners of the fields irrigated; a class even now occasionally plundered by dishonest servants of the Government Canal Department. As a crop advances to a certain point of maturity, and the drought of the season goes on increasing daily, the value of water to it is often so great that the simple cultivator is easily terrified into bribing the irrigation underling who threatens, on one pretext or another, to withhold the requisite supply. To prevent evils of this description the concession of irrigating Orissa, which was made some time ago to a joint-stock company, contained a provision for the distribution of the water being conducted by the Government.

Many men well acquainted with the subject of Indian irrigation are of opinion that, as a rule, its operations cannot be carried out profitably by any hand but that of the State. It is certain that in numerous instances cultivators are slow to avail themselves of the waters which have been led past their lands. Immemorial usage has rendered the husbandman of India suspicious of all innovations on the practice of his fore-



fathers; and he may not always possess even the small capital required to render his fields adapted for irrigation. The Ganges Canal, which has been in operation for nearly fifteen years, is even at the present time imperfectly appreciated by the farmers along its course. During many of its early years it was entirely unremunerative, in so far as direct earnings were concerned. Its profits have at length reached the rate of 3½ per cent. on its cost, and doubtless may yet increase very considerably. But it seems unlikely that the example of long deferred success which it affords should tempt English investors to embark in similar ventures—not at least unless under a guarantee of a certain annual dividend.

In favour of committing works of improvement to private enterprise there are not wanting certain good reasons, one of which is especially cogent, viz., that under this system operations are undertaken at once which might have remained for years uncommenced had the trouble of detailed arrangements been cast upon the Government. No reasonable man can deny that at the present moment India might in all likelihood have been destitute of railways, or at best furnished with a very few miles of railroad, had the obligation of constructing them rested directly on the ruling power. In obtaining improvements of this kind at the cost of a guarantee of profit or of a subvention, a Minister conceives that he can reckon with some certainty on the extent of the obligation which he undertakes; whereas he is apt to imagine that little confidence can be placed in estimates of the cost at which the same end may be declared capable of being attained by his own subordinates. We do not say that he is right in this conclusion. Indeed, the experience of the last few years has tended to alter the opinion formerly held by Englishmen as to the superiority of operations conducted by companies or contractors, contrasted with those carried out by servants of the crown. But we may safely say that this idea of the more reliable nature of contract obligations is still sufficiently prevalent in official circles to influence very seriously any question of public works which may come under consideration. Nor is it a small matter that a Secretary of State should by this system be saved the distracting task of determining the merits of many alternative schemes proposed to effect one object in view—each possibly recommended by men whose official position entitles their advice to be well heard.

Again, if we compare the operations of the two agencies as exhibited in the roads

and canals executed by Government officers on the one hand, and in the works carried out by Indian railway companies on the other, it cannot be denied that the latter show a continuity and uniformity of progress which is seldom found in the efforts of the Public Works Department, crippled as these are by a want of sufficient men and means. In short, so far as considerations of certainty and expedition of construction are concerned, the advantage appears to be on the side of private enterprise.

A very serious obstacle in the way of road-making in India is encountered in many districts, owing to the want of suitable materials. And unfortunately this inconvenience exists in the greatest degree in many provinces where roads are most required. The plains, which produce luxuriant crops of cotton, grain, and tobacco, are often utterly destitute of anything in the shape of stone. Indeed, the portions of the entire peninsula which furnish rocks of a quality suitable for road-metal are inconsiderable. The stratified rocks which in many places afford fair materials for building purposes, are seldom of sufficiently hard texture to resist the passage of carts, and during the long-continued rains of summer are liable to be soaked into a state of pulpi-ness which yields to the pressure of the first passing wheel. Broken bricks and burned clay have been laid down as substitutes for road-metal in such localities, but with no great success; as these materials also are apt to give way under the action of water. In the event of a high class of road being required, it is absolutely necessary to procure suitable stone. In cases of this kind, where the price of the metal forms the larger portion of the cost of construction, much advantage might be derived from the adoption of some of the artificial roadways which have at different times been devised in various parts of the world. An expedient of this nature, contrived by a civil engineer of eminence in the north of Scotland, and which consists in coating the surface of the road with a concrete formed of broken stone and cement, appears well suited for trial in such loamy localities. The original expense of a causeway of this description is said to be much the same as that of a well metalled road. For by the new process a much less depth of crust is necessary,—the concrete representing from the outset the thickness into which the loosely laid stones are eventually crushed, after undergoing the passage of a tolerably active traffic. In respect of maintenance these concrete roads promise much economy. From experimental portions which have for some time



been under severe tests, there seems reason to think that, under ordinary circumstances, they may endure many years unimpaired; while the task of making good the gradual effects of wear and tear appears capable of being done both cheaply and easily.

It is probable that railways of an inexpensive kind, or even tramways, might profitably be provided across the alluvial plains of India, in place of roads. Although the first outlay would thus be increased, the ultimate burden to be borne by the State might in all likelihood be less. The examples of existing railways show that, under careful construction and management, lines of this kind may not only be made to clear working expenses, but may be turned into sources of profit; while in the case of ordinary roads it is almost impossible in India to look for any direct returns to meet the cost of maintenance; turnpike tolls having proved impracticable there. And this question of maintenance is sufficiently serious, seeing that, even according to the present progress in road-making, the annual cost of repairs would in twenty years' time consume the entire amount now allotted for construction in each Public Works budget.

Bridge-making in India is usually a heavy task, owing to the number and size of the streams which everywhere intersect it, and the violent floods to which these are subject at certain seasons of the year. Nothing short of the most substantial structure can resist the summer freshets, and yet the necessary stability is often difficult of attainment, owing to the soft alluvial loam in which foundations have to be laid, and which, in spite of almost any precautions, is liable to be scoured from underneath piers, or, on the other hand, to be swept from the sides of the channel, thus admitting the current to eat a way for itself in rear of the abutments.

Light iron superstructures resting on piles, securely screwed into the bed of the stream, have been successfully employed in such cases. And doubtless these may receive a wide application under the improved system on which they are now turned out of the great iron-factories in England. For, to meet the demands of the foreign and colonial markets, our manufacturers have arrived at supplying structures of this description, which at once combine the requisites of strength, lightness, and cheapness—their component parts admitting of being put together by any intelligent artisan, assisted by such labour as may be found on the spot of erection.

The system of employing the class of

men who among us are known as contractors, has hitherto been little adopted in the case of works undertaken by the Indian Government, although this method has been generally followed by Indian railway companies. On behalf of this contract system there is a good deal to be urged. Experience warrants the conclusion that works so managed are usually done more expeditiously, and, strange as it may appear, often more economically, than by direct agents of the employing power. For, although many items of construction may be more costly to a contractor, yet his superior organization of labour enables him to provide the most efficient superintendence at the smallest possible expense. His efforts, too, are made after a more uniform plan, and are less subject to interference or alteration than the endeavours of a many-mastered piece of administrative mechanism, such as a Government department too often is.

On the other hand, this contract system is liable to many abuses. That dishonest device which is known among us as "scamping work," is said to have been largely practised on certain Indian railways, if not by English contractors, then by men to whom they had sublet portions of their task. Without going the length of allegations made by hasty observers among us regarding the innate inclination to deceit displayed by our fellow-subjects in the East,—allegations which any man who has had an opportunity of forming a fair judgment must acknowledge to be as applicable to England as to India,—it must be admitted that Oriental nations have not that appreciation of the conditions of completeness which is desirable in a good workman.

Most of the shortcomings of Indian artisans are probably due to ignorance of constructive principles rather than to fraudulent intentions. The defective mortar assigned as the cause of collapse in the masonry along one railway was possibly in some cases due to wilful adulterations; but in many instances the fault lay in an idea, by no means confined to Indian workmen, that the power of this mixture depended directly on the proportion of pure lime present in it, so that those charged with its preparation withheld the supply of sand required to develop its cohesive qualities. But, of course, whether due to ignorance or evil intention, such practices are equally destructive to workmanship. To prevent their occurrence, much vigilance and many subordinate inspectors of approved honesty are required.

To render the Public Works Department of India really useful, its action must be



made more simple and more prompt than it now is. For this purpose many links must be lopped off the long chain of its authorities. Much of the consultative element, which is so superabundant in its present state, might well afford to be eliminated. Let works be done in India as works are done elsewhere. Place good men in charge of them, and on their ability and honesty be satisfied to depend. Let obedience to orders be enforced by all means, but let these orders be so conveyed as to permit the men to whom they are addressed the power of exercising an intelligent discrimination as to the method of giving them effect. Lay down the general principles to be followed or the main object to be attained by an engineer, but do leave him at liberty to adopt the details which seem to him best suited for this purpose. Exact from him an accurate account of the outlay his work has involved, but be content to go without the statistics now elaborated by him as to the precise portion of this which happens to have been spent on any individual part of it. Micrometrical researches of this kind may possibly at times possess certain advantages. They may even serve to confirm or confute the conjectures of an over-curious chief-engineer as to one wing-wall of a bridge being more costly than its fellow. Exacted as they now are almost universally, they must be set down as vexatious taxes on the time and temper of men who ought to be fully occupied with higher duties. Much of the preliminary warfare of words which now precedes the breaking of ground may also be usefully dispensed with. At present an executive officer, after submitting a plan and estimate prepared by him for a work which may be urgently required, is liable to have it returned after due deliberation by his superintending engineer, with a request that the proposed outlay may be reduced. Upon which the subordinate who has drawn up his project after careful survey and consideration possibly represents to his superior that the operation cannot be carried out at a lower cost. But the chief may yet find it in his heart to insist on economy, and yet again to find his subaltern as firm as ever in remaining by his original estimate. Meanwhile amidst this wrangle of words the famine-stricken district which the disputed work was intended to relieve is sunk out of consideration, and days during which alone operations could be undertaken are suffered to slip by.

In a case of this kind—and we have ourselves seen such a case—the exercise of ordinary reason might surely serve to show

that since the project had been declared to be necessary it signified little that one man happened to calculate its cost somewhat higher than another. If the officer who has to do the work be upright and energetic, he will surely exert himself to the utmost to complete his task as cheaply as possible—irrespective altogether of the estimate he may originally have framed. If in the end a flagrant error should be discovered, then let any retribution that seems necessary be awarded. But in any case put the work in hand at once. In almost every instance it proves truer economy to adopt a proposal which, though generally reasonable, may be open to some slight suspicion of extravagance, than to waste time and opportunities in haggling over measures for reducing its estimate by some inconsiderable amount.

The very abundance of advising authorities here begets an evil aptitude for fault-finding. Indeed, but for this resource some officials might have no ostensible occupation. And as each of these is in turn aware that his criticisms have yet to go through the after criticisms of a revising power, it follows that fanciful objections are often raised, which the authors might hesitate to express were they dealing finally with the projects before them. Some very large diminution seems necessary in the number of minds, and still more in the number of pens, that intervene between the man who proposes a work and the man who disposes of the means required to accomplish it.

This phase of Public Works control in India must be looked at along with the wider question of the general administration of that country. Which of the two methods recommended by different schools of statecraft for this purpose be the best—that of vesting all initiatory power in one central government, or that of delegating such duties to the independent councils of separate Presidencies or Provinces—we do not profess to say. But no man who has observed the working of the present administration can fail to perceive that either alternative, if properly carried out, would be an improvement on existing things.

The separate origin of the different Presidencies conferred on their early governments an authority independent in every respect save that of general policy. But by degrees improvements in the postal service, the provision of lines of telegraph, and last of all the construction of railways, tended more and more to extend the sphere of action of that government which in India goes by the name of Supreme, until at the present time no village event is without its ken, no expenditure of a score of rupees beyond



its interference. Their Excellencies who govern the minor Presidencies—and their Honours who rule over Bengal, the North-West Provinces, and the Punjab—have not unfrequently to submit to severe censure for acts of authority exercised by them without the previous permission of the supreme power—acts, it may be, involving issues of no greater importance than the engagement of an office-sweeper or the whitewashing of a road-side rest-house.

The consequence of this minute system of supervision is, in the case of an inactive governor, a speedy relinquishment of all interest in his charge, and, in the case of an energetic one, an early arrival at open warfare with his censor. And of the acrimonious manner in which these inter-Presidential disputes are carried on, an idea may be formed by any Englishman who takes the trouble to look over the columns of an Indian newspaper.

The pride felt by Anglo-Indians in the particular Presidency in which their lot is cast is to a certain extent conducive to wholesome emulation. But when this provincial bias is brought to bear on acts which affect the welfare of a great continent it is productive of mischief. Here the opponents are apt to argue not so much for truth as for victory. On one side is an eager struggle to burst through bonds, or, worse still, to evade the restrictions they impose, even at the cost of expedients not always unquestionable. On the other is a desire to strain authority to the utmost, a restless apprehension lest any act of independence should by chance pass unperceived, and thus constitute an inconvenient precedent.

As we have said before, it is not in a paper on Public Works that the respective merits of one central or of several separate governments for India fall to be determined, or even discussed. For the purpose we have in view it is enough for us to suggest that one of these systems should henceforth be adopted in place of the present method, which combines the disadvantages of both.

Either give to local authorities final powers of dealing with projects connected with their provinces, and at the same time the undisputed command of money to enable these to be carried out;—or sweep them aside for ever, so as to enable a central government to come into unimpeded contact with the executive men.

Apprehensions of Russian attempts to invade India have long lurked in the minds of Englishmen, and from time to time have obtained expression in our daily talk and our current literature, according as interest

in this subject chanced to be awakened by reports brought home to us by travellers from Central Asia or by rumours of Russian prowess culled by correspondents of our leading journals from the bazaars of Calcutta and Bombay. Of late these apprehensions have found utterance even among those who hitherto have treated such a contingency as without the range of possibility. Able articles endeavouring to prove that such an invasion is far from impracticable have obtained a place in our newspapers and our reviews. And in the House of Commons itself, that embodiment of intra-insular interests and sympathies, a good many dozens of members were not afraid last session to listen to dissertations on the subject delivered by fellow-representatives whose knowledge of Central Asia and its tongues enabled them to give entire guttural expression to names resonant with the sounds of the letters *ع* *khâ* and *غ* *ghain*.

In India, too, the intermittent attention which has long been directed to this question has recently taken the more active shape of overtures made by Her Majesty's Viceroy with the object of arranging an interview with the Ameer of Cabul. That the matter of conversation at such a meeting would be the advance of Russia Afghanistan-wards may be assumed as certain. And that proposals to subsidize, succour, or in some way assist the Afghans might at the same time be made, may also be considered probable. In short, there seems every reason to believe that the ruling powers of British India have arrived at the conclusion that the time has come for strengthening the defences and alliances on its northern frontier. And whilst the convictions of our statesmen are thus engaged, there has arisen a circumstance which seems likely to enlist the interests of our commercial classes in the same direction. For news begin to reach us that, at the instigation of the emissaries of the Czar, the semi-subjugated States of Central Asia are imposing duties of a prohibitory nature on all goods imported into their territories from the south; so that the wares of Birmingham and our Eastern possessions cannot as heretofore compete successfully in those Trans-Oxus regions with the productions of Russia Proper or Russian Tartary. Our traders who yearly unite in caravans to traverse the countries north of the Hindoo Koosh have consequently begun to urge the establishment of English Consular agencies at those far inland marts. In short, the so-called Central Asian question bids fair to become an object of interest for all classes



of our countrymen, and it is possible some active measures may ere long be proposed for setting at rest their apprehensions on this score. Precautions, political and military, may be adopted. Alliances with Affghans, Khorhasanees, Oosbegs, Turcomans, and Tartars may be formed. Forts may be thrown up, and lines of communication may be opened out. Each and all of these expedients may prove excellent aids to the efforts which we may reckon on our soldiers to make in defence of British territory.

But we must not shut our eyes to the truth, that, after all, the bravery of our troops or the goodness of our strategy would avail us little if, in addition to facing an enemy from without, we had to keep at bay a rebellious population of many millions in rear.

India can best be defended by enlisting on our side the interests and sympathies of its people. That we have as yet very imperfectly attained this result is apparent to any Englishman who has had opportunity and inclination to ascertain the sentiments of his fellow-subjects in the East. Let us trust that from this time forward our administration of India may be rendered more adapted to convince its inhabitants that their welfare is bound up with that of England. Let a fair share of the offices and honours of the State be allotted to the people who furnish its revenues. Let the condition of these people be made better and happier in every possible way.

To effect this end many means are open to us. Let us begin by making use of those which are at once simple and efficacious, which shall cheapen the food and increase the comfort of all classes alike: let us make roads, canals, and wayside rest-houses. In India more than in any country, are these works highly valued. In addition to being useful, they are vested in the eyes of the inhabitants with a sacred regard. The man who constructs them is considered to have established a claim to eternal happiness. The duty of providing them is inculcated by every religion in the land.

In fulfilling this duty England will carry with her the good wishes of every creed of Hindustan—of Brahman and of Buddhist—of the followers of Mohammed, Govind Gūrū, and Zoroaster.

#### ART. IX.—THE RECONSTRUCTION OF GERMANY.

1. *Einleitung in das deutsche Staatsrecht mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Krisis des Jahres 1866, und der Gründung des Norddeutschen Bundes.* Von Dr. HERMANN SCHULZE. Leipzig, 1867.
2. *Das Staatsarchiv. Sammlung der officiellen Actenstücke zur Geschichte der Gegenwart.* Herausgegeben von LUDWIG KARL ÆGIDI und ALFRED KLAUHOLD. Hamburg.
3. *Preussen's Deutsche Politik.* Von A. SCHMIDT. Leipzig, 1867.

SCARCELY three years have elapsed since the "Seven Days' War," as it has been somewhat sensationally christened, was virtually concluded by the battle of Sadowa. We are still standing too much in the light, or the shadow, according as we view it, of that great event, accurately to gauge its proportions in regard to the past, or to conjecture otherwise than hesitatingly as to its influence upon the future. It will not be labour lost, however, to estimate the political changes actually effected by the war of 1866, and to examine more curiously than has yet been done what were the institutions destroyed upon the battle-fields of Bohemia, what were the causes of their so suddenly collapsing, and what is the nature of the political edifice in the course of construction upon the ruins of the former fabric.

From the first dawn of her history, Germany has occupied an abnormal and exceptional position amongst her neighbours. Elsewhere the members of the European family have settled down into independent sovereignties, in which the international and political spheres have exactly coincided. In Germany, and Switzerland—the German microcosm, these spheres have failed to coincide, the international units having in some form or other come to be made up of separate, though more or less interdependent, political units.

The ultimate causes of this dissimilarity of development are of a nature too organic to be discussed here. Nothing short of a scientific inquiry into the political physiology of the Teutonic race would suffice to explain why one fraction of the monarchy of Charlemagne culminated in the "l'État c'est moi" of Louis xiv., and another in the "monstrum informe" of the *Empire*.\*

\* "Germaniam esse irregulare aliquod corpus, cujus simile puto in toto terrarum orbe non exstat, quod lapsu temporum, e regno regulari in tam male concinnatam formam est provolutum, ut neque reg-



as constituted by the treaties of Westphalia. It must suffice for us to note that the work of German consolidation rests upon a basis altogether different from that of mere nationality. It was as a *kingdom*,—i. e., under the form especially consecrated by the Teutonic races to express their notion of the State,—that Germany began her political career. The idea of national unity thus rooted in the concrete relations of an historical past, though dimmed, was never extinguished, by the lustre of the Roman diadem, with its anti-national claim to universal dominion, and has at no time ceased to influence her political development. It is with her efforts to recover this unity after it had been disintegrated that we are concerned, and we must therefore leave to others the task of accounting for the structural malformation, if so we may term it, of the German Kingdom, as it lay embedded in the folds of the Imperial purple.

It is clear that only one of two forces could have stopped the process of disintegration inaugurated by the treaties of Westphalia and consummated by the treaty of Prague; either a movement proceeding from below, and urging the nation to assert its right to national representation and to substitute a living organism for the diplomatic petrifications of the Diet, or one proceeding from above, and leading the Crown to repossess itself of the sovereign prerogatives delegated to the territories. Neither of these forces, however, was at work in the European convulsion which broke up the Empire.

The Revolution of 1789 not only was not a national movement, but was in its essence anti-national and cosmopolitan. The abstract rights of man, not the concrete relations of Frenchmen, or Germans, or Italians, had to be ascertained, and, when ascertained, to be asserted; the position of the individual in the human family, not the position of the race in the international family, was what had to be determined. Individual freedom, the substitution of equal citizenship for the multifarious hierarchies of feudalism, universal brotherhood, were the ideas upon which were concentrated the thoughts of the few, and which kindled the passions of the many, at the close of the last and during the early years of the present century. This cosmopolitan and anti-

national tendency was nowhere so strongly exhibited as in Germany, and that, strangely enough, at the very moment when, by a gigantic effort, the national genius had in the realms of philosophy and literature triumphantly emancipated itself from the foreign yoke to which for generations it had bowed, and founded a national empire, the denizens of which, bound by the links of an ideal citizenship, were from thenceforth secure alike against the dangers of foreign aggression and of internal disruption. Far, however, from calling forth an echo in the political world, this intellectual revival ignored the very existence of such a world. The systematic stamping out of all political life in their respective territories by the rulers whom the treaties of Westphalia had made into despots without making into sovereigns, had restricted the class of professional politicians to diplomatists and legists, and it thus came to pass that those mighty seers who moulded the intellect and trained the heart of the generation destined to fight the Napoleonic wars, and to assist at the consequent reconstruction of Europe, lived, moved, and had their being in regions altogether removed from the world of political reality with which their disciples were to be brought into such rude contact, and despised that world in proportion to their ignorance of it. Like the Birds of Aristophanes, they seemed intent upon founding an empire in mid air, nigh to the gods, from which they could look down with ironical compassion upon the vexed citizens of the Agora and the Dikastery.

If we turn from the nation to the two great rivals who alone could have attempted by an effort from above to restore the monarchical unity of Germany, we see that ideas of this kind were wholly outside the sphere of political combinations both at Vienna and Berlin. It is true that the one ruling political passion of the day was territorial aggrandizement, but it was aggrandizement of the piecemeal kind, not based upon the idea of concentrating the national forces and adding to the national power, but, on the contrary, upon the idea of increasing the dynastic power of the reigning House, the "Haus Macht" of German political phraseology, not only irrespectively of, but, as the partition of Poland proved, in direct opposition to, the national interests.

The real policy of the two Courts comes out in its true colours in the efforts made by Austria, all through the early years of the first coalition against France, to secure Bavaria in exchange for the Low Countries, and, later on, by Prussia to secure the possession of Hanover.

num etiam limitatum amplius sit, neque exacte corpus aliquod aut systema plurium civitatum fœdere nexarum, sed potius aliquid inter hæc duo velut interjectum et fluctuans."—SAMUEL PUFFENDORF. The political monstrosity of the Holy Roman Empire is nowhere done more ample justice to than in this short sentence.



Between the policy of a Thugut and that of a Haugwitz there is nothing to choose. The modern standard of political morality, which unhesitatingly condemns mere dynastic aggrandizement, has long since passed its verdict upon both.

It was amidst this profound indifference on the part of the nation and its rulers in regard to the ancient kingdom of Henry the Fowler, that the Diet sitting at Regensburg learnt first from the newspapers, and afterwards, in a more formal and official manner, from the French *chargé d'affaires*, that the Holy Roman Empire had ceased to exist, and that eighteen of its princes had constituted themselves into a separate confederation under the protection of the French Cæsar.

The history of the Confederation of the Rhine is not a pleasant one to dwell upon.

That an individual here and there should have been found ready to betray his country, and to compound with the conqueror at the expense of his own flesh and blood, was no more than what might have been expected. Taking humanity all round, one Iscariot out of twelve apostles is perhaps no unfair average; but that an entire class, like that of the smaller vassals of the Empire, should have been found vying with each other in every art of sycophancy and intrigue, in order to obtain from a French Emperor a maximum of German booty, was a phenomenon without many precedents in history.

This disgraceful origin of the title-deeds by which, in a majority of cases, the new sovereign dignity has come to be held, should not be lost sight of when we consider the state of the score between the German nation and its rulers.

How impotent the newly-created sovereigns were to keep their crowns upon their heads alone and unaided, was made sufficiently manifest by the promulgation of the Act of the Rhine Confederacy simultaneously with their assumption of sovereignty. It is true that the new Federal constitution never came into active operation, as the will of the French Emperor supplied all that was necessary in the way of internal security and external policy; but the ideas underlying the Confederation are palpable enough. Viewed in regard to its internal functions, the Confederation was a mutual insurance society, securing the confederates in the possession of their spoils, and guaranteeing each in the full exercise of his newly acquired absolute rights over his former peers. Viewed from without, it was an offensive and defensive alliance, generally, against any national aspirations

towards unity, and specifically, against any attempt on the part of Austria or Prussia, either in the name of the nation or on their own account, to extend themselves territorially at the expense of the confederates. The contract entered into with France was, that French bayonets should assist the confederates against their own subjects, and that confederate bayonets should assist the French Emperor in his plans against the rest of Germany.

The Confederation of the Rhine, as at first constituted, still left several of the smaller States of Northern Germany unprovided with any political centre, and it clearly became the policy of Prussia to endeavour to bring these States into union with herself, and thus to counterbalance the union formed under French protection. We consequently find, that during the interval between the dissolution of the Empire and the renewal of hostilities between France and Prussia, negotiations were actively carried on by the latter with Saxony and Hesse-Cassel, for the purpose of founding a confederacy under the title of an Empire of Northern Germany. The selfish and unpatriotic conduct of the Saxon and Hessian Cabinets, who hoped to get more out of Napoleon than out of Prussia, frustrated the scheme.

The details of this negotiation, which, with the draft constitution of the proposed confederation, have only lately come to light,\* are interesting, as showing that for a long time past the idea of a Northern Confederation under the sole management of Prussia has lived amongst the traditions of the Berlin Foreign Office. An additional interest, moreover, attaches to them, from the fact they disclose that the idea of a North German empire appears to have been first suggested to Prussia by Napoleon, as far back as 1804, and that the original *idée Napoléonienne* with reference to the reconstitution of Germany, was a triad formation, in which Prussia should have been made powerful enough to be evenly pitted against Austria, and a third body under the direct influence of France should have held both in check. That for generations this has been, *mutatis mutandis*, the policy of France in regard to Germany, and that it has not yet ceased to be her policy, need not here be dwelt upon.

By the year 1806, Napoleon had enlarged the sphere of his ideas, and the battle of Jena laid Prussia prostrate in the dust.

The history of Prussia between the peace

\* Consult Adolph Schmidt's *Preussen's Deutsche Politik*. Leipzig, 1867.



of Tilsit and the battle of Leipzig is the turning-point in the history of Germany.

For many preceding generations the stage had been exclusively occupied by rival dynasties or rival religions,—by emperors, kings, theologians, statesmen, generals, diplomatists. Now, for the first time, we perceive the distinct outlines of a *people*, i.e., using the term in a sense analogous to that of the old Roman word *populus*—a political community endowed with an organic life and a strongly-marked individuality of its own, and with a consciousness of its collective existence pervading all the individuals who composed it. For those who had eyes to see, Germany had now at length, after her thousand years of national existence, given birth to a *State*, as something different in kind from a race, or a territory, or an agglomeration of parishes, or a mercantile alliance, or a school of philosophy, or a gymnastic society, or a choral club; a *respublica*, or commonwealth, the *raison d'être* of whose existence is the public or collective well-being as a concrete entity to be laboured for with the hands, and not a mere abstract Fatherland to be dreamt about, had, by the incisive operation of foreign conquest, been plucked alive, though mutilated, out of the loins of the dead Empire.

We have no space to describe the marvellous process of regeneration by which, during the dark period of Prussia's deepest humiliation, the nation of mercenaries and serfs, who had looked on with cynical indifference at the catastrophe of Jena, became transmuted into a nation of citizens burning with patriotic fire, and able by a spontaneous effort to organize themselves into those terrible battalions who fought at the Katzbach, at Grossbeeren, at Dennewitz, and at Leipzig. Still less can we trace the predisposing causes and the antecedent Hohenzollern education which had rendered it possible for the soldiers who had fought for pay, and the tillers who had tilled that others might reap, to be thus in a few short years transformed.

It is however important for the purposes of this essay accurately to note the political effect, in regard to Germany, of the Prussian *levée de bouchers*, and all that it implied.

When, in January 1813, the Provincial States of Eastern Prussia, without authority from the King, and at the risk of his displeasure, boldly set to work to organize the "people's" war against the still portentous power of Napoleon, they inaugurated a movement which, from first to last, and during every phase of its development,

bore stamped upon it a national German character. For the first time in her history, Prussia, consciously and *ex proposito*, plunged into a war of the very first magnitude, and in which she staked her very existence, not with a specific Prussian, but with the largest and most comprehensive national objects in view. As matters then stood there was a large field open for diplomacy of the Haugwitz kind, and by a sufficient display of force combined with a politic reserve and a spirit of accommodation, Prussia might probably, without drawing the sword, have not only rid her soil of the presence of French troops, but have made territorial acquisitions of no mean kind. But this was not the temper in which the Prussian people took up arms and dictated the conduct of the war. It was to liberate not Prussia only, but Germany, and not to liberate Germany only, but to regenerate her, and set her up free and united upon a pinnacle of glory such as she had never before attained, that beardless boys and white-haired men enlisted in the Landwehr—that brides despoiled themselves of their ornaments, and matrons contributed their wedding-rings. The spirit that stirred and animated and inspired was a German spirit, but the body that was stirred and animated was a Prussian body. For let us not forget that what is usually termed the German War of Liberation was essentially a Prussian war for the liberation of Germany. It is true that when, by the most stupendous efforts ever made by a people, Prussia had in the early months of 1813 placed her formidable army on foot,\* individual Germans from all parts of Germany flocked to her standard, but it was her organization that gave consistence and direction to these isolated efforts. It was round her battalions that the German Free Corps rallied. On the other hand, in those early months, and even up to the battle of Leipzig, the non-Prussian States of Germany, and that honourable corporation, the Confederation of the Rhine, were, with few exceptions, fighting in the ranks of the enemy, and it was in many cases Württemberg, or Saxon, or Hessian veterans that most obstinately contested the day with the raw levies of the Prussian Landwehr. When Austria at last joined in the fray,

\* By the month of May 1813, i.e., in four months, Prussia, then numbering five millions of inhabitants, had added 95,000 men to the 46,000 men of line regiments allowed her by Napoleon, and had called out 120,000 Landwehr men; the Free Corps made up an additional 10,000 men; together, 271,000 men under arms, or one man in eighteen of the population.



she did so slowly, circumspectly, and after long previous negotiation with Napoleon, who was too blind and too obstinate to avail himself of the golden bridge which his father-in-law was anxious to build for him. The patriotic enthusiasm which in the year 1809 had animated many of the Austrian provinces, had died out with the retirement of Count Stadion, and the cold, polished, calculating courtier who succeeded him was not the man, even in the worst extremities, to invoke the alliance, or even to tolerate the companionship, of popular or national elements. A war entered into by Metternich against Napoleon, probably the only man for whom he ever felt a sincere respect, not to say an affectionate regard, was certain not to be other than a political war, entered into for political objects.

The German question was not destined to be simplified by the single-handed success of Prussia. Great as were the efforts made by her, they were not sufficient, even with the assistance of Russia, to effect the desired object. The gain of one more battle would have perhaps sufficed, but at Lützen the French arms were once more victorious, and the co-operation of Austria became a matter of vital importance. Thus the work of German liberation, not taking foreign allies into account, came to be effected by the co-operation of two forces—the national power of Germany acting through the brain, the heart, and the hands of Prussia, and the political power of the House of Austria.

It was clear that this new distribution of parts could not but leave its mark upon the history of Germany, and that a new element had been imported into the German question. The fact had become patent to all that a German people had crystallized into a *State* of first-rate magnitude, conscious of its German mission, and that henceforth the work of German unity would have to take this fact, whether welcome or not, into account. In a word, the question of the hegemony of Germany had ceased to be a question as between two rival dynasties, and had become one as between a dynasty whose power was mainly based on non-German elements, and a consolidated German State whose interests were so interwoven with those of the rest of Germany, that, like the much-quoted Siamese twins, nothing could affect the one for good or evil without in an equal degree affecting the other. Unfortunately these new conditions, which force themselves irresistibly upon the conviction of any impartial student of the history of that time, were not realized as quickly as they might have been

either by German patriots or Prussian statesmen. At many an important crisis the former have acted as if Germany could do without Prussia, and the latter as if Prussia could do without Germany.

The part which Prussia was called upon to play at the great settlement for which the Vienna Congress was convened was plainly marked out for her. She had in an assembly of princes to vindicate the rights of a people. How lamentably she failed in this task, how meagre was her conception of it, how she allowed herself to be driven, almost without resistance, from one advanced position after another, and how at the last she accepted *tel quel* the Austrian draft of constitution for the new German Confederation, are matters of history.

But in thus condemning the action of Prussia at Vienna, the difficulties of the task assigned to her should not be underrated. The European "climate of opinion," to borrow a phrase from an old writer, was in the year 1814 absolutely hostile to any great organic reconstructions. The masses yearned for rest, the upper classes for amusement. For the better part of an entire generation, good society on the Continent had fasted from all its accustomed pleasures. The terrible earnestness of the times had weighed upon all classes, and long arrears on the score of enjoyment had to be made up. The fall of Napoleon gave the signal for the splendid orgies of the Vienna Congress.\* Never had business of such transcendental importance been transacted by men in such a carnival humour. Even at the present day we cannot read the driest records of the work actually done without catching an echo of the festive sounds amidst which each detail was elaborated. There is not a paragraph in the Act of Congress, not a protocol of its sittings, for which a corresponding masquerade, or *carrousel*, or sledging-party, each outdoing the splendour of the last, could not be found.

It was the *régime* of the "Man of the World" that had succeeded to the *régime* of the "Man of the Sword." For some two decades the latter had in the mere wantonness of conquest warred for the sake of warring; at last an entire people turned to bay, and closing with the professional conqueror threw him. Whilst still

"Dry with rage and extreme toil,  
Breathless and faint, and leaning on their sword."

\* It is calculated that three millions sterling were spent by the Austrian Court alone in the feasts given to the Allied Sovereigns, and this immediately after a State bankruptcy, and at a time when famine raged



the "Man of the World" gracefully stepped in, "neat and trimly dressed," and appropriated the prizes of victory.

This was plainly not a congenial atmosphere for men of the stamp of Stein and Humboldt, or, even though he was a man of pleasure, for a statesman like Hardenberg, whose really large and liberal views were out of harmony with the brilliant frivolities of the day. Still less was it congenial to the work they were called upon to perform. King Frederick-William III. might perhaps have effected something, but neither his head nor his heart was in the national movement. He had never understood it, and was half afraid, half ashamed of it. The same false shame which in the French capital had made him shy of the tattered and somewhat grotesque uniforms of the Landwehr battalions, who had so recently covered themselves with glory, and insist upon only troops of the line taking part in the triumphal entry into Paris,\* clung to him at Vienna when the popular and national rights of Germany had to be taken under his protection. It was part of the political programme that Prussia should act as the mouthpiece of the national aspirations, and it should be done *pour acquit de conscience*; but in his heart the King "cared for none of these things," he was essentially a Prussian monarch, who cared for Prussia, and Prussia only, and his whole interest was concentrated on the one question of the acquisition of Saxony.

Hence from the first it was clear that the German programme of the Prussian Plenipotentiaries was doomed, and that the latter were playing a losing game. We cannot acquit them of having played that game weakly, but we can sympathize with the *gêne* and *malaise* (we can find no English equivalents) which they must have experienced in playing such a game against the courtly adversaries assembled round the green table of the Vienna Chancery of State.

It would be a fallacy, however, to suppose that it was owing to the above causes that the Congress failed in devising any national scheme for the reconstruction of Germany. The collateral objects for which the nation had made such supreme efforts, and the demands that had never ceased to be formulated, were freedom and union: a

radical reform of the *status* of the German within the Fatherland—a radical reform of the *status* of the Fatherland within the European family.

Now, it was undoubtedly owing to the indifference of the King, and to the weakness of his Ministers, that the first of these objects was not attained, and that the Federal Act, as finally agreed to, contained none of the guarantees for the civil rights of Germans,—such as abolition of personal servitude, *habeas corpus*, right of free settlement, liberty of the press, liberty of education, removal of religious disabilities,—and none of the effective safeguards for the constitutional rights of the individual States, for which the Prussian draft of constitution originally submitted to the Congress made ample provisions.

That nothing was done to fulfil the second object was owing to causes beyond the control of the ablest and the most zealous statesmen. The more we study the history of the period the more we become convinced that the time had not arrived for a really organic reconstruction of Germany upon a national basis, and that many years, not to say generations, and much painful experience, would be required before anything like a clear appreciation could be obtained of even the elementary conditions of so stupendous a problem. When we see a man of the calibre of Stein, whose whole life had been dedicated to the work of Germany's regeneration, hold, within a few years, and even a few months, of each other, such contradictory views as the following,—constitution of Germany into a monarchy, one and indivisible, all sovereigns but the ruling House to be swept away; division of Germany into two, Prussia to take one half, Austria the other; restoration of the empire under the House of Hohenzollern, because Prussia is the most German; restoration of the empire under the House of Hapsburg-Lothringen, because Austria is the least German State, and must be bribed to remain in Germany,—we feel that that consent of opinion in any one direction, which alone could have rendered the work possible, was absolutely wanting, and that men's minds were still too much under the influence of passing events to enable them to distinguish between abiding realities and ephemeral phenomena.

The only States besides Prussia who showed any patriotic feeling were the smaller States, who, to the number of thirty-two, agitated, under the inspiration of Stein, for a restoration of the Empire, and showed a readiness to make large sacrifices to effect that object; but their scheme, when exam-

in many provinces of the Empire, and when some 50,000 invalids were thrown on the resources of the country.

\* We cannot vouch for the accuracy of this anecdote; but even if it is a myth, it is one of a "representative" kind, showing what was the temper supposed to prevail in the Court regions at the time.



ined in detail, is seen to labour under the organic defect common to all attempts made to combine in a national unit two international bodies of such magnitude as Austria and Prussia.

The attitude of the Napoleonic kingdoms was logical. They simply declared themselves unable to see the necessity of giving a common constitution to Germany, and made it a condition of their adherence to any plan that might be proposed that it should not in any way, either externally or internally, hamper their perfect liberty of action, especially in the matter of foreign alliances. "Do not let us forget," observed the Bavarian Plenipotentiary on one occasion to his Württemberg colleague, "that after all our natural ally is France." By this cynical plainness of speech they overshoot their mark, and found themselves fighting for an untenable position against Austria, no less than Prussia and the remaining States of Germany.

With the exception of these kingdoms, who cannot be accused of not knowing what they wanted, but whose attitude was purely negative, Austria alone appears from the first to have been clearly conscious of the ends which she desired to compass, and of the principles of reconstruction which it would suit her interests to see adopted. At a very early stage she had made up her mind to decline the Imperial crown, and to indemnify herself in Italy, and not in Germany, for her share in the toils and expenditure of the Napoleonic overthrow. When the small States entreated her to resume the crown and purple of the Cæsars, she effectually damped their ardour by asking who was to pay Cæsar's expenses. Throughout the earlier portion of the negotiations she withheld her own scheme of reconstruction, and contented herself with eliminating from the Prussian scheme as many of the provisions respecting civil and constitutional rights as she decently could. It was only at the eleventh hour, when the Plenipotentiaries had been exhausted by constant differences, and when public attention was wholly absorbed by the events consequent on Napoleon's escape from Elba, that she produced her draft, which, with scarcely any discussion, and some very few amendments, was definitively accepted and signed on the 8th June 1815, as the Act of the Germanic Confederation.

The Federal Constitution thus called into life exactly corresponded to what Austria required of such an institution. Of the two forces at work in Germany,—the National and the Territorial, the sovereigns and the populations subject to them,—it was with

the former that she elected to ally herself. The one force acted in a centripetal, the other in a centrifugal direction; but the development of centripetal force in Germany meant either the dismemberment of Austria by the attraction of her German provinces within the action of that force, or the secession of Austria out of Germany in order to withdraw those provinces from that action. That Prussia's natural ally was the national force Austria knew infinitely better than Prussia knew herself, and she could hardly reckon upon Prussian sovereigns for ever remaining blind to the fact. To maintain intact, therefore, the international character to be given to the new Confederation, to prevent any germs being deposited in it which might later fructify in a national sense, to establish this Constitution on the firm basis of European treaties, and under the guarantee of non-German Powers, and then in a Diplomatic Congress—that is, a Congress in which the Sovereigns only were represented,—to trust to her ground of vantage as the natural patron of the Sovereigns, and to the conservative instincts which would find their natural home in such a body, for the purpose of paralysing the efforts of Prussia, should that Power ever wake to a sense of her national mission,—such in brief outline, was the policy which dictated the Austrian reconstruction of Germany in 1815.

The distinctive character of the Germanic Confederation, constituted by the Act of 1815 and complemented by the Final Act of 1820, was that of an International Alliance between equal and independent States, whose rights of external and internal sovereignty remained intact except in so far as they were practically limited by the objects for which the alliance was concluded. Those objects were of a strictly defensive kind, viz., as defined in section 2 of the Federal Act, "the maintenance of the external and internal security of Germany, and of the independence and inviolability of the individual German States." The sole organ of the Confederation, the Frankfort Diet, was nothing else than a Congress of Plenipotentiaries, in which none was theoretically before or after another. It only differed from similar congresses in being permanently assembled. The Austrian Plenipotentiary presided in this assembly, but no attributes attached to the office of President other than those necessary for the conduct and transaction of business. By means of a complicated machinery the thirty-eight Plenipotentiaries composing the Diet voted according to the subject-matter on which they were called upon to decide, either in a



Restricted Council (*Engere Rath*)—in which the thirty-eight States had seventeen votes between them, the larger States having each one, the smaller voting *curiatim* in groups, —or in a Plenary Assembly (*Plenum*), to which sixty-nine votes were allotted, the larger Powers having several votes according to their size, but the smallest Power having at least one. Any matter touching the fundamental institutions of the Confederation had to be decided by the "Plenum," and one vote sufficed to veto any measure tending to alter those institutions. It was the *liberum veto* of the old Polish Diets, placing the maintenance of the *status quo* in the keeping of such States as Lichtenstein or Reuss. For the purposes of military defence, a highly-complicated military organization was called into life, with regard to which it will suffice to say that long before the Confederation ceased to exist it had been adjudged by common consent to be absolutely worthless.

Necessary as it would be for the due appreciation of what followed to give some account of the period during which this Constitution was in force, our space does not admit of even the shortest summary of its sins of omission and commission, and compels us to hasten on to the next great epoch in the constitutional development of Germany, only premising what follows in the way of introduction to the events of 1848.

Above, we called special attention to the fact that the prophets and teachers of the people at the close of the last and the commencement of the present century had not busied themselves with the political education of the nation. The case was very different in the succeeding generation. A movement like that which resulted in the War of Liberation could not but be reflected in the intellectual activity of the nation. As was to be expected, the poets were the first to be inspired, and never was patriotic passion attuned to nobler rhyme than that of Arndt and Körner. When the sword was sheathed, the period of political speculation began. The singers went before, the professors followed after.

It is easy for us who come by our knowledge of politics empirically, and by the same sort of natural process by which we learn to ride or to play at cricket, to scoff at those whose lot it is painfully to evolve political systems and political principles. We must remember, however, that during the thirty years that preceded 1848, political activity in Germany, except in the case of the smaller and some of the middle States, was as much restricted to official

circles as it had been during the latter period of the Empire. In the two great units of the Confederation, Austria and Prussia, the year 1820 gave the signal for the most absolute repression of all independent movement in the direction of political reform. But there was this radical difference between the Southern and the Northern Power. In Austria, thought was strangled in the cradle. "The system," as Metternich's policy was concisely termed, aimed at isolating Austria materially and intellectually from Germany and the rest of the world. Austria had alone escaped the contamination of the French Revolution, and a strict quarantine, permanently established, should for ever preclude all danger of contagion. A prohibitive tariff effectually prevented all material intercourse, a rigorous censorship dammed up all the channels through which a connexion might have been maintained between the German elements of Austria and the intellectual centres of the common Fatherland.

In Prussia, on the contrary, thought was free; it was only when it attempted to shape itself into acts that it came into collision with the authorities. Newspapers and even pamphlets could be searched for political contraband, and their contents adjudged good prize; octavo volumes sailed under a neutral flag, and as long as the treatment remained objective the boldest speculation could be indulged in from the university rostrum. By the establishment of the Zollverein, Prussia identified her material interests with those of Germany, —by the free exchange of professors and teachers between Prussian and German universities a unity of intellectual and speculative development was secured.

That the one-sided growth of political speculation without a corresponding field of political practice was in itself undesirable and fraught with many evils, will readily be admitted. *Doctrinaire* is a term justly branded with an invidious meaning; not the "best possible" but the "possible" is correctly designated as the subject-matter of politics. Nevertheless, no one can have attentively considered the history of modern Germany without convincing himself of the debt which she owes to her political professors, or of the benefits she has derived from the patient concentration of the best intellects of the nation on the problem of her political reconstruction during the generation when her citizens were excluded from all share in the management of their own affairs. If proof were wanted, we should require no other than a comparison between the professors' Constitution of 1849 and the



statesman's Constitution and drafts of Constitution of 1815.

We will express no opinion as to whether the reconstruction of Germany did or did not require the antecedent employment of "blood and iron," but this we will fearlessly assert, that if the ground ploughed up by the cannon-shot of 1866 yields the harvest expected of it, the seed will have been sown by the much-maligned professors whose labours are just now held so cheap by the thankless Fatherland.

That after such prolonged academical preparation the events of 1848 should have had a certain pedantry of form adhering to them is not to be wondered at, and we cannot hope to lay before our readers a clear statement of the struggle which has ever since agitated Germany, without first explaining two scientific terms taken from the political phraseology of the time which meet us at every turn, and for which we know of no English equivalents.

The German professor divides the genus Confederation into two species, the "Staatenbund" and the "Bundesstaat," under one or other of which, or a cross between the two, every individual federal constitution can be brought.

The essence of the "Staatenbund"—*Anglicè*, "States' Confederation"—is that it is *international*, i.e., that however closely united *inter se* for particular purposes the individual States composing the union may be, there is no displacement or transfer of sovereignty from the individual units to a common centre. The confederated States may collectively constitute an international unit as regards third parties, but the several partners do not cease to be international units as regards each other. Each retains the plenitude of his sovereign rights, those of external as well as those of internal sovereignty. The exercise of these rights may be, and indeed necessarily is, limited in practice by the objects of the union, such, for instance, as the limitation of the right of making war upon each other, or of entering into foreign alliances; but in theory it is not a surrender of the right, but a voluntary engagement to abstain from using the right.

It follows from this definition that, as an Executive and a Legislature both imply the exercise of sovereign powers, a "Staatenbund," or "States' Confederation," does not admit either of a central executive or of a common legislative body. The articles of union may in certain matters render the will of the majority binding upon the minority, and the Federal decrees or resolutions of such majorities may, as was the case in

the Germanic Confederation, come to be inaccurately described as Federal laws, but in no case can they become legally or formally binding within the States of the minority, until they have assumed the form of legislative enactment in each State. In a word, the individual subjects of the States of a "Staatenbund" know nothing of the Confederation; whatever common organ such union may possess for the accomplishment of the common objects of the association, acts through the Governments and the legislative apparatus of the individual members.

From the above it will at once be manifest that the Germanic Confederation was a Staatenbund.

The "Bundesstaat"—*Anglicè*, "Federative State"—is an abstraction originally obtained from the careful analysis made of the United States Constitution by De Tocqueville. As the name implies (the plural, "States," being replaced by the singular, "State"), it presupposes the creation of a political unit, i.e., of a body endowed with sovereign attributes, and therefore excludes the idea of international relations between the members of such a body. The Bundesstaat is a *national* as opposed to an *international* union. Its essential characteristics may be resumed as follows:—

1. The rights of external and internal sovereignty inherent in the idea of a State are divided between the Federal power and the several States, so that each, the Federal power and the individual State, is *exclusively* endowed with certain sovereign rights, and consequently that, considered separately, each is an incomplete State.

2. The individual subjects or citizens in a Federative State stand in a double and divided allegiance, being on some points exclusively subject to the Federal power, on others exclusively subject to the local power.

3. The Federal power, within its jurisdiction, acts directly and by means of its own organs upon the individual subjects or citizens in the several States, and not, as in the case of the "Staatenbund," indirectly through the individual Governments.

Such being the essence of the Bundesstaat, it follows that its *differentia*, to use the old logical formula, consists of a centralized Executive and a common Legislature. We may add, as "inseparable accidents," deduced from the practical objects which every Bundesstaat must have in view, and from the nature of the societies in which alone such a form of government could arise—

- 1st, That all rights of external sovereignty will be absorbed by the Federal power.



2dly, That the Legislature will include a national representation of the entire Federal body, elected without reference to the individual States.

If our readers will bear the above abstract in mind, and compare it with their practical knowledge of the working of the American Constitution, they will, we hope, have a tolerably clear idea of the Bundesstaat, and see in what points it differs from the Constitution of the late Germanic Confederation.

As the essence of the Staatenbund consists in its international character, and that of the Bundesstaat in the centralization of certain sovereign attributes, we have in what follows used the terms "International Confederation" to denote the former, and "Centralized Confederacy" to denote the latter: the literal renderings, "States' Confederation" and "Federative State," not appearing to us as yet sufficiently domesticated in the English language to justify our use of them.

On the 18th of March 1848, the King of Prussia engaged, in a proclamation to his people, that the German International Confederation (Staatenbund) should be replaced by a German Centralized Confederacy (Bundesstaat).

On the 30th of March, the Diet called upon the several Governments of the Confederation to convoke a Parliament, to be elected directly by the nation on the basis of population, which Parliament, in conjunction with the Government, should determine the new form of constitution to be given to Germany.

On the 18th of May, the Parliament met at Frankfort, and, in concert with the Governments, elected the Archduke John of Austria as "Reichsverweser" or Regent of the Empire. The Archduke was to be the irresponsible head of a provisional Executive and to nominate a Ministry responsible to Parliament.

On the 24th of July, the Diet resigned into the hands of the Archduke Regent the powers confided to it by the Acts of 1815 and 1820, and declared itself dissolved.

Thus, before a single paragraph of the future Constitution had been discussed, Germany had constituted herself under a form of Government bearing all the essential features of the Bundesstaat or Centralized Confederacy.

Instead of applying itself at once to the political reconstruction of Germany, the Parliament entered into an exhaustive discussion of the fundamental rights of German citizens, and by this fatal mistake lost its only chance of arriving at a practical result, for during the summer of 1848 the

Frankfort Assembly was omnipotent; and had it before the autumn succeeded in arriving at a definite result, that result would have been unhesitatingly accepted by the nation, as well as by the then helpless Governments. But by the close of the year the situation was radically changed. Both at Berlin and at Vienna the Crown had recovered its presence of mind, and power was once more lodged in the hands of energetic Ministers. Whatever the resolve came to by the Parliament, it would have to pass through the ordeal of Prussian and Austrian criticism, and to court the assent of two Powers, able, if they were willing, to veto it.

It was in the winter months of 1848-49 that the debates upon the Constitution at length began. Violent as were the party conflicts upon questions of detail, there was a general consent of opinion upon the main features of the scheme. They were those of the Bundesstaat,—a national Parliament composed of two Houses, one a States' House, the other a Representative Assembly elected directly by the people, a Ministry responsible to this Parliament, and a supreme irresponsible head, who, whatever his title, should be invested with the attributes of a constitutional Sovereign. The body to be thus created was to be a Sovereign Unit in regard to all rights of external and to many important rights of internal sovereignty.

It was when the question came to be discussed as to what head should be given to this body, whether the office should be filled by an elected president or by an hereditary monarch, and if by the latter, on whom the crown should devolve, that the Parliament found itself at last face to face with the central difficulty of the German question, viz., the position of Austria in the new Confederacy.

As soon as the question was submitted to the ordeal of exhaustive discussion, the following positions came out clearly:—

By common agreement—and on this point there was not a dissentient voice—the "Bundesstaat," or Centralized Federative State, was the only form of constitution which could secure the objects desired by the nation, viz., unity without excessive sacrifice of State individuality. But the sovereignty of the "Bundesstaat" is within its assigned sphere supreme, not only over all the States that belong to it, but over the individual citizens composing those States, and consequently admits of no rival allegiance. If, therefore, the German provinces of Austria were to enter into the proposed "Bundesstaat," it was first necessary that they should be dis severed from their political connexion



with the rest of the Austrian Empire, i. e., such entrance required, as an antecedent condition, the dismemberment of the Austrian Empire, and the establishment for the future of a merely personal union between the German and non-German dominions of the House of Hapsburg-Lothringen.

If this condition could not be fulfilled, and the work of constituting a Centralized Confederacy was nevertheless to be proceeded with, then Austria must be excluded from the new State.

If, on the other hand, the paramount object of the nation was that Austria should remain bound up with the rest of Germany on equal terms, then a return *mutatis mutandis* to an International Confederation of the old kind was the only alternative left.

Now it is exactly against this sort of cogent logical conclusion, which to a Frenchman or an Englishman would be absolutely convincing, that a very numerous, a very intelligent, a very respectable, and a very patriotic class of German politicians most vehemently rebels. It cannot force an entrance through the nebulous ring of sentiment and imagination by which the purely Alemannic political conscience is surrounded.

As soon, therefore, as the really political portion of the Frankfort Parliament had come to the conclusions aforesaid, and had formulated their programme conformably to those conclusions, there arose a storm of opposition, and a party calling itself "Great German," to express its abhorrence at the idea of severing any portion from the great Fatherland, and branding its opponents as "Little Germans," strained every nerve to thwart the plans of their adversaries. The programme against which they spent their wrath may be shortly summed up as follows:—

"The German Austrians neither will nor can sever themselves from the rest of Austria. Nor is it desirable, either in their own interest or in that of Germany, that they should do so. For Austria has an appointed task to perform. She has to spread German culture eastwards, and to found a mighty empire on the Danube, which, if not wholly German by nationality, shall become wholly German by civilization. To withdraw her German provinces from her is to withdraw the life-blood necessary for this process of assimilation. It is to deprive the ancient House of Hapsburg of the *raison d'être* of its existence, it is to bring Germany into immediate contact with half-barbarous races, without a controlling element to keep them in subjection. But there is no reason, because Austria's task is to found an Eastern Germany, that the remaining Germans, to whom history has not allotted this task, should be hindered in their endeavours to consolidate

themselves into a Western Germany, and the National Parliament, therefore, must proceed with its work and accomplish it, in the only way it can be accomplished, by the constitution of the Bundesstaat under Prussia. But Austria shall not be the loser, but, on the contrary, a gainer by the change. Between her and the Germany thus constituted there shall be established an international union of the closest kind. An eternal alliance for offence and defence shall guarantee to each the possession of its territories. A Customs' Union shall open up the markets of the one to the other. Similar laws passed by the two Legislatures shall in every way facilitate the intercourse between the two branches of the great family. Every advantage which Austria derived from the old International Confederacy of 1815, she will enjoy a hundredfold under the new dispensation, with the additional one, that all conflicts as to concurrent rights of sovereignty will for the future be avoided."

Fortunately for the party of the Little Germans, or the Hereditary Imperialists, as they styled themselves, the Austrian Government itself came to their assistance. When the debates on the question of Austria's position in the Bundesstaat were at their hottest, news reached Frankfort that on the 7th of March the Austrian constituent parliament, sitting at Kremsier, had been forcibly closed, and that the emperor had *octroyé* a constitution by which, for the first time in their history, the dominions of his House were welded together into a compact centralized monarchy, one and indivisible. An imperial note at the same time formulated the demand that the Austrian empire, so reconstituted, should enter bodily into the Germanic Confederation, and that the Constitution to be given to Germany should be modified accordingly, i. e., that the idea of a "Bundesstaat," with a national Parliament and a single head, should be given up, and that in lieu thereof a Directory of seven sovereigns, under the presidency of Austria, assisted by a States' House representing the Governments, should permanently administer the affairs of the Confederation. It was under the impression of this sudden turn of affairs in Austria, that on the 27th and 28th of March the Frankfort Parliament passed the two celebrated votes—

"The head of the German Bundesstaat is an hereditary Emperor, to be styled Emperor of the Germans."

"The Imperial Crown is hereditary in the House of Hohenzollern."

On the third of April a deputation from the Parliament waited upon the King of Prussia at Berlin, and called upon his Majesty to accept the crown offered to him by the German nation in parliament assembled. The King replied, that though the vote of the



Parliament gave him a *well grounded claim* to this crown, he could not accept it without previous concert with the sovereigns whose rights were involved.

On the 28th of April he declined definitively. By this refusal the moral power of the National, as distinct from the Revolutionary party, was broken; they had lost their only bulwark, the physical support of the one power in Germany able successfully to carry the programme of the nation to a successful issue.

The refusal of the King was followed by revolutionary outbreaks at Dresden, in Baden, and in the Palatinate, and the panic-stricken sovereigns, Austria being fully occupied with her Hungarian insurrection, had to apply to Prussia for assistance. Help was immediately vouchsafed, and in a short campaign the arms of Prussia reduced the revolted subjects of the Kings of Saxony and Bavaria and of the Grand Duke of Baden to their allegiance.

It was a proud moment for the King of Prussia, and the crisis was one of the sort especially fitted to flatter his peculiar illusions. Implored by the nation to accept the Imperial crown, he had been unable to conquer his repugnance to such a title, or his scruples as to infringing upon the divine rights of his sovereign compeers, and had refused the gift. Implored by these compeers to save them from destruction, he had triumphantly done so. What so easy now, as, in conjunction with these self-same sovereigns, revived by him, and deeply in his debt, to resume the work of German reform, and to offer to the nation, as a free gift out of the hands of the Lord's Anointed, that which it had sacrilegiously aspired to seize as its right?

Accordingly, the King of Prussia set actively to work to build up the Bundesstaat by voluntary contributions. Conferences were held at Berlin, and on the 28th of May an alliance, known as "The Three Kings' Alliance," between the sovereigns of Prussia, Saxony and Hanover, was concluded. The allies bound themselves to give a Constitution to Germany, conformable to a draft which Prussia drew up, and which was to come into operation as soon as it had obtained the assent of a National Assembly, to be later convoked. All members of the Germanic Confederation, Austria excepted, were invited to join the alliance, with the option of refusing. The international union between Austria and such states as did not join, on the one hand, and the proposed "Bundesstaat" on the other, was to remain such as in the Confederation of 1815. It was within the International Confederation

that the Centralized Confederacy was to take its place.

The Constitution which Prussia drew up kept close to the text of that voted by the Frankfort Assembly, only modifying some of its provisions in a less *doctrinaire* and more conservative sense. Instead of the hereditary Emperor, however, the Executive was to be confided to Prussia as presiding power, assisted by a board of seven Sovereigns.

By the end of July twenty-nine governments had sent in their adherence to the new Confederacy. But the month of August changed the situation. On the 12th of that month the Hungarian army surrendered at Vilagos; Austria was once more restored to the free use of her strength, and the kings knew that help was near. In September, Bavaria and Württemberg declined the invitation sent to them, and later in the autumn Saxony and Hanover protested against the Parliament being convoked. Nevertheless, on the 20th of March, 1850, the Parliament met at Erfurt, and accepted *en bloc* the draft of Constitution submitted to it. According, therefore, to the declaration of the 26th of May, that Constitution ought there and then to have come into operation. But Prussia's heart had begun to fail her. A fresh provisorium, for the ostensible purpose of calling the constitution into life, was created, and a congress of the sovereigns composing the Union met at Berlin, but could settle on no definite course of action. Not daring to move forward, still more afraid to step back, the Union stood irresolute, awaiting its death-blow at the hands of Austria.

On the 26th of April, Austria, ignoring all that had taken place since 1848, summoned the Diet to meet at Frankfort.

Eleven Governments answered the call, some of them seceders from the Union. Prussia, in her own name and in that of the Union, refused the invitation. Thus two independent powers, the Diet and the Union, each claiming to represent Germany, and each refusing to acknowledge the other, stood face to face, and the crisis was at hand. Austria took care that the conflict should be quick and decisive. Under her presidency, the Diet, though scarcely numbering one-third of the Governments of the Confederation, declared itself competent, and proceeded to draw before its forum the two burning questions of the day, viz., the war still going on between the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein and the King of Denmark, and the question of the Hessian Constitution.

We will not inflict the former upon our readers; the latter is less known, and more dramatic.



Though the Elector of Hesse appeared at Frankfort, and invoked the aid of the Diet against his subjects, Hesse-Cassel was still a member of the Union, and according to the constitution which the Erfurt parliament had voted, one of the first duties of the Confederacy was the maintenance of the constitutional rights of the several States. As the Elector appealed to Austria and the Diet for assistance, so the Hessian Chambers and the Hessian people looked to Prussia and the Union for protection.

The conflict was a strange one. It had not arisen in the defence of rights acquired during the revolutionary period of 1848, but in that of a constitution that had been in force for twenty years, and with respect to whose provisions no doubt or *équivoque* could exist. The minister Hassenpflug, who had the management of it, was a man of notoriously bad character, who had once been tried for forgery. During its entire continuance no act of violence or even disturbance occurred. It was carried on between the Elector and his Minister on the one hand, and the Chambers, the public *employés* from the highest to the lowest, the tribunals, and lastly the army, on the other; not that the army revolted, but that the entire body of officers, rather than break their oath to the constitution by disobeying the decisions of the tribunal, sent in their collective resignations—four generals, seven colonels, twenty lieutenant-colonels, with majors, captains and lieutenants in proportion, in all 241 officers, a fact probably without precedent in constitutional history.

It was to back up such a Government in such a conflict that the Diet decreed a Federal execution in Hesse, and that an Austrian and Bavarian army were appointed to carry it out.

The sequel is well known. Prussia made just sufficient show of resistance to add military disgrace to political defeat. She placed her entire army upon a war-footing, entered the Electorate amidst the cheers and acclamations of the population, who hailed her as deliverer, and occupied Cassel and the military roads. On the 6th of November, near the village of Bronzell, not far from the old cathedral town of Fulda, Austrian and Prussian outposts met, and shots were exchanged. An old grey mare, it is said, ridden by a Prussian trumpeter, bit the dust. This was the battle of Bronzell. It was the beginning of the end. Two days later, Count Brandenburg, the Prussian Prime Minister, a brave and honest old soldier, but whose strong conservative feelings and hatred of all things labelled liberal or national unfitted him for the post he held at

a moment when Prussia's only chance was to appeal to the national feeling, died of a broken heart. Manteuffel succeeded him. Another twenty-four hours and all was over. Prussia had surrendered at discretion, and sent the order for the recall of her troops. By the punctuation of Olmütz she engaged to dissolve the Union, to attend at Frankfort, and to give Austria *carte blanche* to settle the Sleswig-Holstein and Hessian questions as she thought fit. She asked as a favour, and the favour was granted, that one battalion, at least, of Prussian troops should be allowed to remain in the Electorate, and look on at the dragoonades inflicted upon the constitutional Hessians.

Once more, as in 1815, Austria and Prussia had played for the hegemony of Germany, and once more Prussia had been beaten, and Austria had been victorious. But it had been a rougher game than the courtly one played amidst the feasts and banquets of the Vienna Congress. The Prussian uniform had been dragged in the mud; i. e., the Prussian army having been mobilised,—the entire male population between the ages of twenty and thirty-eight had each, in his own person, been identified with the disgrace of the Hessian catastrophe. Into the soul of one man the iron penetrated deep. The then Prince, now King, of Prussia, retired to the Rhine Province, in voluntary exile, refused to have any intercourse with the Ministry who had signed the punctuation of Olmütz, and during the remaining portion of his brother's reign brooded over the humiliation of his country.

If we examine into the causes of this defeat, though undoubtedly much is to be laid to the account of the weak and vacillating character of King Frederick-William IV., we shall nevertheless again meet with the phenomena with which the negotiations of 1814 have made us familiar. Austria thoroughly knew her own mind, and what she wanted. She knew who were her allies, and that her policy was to be wholly and entirely the ally of those allies. *L'ami de ses amis*, she would claim their services, but she would render full service in exchange. Thirty years, and above all, the exhaustive discussions of the Frankfort Parliament, had placed the conditions of the political problem to be solved in a far clearer light than they had been in 1815. The national reconstruction of Germany meant the Centralized Confederacy, the Centralized Confederacy meant a sovereign body into which no fragments from another body owing allegiance to another sovereign could be admitted. It meant, therefore, the exclusion of Austria from Germany. Now this the Austrian



Government in 1850 saw clearly; it ridiculed the Austrian sympathies of sentimental Great Germans who called for a national centralized Germany, and racked their brains to find out some *modus vivendi* for Austria within such a body. It ignored the existence of a German nation, and only recognised that of German sovereigns. If these would help Austria to restore the International Confederacy of 1815, she would help them to establish their absolute power over their subjects. The strength of Austria's position consisted in its logical negation.

Between the Prussian Government, on the other hand, and Prussia's natural ally, the National party, there existed no cordial alliance. Each mistrusted the other. The German "Bundesstaat" meant a marriage between Prussia and Germany, that is, an indissoluble contract in which each party was called upon to make sacrifices for the good of both; but these sacrifices neither the Prussian monarch, nor, we may add, in her heart Prussia, was ready to make. Had not Prussia alone in all Germany a real history and real traditions, as distinct from a merely dynastic history or merely heraldic traditions? Had she not, alone and unaided, with a spade in one hand and a sword in the other, worked and fought her way up from an obscure colony on the extreme confines of the Empire to the rank of a first-rate European power? Was not the crown of Prussia a reality, a glorious reality? What, when compared with it, was this unhistorical Imperial diadem, which a puff of popular favour could blow into a gaudy bubble to collapse on the first gust of popular ill-will?

Now this feeling, though of course strongest in the Hohenzollern who sat upon the throne, and among the men who composed his Court and officered his army, is deep-seated in the Prussian nature, even where we least expect to find it. To sink the Prussian in the German is what hardly one inhabitant, of the eastern provinces at least, is capable of doing. He is proud of his name, and never misses an opportunity of letting you know it. Take the two national songs, the German and the Prussian. The one plaintively inquires "Was ist des Deutschen Vaterland?" and endeavours through a long series of stanzas, partly geographical, partly philological, to answer the question. The other starts with the proud affirmation, "Ich bin ein Preuss;" and through all the phases of the German question the echoes of these two melodies cross and recross each other as they come wafted to our ears, the one from the choral clubs of German stu-

dents or German gymnasts, the other from the shrill fifes of Prussian regimental bands.

The weakness of Prussia's position, therefore, was her halfheartedness and want of faith in her own mission. She was a bad ally. She was not *l'amie de ses amis*. There is a spiteful French proverb dating back to the last century, "Travailler pour le roi de Prusse," which in those days came forcibly home to men's minds.

The period between the battle of Bronzell and the battle of Sadowa falls into three natural divisions, the first coinciding with the remaining portion of Frederick-William IV's reign, the second with the accession of the present sovereign as Prince-Regent, and the duration of the so-called Liberal Ministry by which he at first surrounded himself, and the third with the administration of M. de Bismarck.

During the first of these periods the German question lay dormant.

During the second it began to revive with all the symptoms of renewed intensity. The attitude of the Auerswald Ministry in regard to it may be described as that of a Platonic flirtation with the national idea as embodied in the programme of the Little Germans.

The third period is preëminently that of what in Germany, in contradistinction to Great Germanism and Little Germanism, is styled Great Prussianism, and coincides with M. de Bismarck's tenure of office.

It was the Italian war which gave the signal for the resuscitation of the German question.

Now that the recriminations and heart-burnings of the year 1859 have passed away into the region of history, it is not difficult to appreciate the parts played by the several actors in that eventful year. That Austria and the Austrian party in Germany—in which we include not only the well-disciplined phalanx of Cabinets who followed Austria as their leader, but the whole of the Great German party, with its endless shades of opinion—should have regarded it as the first duty of Prussia and Germany to make common cause with Austria, and to defend the Italian possessions of that House by an aggressive movement on the Rhine, was natural enough.

That in Prussia there should have been a strong party who recollected the battle of Bronzell, and who deemed Austria's necessity to be Prussia's opportunity, and that a large section of the liberal and national party should have sympathized with Italy, and considered that it was no part of Germany's duty to thwart Italian aspirations



for unity and independence, was equally natural. That strong influences were consequently brought to bear upon the Prince-Regent to secure the hostile neutrality of Prussia during the impending war was the inevitable result. Nevertheless, the Regent from the first laid down a line of policy of his own, equally opposed to Great German and Great Prussian aspirations, and adhered to it. He had no sympathy with Italy, and shared all the orthodox prejudices against the so-called revolutionary Cabinet of Turin. He believed that the possession of the Quadrilateral by Austria was not unimportant to the security of Germany, and he was not minded therefore that Austria should bleed to death in the defence of the Quadrilateral. But neither, on the other hand, would he go to war as the vassal of Austria, or at the bidding of a majority of the Diet. If Prussia took part in the war she should take part in it as an independent European Power, and make the most capital she could out of it for Prussia. Its primary object touched Austria's general interests in Italy, her collective possessions there, not especially the Quadrilateral. It was only fair, therefore, that she should fight in the first line, and bear the brunt of the first attack. If she could not hold her own, Prussia, at the head of Germany, would make a diversion in her favour by an offensive movement on the Rhine. But to carry out this plan successfully, and to attack France to advantage by allowing the bulk of the French army to engage itself in Italy, Prussia must keep her hand free to the last moment. The Prince-Regent, moreover, had a further reason for this policy. He knew that the Middle States of Germany, Bavaria and Württemberg especially, who cried the most loudly for war, were the least fit to take the field, and that, scanty and disorganized as the smaller Federal contingents were, it would require several months before they could even attempt to show a hostile front. In the meanwhile the military preparations of Prussia were carried on with the utmost activity. By the time the battle of Magenta was fought the whole Prussian army was on a war footing, and fit to take the field. On the news of the victory of Solferino, Prince Windischgrätz, the Austrian Military Plenipotentiary at Berlin, was able to telegraph to the Emperor that the Prussian army had begun its concentric movement upon the Rhine. But the Emperor Francis Joseph disbelieved, or affected to disbelieve, the information conveyed to him by his own agent, and hastily concluded the peace of Villafranca, giving the world to understand

that he was deserted by his natural allies, and that it was the equivocal attitude of Prussia which had forced him to throw himself on the mercy of the French Emperor. On the other hand, the latter did not seek to hide that it was the certainty of hostilities with Prussia which had led him to conclude peace before the work of Italian emancipation was completed.

Thus closed the campaign of 1859, leaving behind it a rankling wound as well in the mind of Austria as of Prussia. That she had been betrayed by the selfish policy of Prussia was the conviction of the former. That Austria had preferred coming to terms with France and the loss of Lombardy to a deliverance wrought by her former vassal, and to seeing that vassal playing an independent part as a great European Power, became the rooted belief of the latter.

The international machinery of 1815, so carefully and at such vast expense restored by Austria, had hopelessly broken down at the moment she the most required its assistance. A bloodier campaign than that of Bronzell had for ever destroyed the fruits of that ill-omened victory. By common consent the existing institutions of Germany were condemned as utterly worthless, and a cry went forth from every portion of the Fatherland demanding a radical reform of the Federal Constitution.

With this revival of the German question, the two parties which had stood face to face in 1849, the Great Germans and the Little Germans, were once more arrayed against each other, and a political agitation began, which, little as it was at the time noticed out of Germany, it required no gift of prophecy to foresee could not but end in the disruption of the Confederation.

Before we trace the incidents of this political campaign, it is necessary we should notice the attitude of the several Governments more immediately interested in the solution of the German question.

The Austrian Cabinet stood paralysed by the total collapse, both internal and external, of that system of logical negation on which its prestige had for the last nine years been reposing, and was helplessly groping about for some positive creed whereon to build up the broken fortunes of the Empire. To include her non-German provinces within the *nexus* of the Confederation, and to extend the frontiers of Germany to the Po and the Carpathians, seemed to Austria the only hope of salvation; but the means to compass that end appeared, as well they might, beyond the reach of her bewildered policy.

The Prussian Cabinet, as before observed,



was inclined to coquette with the programme of Little Germany; but a more important personage in the Prussian State than any member of a Cabinet had concentrated his ideas of Federal reform on a more practical, though, as the result proved, not on a more attainable object.

The attention of the Prince-Regent had, during the spring and summer of 1859, been wholly absorbed by the work of military preparation, both in Prussia and Germany, for what appeared to forbode a general European war. The mobilization of the Prussian army had taught him the defects which thirty years of peace had not failed to introduce into the organization of so large a force based upon such exceptional foundations. The mobilization of the Federal contingents had revealed to him in all its enormity the hopeless malformation of the Federal army. The sight of contingents differently armed and differently equipped, wholly deficient in the military knowledge and *esprit de corps* which only large armies can possess, filled with the leaven of local prejudices and local jealousies, and totally unfit to be massed into efficient and disciplined bodies, convinced him that the Federal army, as constituted by the treaties of Vienna, was as rotten a concern as those armies of the Holy Roman Empire which for centuries had been the laughing-stock of Europe.

To carry out a comprehensive scheme of reform in regard to the Prussian army, and in regard to the Federal army to endeavour to realize the original idea of the Constitution of 1815, by making the defensive apparatus of the Confederation a reality,—such was the moral which the Hohenzollern of the day deduced from the year 1859. To carry out the latter idea, he at once proposed a scheme of reform for the military constitution of Germany, and endeavoured, both at the Diet and in the way of negotiation with Austria, but of course without success, to get it adopted.

The following are the main features of the scheme. For the one Federal army, to come into existence only when a Federal war was imminent, were to be substituted two Federal armies—a northern army under the command of Prussia, whose contingents should, in peace as well as during war, be incorporated with the Prussian army, a southern army under the command of Austria, whose contingents should, equally in peace and war, be incorporated with the Austrian army.

As regards the attitude of the remaining States of the Confederation, we must call attention to an abiding difference between

the policy of the Middle States, under which are included the four kingdoms, Hanover, Saxony, Bavaria, and Würtemberg, and some of the larger Grand Duchies, such as the two Hesses, and that of the smaller States. It is the former who have persistently barred the way to every serious effort for the consolidation of Germany. Too large to die, too small to live, as was once said of them by an orator in the Prussian Chambers, they have never varied in their policy of subordinating patriotic and national interests to the maintenance intact of every attribute of their newly acquired sovereignty. The smaller States, on the other hand, aware probably that there was nothing in their size incompatible with an early death, have on many occasions, when acting corporatively, shown a praiseworthy readiness to make sacrifices for the common good. It was thus that in 1814 we saw them opposing themselves energetically to the secessionary tendencies of Würtemberg and Bavaria, and again in 1850 standing by Prussia when the kingdoms either refused to join the Union, or broke away from the Union after they had joined it. Hence, in 1859, it was the Middle States whose interests appeared the most compromised by the overthrow of Austria, and in whose ranks that overthrow caused the widest consternation. Conscious of the active hostility they had displayed against Prussia in 1850, alarmed by the scheme now proposed by Prussia for the amalgamation of the Federal contingents, and magnifying in their terror the collapse of the power of Austria, they sought in a close alliance amongst themselves, and by rallying the smaller States around them, to call into life a compact and well-disciplined body, which should hold its own even without Austrian help against the ambitious projects of Prussia on the one hand, and the rising wave of national enthusiasm on the other. It was a revival of the *Triad* idea which had on various previous occasions cropped up to the surface, and which was especially hateful to the national party as being supposed to represent the French ideal of German reconstruction. The coalition which owed its origin to these causes was later known by the name of the *Würzburg Coalition*, from the conferences of the allied States being held in that town. Saxony and Bavaria were the avail of the movement.

Such, in general outline, was the situation at the close of 1859.

The Little Germans were the first in the field, and opened the campaign by the creation of the *National Verein* or *National League* with the Constitution of 1849 for



its banner. By its wide organization, and the activity it displayed in the press and at public meetings, it soon attracted general notice, and riveted upon itself the attention of the Cabinets. By the Governments of the Middle States it was pursued with all the rigour of the reactionary laws against the freedom of the press and the right of public meeting which had been passed under Federal inspiration. The liberal Governments, on the other hand,—Baden, Coburg-Gotha, Weimar, etc.,—openly avowed their sympathy with the objects of the League, and began to move diplomatically in a like direction. In Prussia the Government observed an attitude of official neutrality, but the Lower Chamber expressed its strong sympathy with the movement, and of some of the Ministers at least it was known that they were friendly to it.

The next move was made by the Würzburg Coalition. It was nothing less than a formal scheme of Federal reform, carefully elaborated by the Allied States, and submitted in their name by the Saxon Government to the Austrian and Prussian Cabinets.

The circular transmitting the scheme, after descending upon the benefits which the German nation had for thirty years derived from the Constitution of 1815, admits that this Constitution had never succeeded in making itself popular, and that it had now lost all principle of vitality. The main causes of these undesirable results the circular sees in the unnecessary secrecy in which the proceedings of the Frankfort Diet had always been wrapped up, and in the dilatoriness of its mode of doing business, inseparable from the diplomatic character of the Assembly. In proposing a reform, however, care must be taken to avoid a revolution. The three desiderata of the National party—the Bundesstaat, the National Parliament elected directly from the people, and the Imperial Crown—are children of the revolution. That Bundesstaat would therefore be a revolutionary creation, and would not be the reform but the dissolution of the Confederation. The purely international character of the Union, and the unshackled sovereignty of the several States, must be the immovable basis upon which every plan of reform must be built up. But this does not preclude the introduction of popular elements into the Federal mechanism, or the creation of efficient organs to replace the present inefficient ones.

The programme of reform was as follows:—

The high contracting parties were sol-

emnly to renew all the obligations of the Federal Acts of 1815–20, and only to amend those paragraphs which related to the Constitution of the organs of the Confederation. The Diet was to remain as constituted by those Acts, only that instead of Plenipotentiaries named by the Governments, the Ministers themselves of the several States should meet, and give to the assembly the character of a ministerial conference instead of that of a diplomatic congress. Instead of sitting permanently at Frankfort, it was proposed that the Reformed Diet should meet twice a year, for four weeks, alternately at Regensburg in the south and at Hamburg in the north. When meeting at Regensburg, Austria should be the presiding Power; when meeting at Hamburg, Prussia should preside. Besides the Diet, which till then had been the sole organ of the Confederation, two new Federal institutions were to be called into life,—a Directory, composed of Austria, Prussia, and a third State to be named by the remaining Governments, and an assembly of Delegates from the Chambers of the several States.

It is not necessary to enter into the details of this scheme. Its objects come out clearly enough when we bear in mind that the proposals of the Coalition were of the nature of a *counter* project to the programme of the National League. The demand for a popular element in the mechanism of the Confederation had become too general to be ignored by any scheme of reform, from whatever quarter it might proceed; but whilst appearing to fulfil this desideratum, the project of the Coalition for an assembly of delegates would, had it been adopted, have most effectually paralysed the objects proposed by the National party. The latter desired to place the centre of political gravity in a national representation. The Coalition proposed to retain this centre in the Diet, that is, in the body representing the Governments, and virtually to confine the action of the proposed assembly of delegates to a restricted legislative field. The national programme proposed a Parliament elected directly by the nation in the ratio of the population, *i. e.*, a body in which the territorial distinctions would have been obliterated. The programme of the Coalition proposed to stereotype these territorial distinctions in the popular branch of the Legislature, by allotting the franchise not in the ratio of population, but in the ratio of the individual States. The assembly of delegates would have been a Parliament built up *à priori*, on a basis of rotten boroughs, to the ex-



clusion of every other form of constituency.

The Prussian answer to the circular setting forth this scheme emphatically accepts the position that the German Confederation is an international alliance, and that this is the character which has to be maintained. It argues, however, that the evils that have accumulated over Germany owe their origin to this character not having been maintained in its purity, and to the Confederation having, from the day of its birth, undertaken functions incompatible with an international union. An association, four members of which (Austria, Prussia, Denmark, and Holland) have an independent European position of their own, and therefore the centre of their political gravity outside the mechanism of the association, cannot with impunity transgress the strict limits of international intimacy, and enter into engagements trenching upon their rights of internal sovereignty. But it is exactly in this direction that the proposal of reform moves. Though repudiating the term *Bundesstaat*, it borrows essential elements from that form of confederation, such as the legislative body and the executive, and endeavours to make them fit into the *Staatenbund*. Nothing will induce Prussia to follow this lead. The only reform of the Bund in its entirety to which she will lend her hand will be one that reduces it back to its purely international character, and endeavours more effectually to carry out its primary object of a defensive association against aggression from without. But whilst assuming this negative attitude in regard to a reform that should extend over the whole Confederation, Prussia believes that a wide field of improvement is open in the way of free association between members of the Confederation. Paragraph 11 of the Federal Act especially consecrates the principle that the members of the Confederation are free to enter into alliances amongst themselves, so long as the objects of such alliances do not run counter to the fundamental duties of the Bund. There is nothing to prevent the formation of a *bonâ fide* Bundesstaat within the Confederation in virtue of this article.

The Austrian reply confines itself almost exclusively to the proposed innovation of an alternation of the presidency of the Diet between Austria and Prussia. It claims for the Austrian right of presidency a character wholly different from that which had been given to it in 1815. According to this new interpretation, the Austrian Presidency of the Diet represented the principle of German unity; to introduce the alternation

would be to introduce the principle of dualism, and the dire results of such an innovation are illustrated by the disruption which was apparently then going on between the Northern and Southern States of the American Union. Nothing, therefore, the Austrian despatch concludes, will induce the Austrian Cabinet to this extreme limit of concession, *except the one counter concession of the entrance of all her territories into the Confederation*; but even in such a case she would prefer an alternation, not between Austria and Prussia, but between Austria, Prussia, and a third State, such as that proposed by the Federal Directory. If the entrance of her non-German territories into the Confederation is not conceded, she cannot agree to the scheme as a whole, but she will be ready to discuss the proposal for the assembly of delegates and other details.

The reply of Prussia called forth amongst the States of the Coalition an outburst of real or simulated indignation. Austrian aid was invoked, and readily granted; and identical notes were shortly afterwards presented at Berlin by the Imperial Government and the States of the Coalition, protesting in angry tones against the interpretation placed by Prussia on paragraph 11 of the Federal Act. To deduce from a paragraph intended to accentuate the full sovereignty of the individual States the faculty of bringing about an organic change which should for ever limit these sovereign prerogatives, and destroy the self-same right of alliance, was a mode of interpretation without a parallel, etc., etc.

In a word, the Coalition placed Prussia on the horns of the following dilemma: either she was in earnest in her project of bringing about the Bundesstaat—and if so, she was a revolutionary power bent upon destroying the Germanic Confederation,—or she was not in earnest, and in that case she was a reactionary power, only using a pretext to oppose all improvement and all reform.

The identical notes may be considered as a declaration of diplomatic war against Prussia, in which from thenceforth Austria and the States of the Coalition were firmly united.

Before we consider the further episodes of this war, we must notice the change of Government at Berlin, which marks the third of the three periods into which we have divided the fifteen years which elapsed between the battle of Bronzell and the battle of Sadowa, viz., the formation of the Bismarck Ministry.

When M. de Bismarck took office, the constitutional conflict between the King and



his Parliament had reached a climax. We left the Prince-Regent of Prussia determined on bringing about a radical reform of his army, and concentrating his entire activity on this object and that of the reform of the Federal army. The death of his brother and his own accession to the throne had not tended to diminish his conviction that the army and all that affected it was wholly within the province of his prerogative, and wholly outside the sphere of the Constitution. The Liberal majority of the Lower Chamber, on the other hand, backed up by the country, were determined to assert the constitutional right of voting the blood-tax, as well as the money taxes imposed on the people. They, no less than the King, desired a reform of the army, and insisted upon a large increase of the military power of Prussia by the *bonâ fide* enforcement of the tax of universal service; but in return they claimed a curtailment of the term of service.

It may safely be asserted that there were no insuperable difficulties in the way of a compromise between the views of the King and those of the Chamber. The real contest was whether such organic changes could be made in virtue of the prerogative, or whether the Parliament had come to years of discretion, and acquired in practice as well as in theory the right to legislate on such matters. It was a contest for power. That from the constitutional point of view the Chamber was in the right and the Crown in the wrong, no one who recollects the incidents of the conflict will deny. Certain fundamental constitutional principles were at stake, which were asserted and defended with an ability, a determination, and a perseverance plainly denoting how the Liberal party in Prussia had ripened in Parliamentary training, and how sound it was in constitutional doctrine.

Nevertheless, viewing the conflict in its connection with the external position which Prussia occupied at the time, and the work which the Würzburg Coalition had cut out for her, it may be doubted whether, as a question of political opportunity, the Chamber was wise in pushing the constitutional doctrine to its logical consequences. The safety of Prussia as a State was at stake, and imperatively demanded that she should be at one with herself; and, above all, pointed to the absolute necessity of a strong Government. But the necessary consequence of the conflict was to shake the political fabric of Prussia to its foundation. We do not, however, lay the blame of the conflict so much to the account of the Liberal party as to the *vis major* of the in-

ternal political situation. The phase in which Prussia found herself was one inseparable from all Parliamentary systems recently introduced, and where sufficient time has not elapsed to reconcile and harmonize the old absolutist traditions with the new popular franchises. A school of Parliamentary orators and debaters had started up into precocious life, but as yet there had been neither time nor opportunity to form a school of Parliamentary statesmen. The Crown had no choice but to surround itself with professional Ministers, who, even when they professed Liberal opinions, were not of Parliamentary growth—were not flesh of its flesh, or bone of its bone. Throughout the conflict it was clear that the Parliamentary ability, and even the legislative capacity, resided in the Liberal majority; but it was equally clear that that majority, had it succeeded in carrying its point, could not have accepted the logical consequence of its victory by installing a Ministry of its own in power. Consequently, throughout the entire contest there runs a thread of unreality. We feel that in the ablest speeches and in the most consistent votes the majority are not acting with the Damocles-sword of responsibility over their heads, and that the regulating force of Parliamentary life—the having on the morrow to give practical effect to the vote of yesterday—is wanting. We are involuntarily reminded of the Chorus in the Greek play. There is much excellent talking, and a clear insight into the situation, but a barrier, not the less impassable that it is invisible, absolutely precludes the grave and venerable citizens in front of the stage from joining in the action of the piece.

We are not minded here to make a *post-mortem* examination of the Auerswald Ministry, or to consider the immediate causes which led to its fall. It was a well-meaning, but a weak Government, at a time when a strong Government was a question of vital importance to the existence of the Prussian State—and it fell; and this is a sufficient epitaph.

There were two real forces alive in Prussia,—the party of Progress, who had now got the monopoly of the Lower House, and the Conservative, or, as it is more correctly called, the Feudal party, who had got the monopoly of the Upper House.

The former was strong, as representing the people and the future; the latter as identified with the Crown, and representing the traditions of the past.

The former designated itself the *German* party of Progress, to express its solidarity with the National party, and to proclaim



the German mission of Prussia as the first article of its faith. The latter never missed an opportunity of letting the world know that their patriotism was a purely Prussian patriotism, and that beyond the line of black and white posts which mark the Prussian frontier they know of no Fatherland. They were, to borrow the barbaric term by which in Germany the party corresponding in America to the States' Rights party is designated, the "Particularists" of Prussia.

The programme of the former was in the highest degree positive. As regards internal politics, they wished to make Prussia a model constitutional and liberal State, and thus to effect the moral conquest of public opinion in Germany. As regards the external, or, more correctly speaking, the German policy of Prussia, they inscribed the Constitution of 1849 on their banner, and aimed at seeing the King of Prussia exchange the crown of Königsberg for that of Emperor of the Germans.

The programme of the latter was essentially negative. As regards internal matters, their object was to resist all progress in a constitutional direction, and to destroy as much as possible of the Stein and Hardenberg foundations of the Prussian State, with a view to recovering the feudal privileges of a past period. As regards foreign politics, the ideal to which they looked back was the period of the Holy Alliance, and a hearty understanding with Austria and Russia with a view to combating the revolutionary spirit of the age was the dream which they wished to see realized. Indeed, so strong was the anti-revolutionary feeling, that, if we judge the party out of the columns of its great organ, the *Kreuz Zeitung*, it must appear even to overrule their specific Prussian patriotism. At least, during the crisis which ended in the battle of Bronzell, there can be little doubt that the joy at the defeat of the national party by the battalions of Austria and Bavaria was greater than the sense of Prussian humiliation.

Hence the two legacies bequeathed to M. de Bismarck by his predecessors were the conflict of the Crown with the Lower House, *i. e.*, with the Constitutional and National party throughout the country, and the conflict with the Würzburg Coalition.

Had he assumed the post of Premier in accordance with Parliamentary custom, *i. e.*, as the nominee of his party, he would have found his action hopelessly crippled by the Particularist sympathies of the party he represented for the Particularist heroes of the Würzburg Coalition. As it was, he

boldly proclaimed himself the Minister of the King, in the literal and unconstitutional sense of the term, *i. e.*, the executive officer of the irresponsible element in the Constitution, and made no attempt to reconcile the two lines of policy which he simultaneously took up. At home he brought the whole power of the Conservative party to bear against the National and Liberal party. In taking up his position against the Würzburg Coalition, he spoke and wrote as if he had the whole of the National party at his back.

It is no part of our intention to criticise M. de Bismarck's public life, or to discuss the question of the political morality or immorality of the means by which he obtained the results which so much astonished Europe. Apart, however, from his tactics on the political field, we are inclined to seek the cause of his success mainly in his having from the first more correctly estimated than any of his contemporaries what he might term the specific gravity of Prussianism amidst the various forces at work in the German Cosmos. From the death of Frederick the Great, the policy of Prussia had been singularly deficient in that self-confidence which had in so remarkable a degree characterized that monarch's reign. Tentative, vacillating, and not clearly conscious of its own ends, it contrasted strangely with the traditional assurance and *outré* inherent in the manner and external forms of Prussian statesmen and diplomatists, which have contributed so much to the international unpopularity of Prussia. With the accession of the new Minister to office, the self-confidence returned, and, as it then appeared, in an exaggerated form.

M. de Bismarck was before all things a Prussian minister, serving a Prussian sovereign, and ruling a Prussian people with the clear conviction that if he succeeded in compassing *bonâ fide* Prussian ends, in adding to the glory and increasing the power of Prussia, he would have with him not only the sovereign whom he served, but the people whom he governed. "Particularism" was mean and despicable only in so far as it was of Lilliputian proportions; let it assume the Brobdignag dimensions of 700,000 bayonets, and it would approve itself to the conscience of the most fastidiously national mind. And here lay the secret lever of his power. The education of his own party was comparatively an easy task. A few high-handed and arbitrary measures against the Parliament sufficed to secure the allegiance of the feudalists, and to make them abandon, one after the other, every distinctive tenet of a creed hitherto adhered



to with the apparent fervour of religious devotion. With the exception, we believe, of one contributor to the *Kreuz Zeitung*, no Prussian Peels, Cranbournes, or Carnarvons turned away and veiled their faces when the last relics of the ancient faith were taken from their shrines and sacrilegiously cast forth upon the dunghill. Having had on our side of the Channel some experience in this school of neo-Conservatism, it is not so much this phase of M. de Bismarck's political activity that strikes us, as the sure instinct by which he detected and appropriated the Prussianism latent under the German outside of his political opponents. He felt he could strain the internal conflict to any length which suited his purpose without fear of an ultimate collapse, because the sense of Prussian self-preservation would make the most ardent of the National party recoil before a catastrophe which might endanger the safety of the Prussian State. He felt, on the other hand, that he could push his external policy to a crisis, because in the hour of danger and extremity the "Prussian people in arms" would rally to his rescue.

The conflict with the Würzburg Coalition \* had by this time assumed the following aspect:—Prussia having declined all further discussion of the plans for Federal reform proposed by the Allies, had, like Achilles, retired to her tents. The Coalition, on the other hand, had held conferences at Vienna, at which it was determined that the Diet should be the scene of future operations, and that the trial of strength should be made there. On the 14th of August, 1862, the Governments of Austria, Bavaria, Saxony, Hanover, Württemberg, Electoral and Grand-Ducal Hesse, and Nassau, moved that a committee be appointed to take into consideration a proposal for the convening of an Assembly of Delegates, to which should be submitted certain projects of law as further specified.

On the 14th of December the committee delivered its report. The majority recommended the convocation of the Assembly; the minority, consisting of Prussia and Baden, voted against it.

The dilatory forms in use at Frankfort required that some weeks should elapse before the Diet itself pronounced its verdict upon the committee's report, but the Coalition now felt assured that they would obtain a majority, and that by this simple expedient the reconstruction of Germany according to their programme could be

brought about in opposition to the will of Prussia.

It is so difficult at the present day to realize the fact that such dreams could at so recent a period have been entertained as serious realities, that it is necessary specially to note the fact, and to bear in mind, that up to this period the Coalition is the aggressor, and that Prussia's attitude is a defensive one.

In giving his vote as member of the committee, the Prussian Plenipotentiary had contented himself with recording a protest against the competency of the Diet to take the initiative in an organic change of this kind otherwise than is provided by the Act of Confederation, viz., by an unanimous vote of the Plenum,\* and had reiterated the objections already formulated to the plan as such.

M. de Bismarck chose other ground than that of Frankfort to parry the blow aimed at Prussia's position in Germany, and addressed himself directly to Austria. In a celebrated conversation held on the 13th of December with the Austrian Minister at Berlin, he put the case with a plainness and bluntness of speech very unusual in diplomatic intercourse.

The relations, he said, between Austria and Prussia must get either very much better or very much worse; the Prussian Government desired they should get better, and it lay in the power of Austria that they should do so. She had but to withdraw her support from the Würzburg Coalition, and return to the *status quo* of the relations which existed between the two Governments previously to 1848. Up to that date there had been a tacit understanding between the two great German Powers, to the effect that Prussia should support Austria's foreign policy, and that Austria should, in return, not interfere with Prussia in Germany. It was owing to this happy understanding that for many years Austria had never had an anxious thought in regard to her external relations, and that Prussia had been able to call such institutions into life as the Zollverein. Since the reconstruction of the Diet in 1851, this policy had been departed from, and Austria had placed herself at the head of all the influences hostile to Prussia in Germany. The climax of this policy was reached when she identified herself with a Coalition the avowed purpose of which was to "majorize" Prussia at the

\* The 20th of September, 1862, was the day on which the Bismarck Cabinet took office.

\* By a shallow device the Coalition had sought to circumvent this provision of the Constitution by proposing merely to summon the delegates *ad hoc*, and for the discussion of a certain limited number of laws, and therefore not as a *permanent* institution.



Diet, and to bring about an organic change in the constitution of Germany, in direct opposition to the wishes and interests of Prussia. If Austria persisted in this policy, she must be prepared to take the consequences. Prussia, thwarted in Germany by her, would become the natural ally of any non-German Power hostile to her. The year 1859 should serve as a warning. The estrangement brought about between the two Governments by Austria's German policy during the preceding eight years had made itself felt to her detriment. There was not that hearty coöperation and goodwill such as between intimate allies would have precluded all idea of misunderstanding. That Prussia had, nevertheless, not availed herself of the opportunity to advance her own interests, but had armed with a view to assist Austria, was owing to the lingering traditions of the former good understanding. Were similar circumstances to occur again, however, Austria's German policy remaining the same, the alliance of Prussia with the enemies of Austria was a contingency that should not be lost sight of.

As to the results of a hostile vote at Frankfort, M. de Bismarck's explanations were yet more explicit. Prussia, he said, would regard the acceptance by a majority of the Diet of the proposal to convoke an Assembly of Delegates as an illegal proceeding, and therefore as a formal breach of the contract by which the States of the Confederation were bound to each other, and would at once withdraw her Minister from Frankfort, and cease to consider herself as a member of the Confederation. The immediate consequence of this step, M. de Bismarck observed, would be that the Prussian garrisons in Mayence, and other Federal fortresses, would no longer be Federal troops under Federal orders, but remain where they were in the capacity of soldiers of His Majesty the King of Prussia.

Such was the burden of this eventful conversation, as recorded by the Prussian Prime Minister in a circular despatch addressed to the Plenipotentiaries of Prussia at the Courts of Germany. But a version current at the time, and undoubtedly authentic, added several important particulars, amongst others that the Prussian Premier had very plainly told the Austrian Minister that Austria was an Eastern, and not a Western Power, that her capital was Pesth, not Vienna, and that the sooner she seceded from Germany the better for herself and Germany. Also, that in the event of Prussia being forced by an adverse vote at Frankfort to quit the Confederation, it would be necessary for her, in order to

maintain the communication between her Eastern and Western Provinces, to occupy Hesse-Cassel and Hanover.

The language of M. de Bismarck could not be plainer. An eventual alliance of Prussia with Italy, if the Imperial Cabinet did not withdraw from the Coalition, was the prospect held out to Austria. Immediate war with the Middle States, if they persisted in their Frankfort policy, was the prospect held out to the latter.

The warning was lost on Austria, who voted for the project, but the threat produced its effect on the rest of Germany, and in February Prussia found herself in a majority at Frankfort.

The plans of the Confederates to force the hand of Prussia by means of Federal machinery had broken down; they resolved to play out their trump card, the *mise en scène* of the Congress of Sovereigns. The Prussian Government had been obstinate, and had refused to give way. The Prussian Sovereign in person should be challenged.

On the 2d of August, 1863, the Emperor of Austria had an interview with the King of Prussia, then at Gastein, and left with him a memorandum on the German question. It was a strange document, when we consider out of whose hands the King of Prussia received it. The entire fabric of 1815 was condemned as utterly rotten and worthless. Germany was described as in a state of chaos, the several members of the Confederation as practically no longer united by any common ties, but as merely living on beside each other, awaiting the moment when some tremendous revolution should bring down the tottering walls about their heads. Under these circumstances Austria had resolved boldly to take the initiative into her own hands, and to propose a searching plan of reform.

The same evening an aide-de-camp brought an invitation to the King to attend a Congress of the Sovereigns of Germany, to meet at Frankfort on the 16th of the month (i. e., a fortnight from that date), and to which his Imperial Majesty in person would submit his programme of reform. The King was taken altogether by surprise, as profound secrecy had been observed in regard to the preparations for this last coup. He replied by an autograph letter to the Emperor, in which he expressed his readiness to take into consideration any scheme that might be submitted to him by his Imperial Majesty for a reform of Germany, but in which he declined to attend a Congress of Sovereigns before he had been made acquainted with the measures proposed to be discussed, and had



submitted them to that mature examination and careful deliberation to which it was usual in Prussia to submit grave matters of State before coming to a decision respecting them. His Majesty proposed that the Congress should be postponed to the 1st October, and that the interval should be employed in ministerial conferences, in which the scheme should be examined by professional statesmen.

As was to be expected, this request was not attended to. The circular convoking the remaining Sovereigns of the Confederation had been despatched the day before the invitation was delivered to the King, and on the 16th of August the Parliament of Sovereigns assembled in the old imperial city on the banks of the Main.

For the purposes of a Parliamentary debate to be carried on by some thirty crowned heads in their own august persons, the Austrian programme, now for the first time made public, was sufficiently complicated. Even at the present day it is not easy to thread one's way through its complex provisions, or to get an altogether clear idea of the political "cosmos" which it proposed to substitute for the existing "chaos." We shall be materially assisted, however, in our endeavours to do so, if we bear in mind that, dating from the year 1859, the moving spring of Austria's activity in the work of Federal reform had been the recollection of her position during the Italian war. Had the question of Germany's immediate participation in the war with France been one which could have been decided by a vote of the Sovereigns of the Confederation, a large majority would have decided that Lombardy was to be defended on the Rhine. A German National Assembly, elected on the basis of population, with the preponderance in such an assembly which Prussia's fifteen millions of Germans gave her, would probably have led to a different result.

The objects of the new Confederation as compared with those of the old are clearly expressed in the first paragraph of the project. The Act of Vienna almost went out of its way to insist upon the essentially defensive character of the association. In a line and a half the object of the Union was described to be the external and internal security of Germany. As described in the corresponding paragraph of the Imperial draft, the objects proposed are manifold and complicated, but the first sentence is conclusive. It is no longer the *security* merely of Germany that is confided to the care of the new Confederation, but her *position as a political Power* (*Machtstellung*), *i.e.*, to the negative function of defence are to be

superadded the positive attributes of a body with an international position to assert, and therefore ready to embark upon an independent policy of its own.

Keeping this in view, we have, in order to judge of the idea underlying the scheme, to seek out, in the mechanism of the proposed Confederation, where the Germany lies which is thus in future to take an active and independent part in the affairs of Europe.

The organs which are to replace the Federal Diet are four in number:—1. A Directory; 2. A Federal Council; 3. An Assembly of Delegates; 4. An Assembly of Sovereigns.

The Directory was to consist of five Powers—Austria, Prussia, Bavaria, and two more, to be elected respectively by the States whose contingents make up the eighth and ninth Federal army Corps. Austria is to preside.

The Federal Council was to consist of the diplomatic Plenipotentiaries of the States of the Union, voting as they did in the "Restricted Council" of the old Diet; only that Austria and Prussia are in the new Council to have each three votes, so that instead of the seventeen votes, the total number would be raised to twenty-one.

The Assembly of Delegates was to consist of 302 members, supplied in equal proportions by the Upper and Lower Chambers of the local Parliaments; Austria to send 75; Prussia, 75; the remaining States, 152.

The Assembly of Sovereigns was to consist of the Sovereigns and the Plenipotentiaries of the Free Towns of the Confederation.

Now, in which of these bodies were the sovereign attributes of Germany as an independent national unit to reside?

The Assembly of Sovereigns may at once be dismissed from consideration. Except for the harmony of the thing, and to convey something of the impression of a very august House of Peers, the functions of this Assembly were a sinecure.

The functions of the Assembly of Delegates were strictly legislative, and all political activity was carefully excluded from its competency. It was to meet once in three years at Frankfort, and to occupy itself with the framing of laws on such subjects as the scheme specified to be of common Federal interest.

It was therefore not in this body that the political Germany of the future was to be found.

If, on the other hand, we examine the constitution of the Federal Directory and of



the Federal Council, we shall find that it is in these bodies that the unit we seek resides.

The Directory, within the sphere of its competency, is invested with the fullest executive powers. To it is intrusted the care of the external and internal security of Germany, and of her *position as a political power*. It decides upon all questions by a simple majority. In case there is reason to apprehend danger to the Federal territory from foreign aggression, or supposing *that the European balance of power appears threatened in a manner likely to be dangerous to the security of the German Confederation*, the Directory is at once to take the necessary steps to avert the danger. It has to appoint a Federal General, to see to the armament and the provisioning of the Federal fortresses, and, *if necessary, to place the Federal army, in part or in whole, upon a war footing*.

The actual decision as to whether war shall be declared or not was to be in the hands of the Federal Council, i.e., of the Governments of the Confederation, acting through their diplomatic Plenipotentiaries, and by means of a voting apparatus in which, be it remembered, Prussia and Austria had each of them only got  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the voting power. A majority of two-thirds is required to vote an ordinary war; *but in the event of a war threatening the non-German possessions of a member of the Confederation, the question as to whether the Confederation shall or shall not participate in such war is to be decided by a simple majority*.

No more need be said to show the drift and purpose of the entire plan. It would be easy to reduce it theoretically *ad absurdum*, by showing that it presupposed the possibility of a majority in the Federal Council deciding upon an aggressive war against the will of Austria and Prussia (who would nevertheless have been bound to participate in it), and without the nation having been consulted, either collectively or in the Parliaments of the several States. But rather than imagine an extreme case of this kind, which, it would be fair to urge, could never arise in practice, let us suppose this Constitution to have been in force in 1859, and see how it would then have worked. Suppose the Directory to have consisted of Austria, Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, and Grand-Ducal Hesse. Upon its becoming manifest that France and Italy were taking up a hostile attitude in regard to the Italian question, Austria, Bavaria, and Saxony outvoting Prussia and Hesse in the Directory might have decided that the European equilibrium was threatened in a

manner dangerous to the security of Germany, and without more ado have put the entire Federal army on a war footing. Upon the relations between the Austrian and French Cabinets becoming more complicated, they might have summoned the Federal Council, and put to the vote whether the Italian possessions of Austria being threatened, Germany should not at once declare war against France, and the question might, and under the circumstances certainly would, have been carried affirmatively by a majority, though possibly one only of eleven against ten.

Now, under these circumstances, Prussia would in the first stage, whether her Sovereign willed it or no, whether her Parliament wished it or not, by the mere *ipse dixit* of the Emperor of Austria and the Kings of Bavaria and Saxony, have had to put her Federal contingent of 150,000 men upon a war footing, at a cost of many millions of thalers, and to assume a hostile attitude towards Italy and France. In the second stage, she, and perhaps a majority of the States of Northern Germany, would against their will have been dragged into a war on the Rhine for the maintenance of Austrian supremacy and ultramontane principles in Italy.

The Congress had taken the public so by surprise, Austria was at the time so popular, the Prussian Government so unpopular, that at the first blush, and before the programme had been thoroughly weighed and its bearings understood, there was an undoubted current of public approval in its favour. But this current soon changed. A Congress held simultaneously at Frankfort, composed of actual or former members of German Legislatures, some 400 strong, and representing in its composition the bulk of the Liberal and National party throughout Germany, although assuming a friendly attitude towards the Congress of Sovereigns, passed resolutions declaring that a National Parliament elected directly by the people, and a central Executive concentrated in one hand, and responsible to that Parliament, remained the unalterable goal of the nation. It could not have expressed a more complete condemnation of the scheme voted by the Sovereigns.

The feeling of disappointment grew stronger and stronger as the true character of the scheme became better appreciated, and the popularity of Austria decreased in proportion as the public began to perceive that they had been duped into applauding, as a measure of reform, a movement of which the real purpose was to cancel such limited control as the nation actually possessed over



its international relations by means of its local Parliaments, and to place the blood and treasure of Germany at the absolute disposal of a small coterie of Sovereigns, rendered irresponsible by the mechanism of the proposed Constitution.

The King of Prussia was the only Sovereign absent from the Congress. He had remained on a visit to his daughter at Baden-Baden. The King of Saxony had been deputed by the Congress to go in person and solicit his attendance, but he remained deaf to all entreaty. Engaged in a struggle *à l'outrance* with a large majority of his own subjects,—standing apart and isolated from his crowned peers,—the whole current of public opinion setting against him, the situation was one which it required an exceptional amount of self-confidence to face.

The programme, with certain amendments, was voted by a large majority of the Sovereigns, and forwarded to Berlin. The reply of the Prussian Cabinet is conclusive. It takes to pieces bit by bit the elaborate mechanism by which the real forces of the nation, viz., the Prussian State and the German people, are sought to be made will-less instruments in the hands of an artificial majority, which, when tried by the test of population and the capacity of rendering effectual services to the common country, shrinks into a small minority; and it lays down three conditions as those which must be accepted before Prussia can enter into the discussion of any plan of reform—

1. Prussia and Austria each to have a veto in reference to wars not of a defensive kind voted by the Federal Council.

2. Prussia to be placed in a position of parity with Austria in the Directory.

3. Substitution for the Assembly of Delegates of a National Assembly elected directly by the people, on the basis of population, and according to a liberal franchise, and the investment of this Assembly with far wider attributes than those proposed for the Assembly of Delegates—in other words, with political no less than legislative attributes.

On the first head the Prussian memorandum conclusively urged that Prussia had at least the right to claim as much for herself and her fourteen and a half millions of Germans as was accorded to a third of the votes in the Federal Council. Any minority representing one-third of the votes in the Federal Council could veto a war, but, examined by the test of population, the most powerful third that could be imagined, viz., the four kingdoms, Baden and the two Hesses, only made up twelve millions of inhabitants, whereas twenty-four States,

making up the necessary seven votes, could be put together, numbering only two millions.

The second condition contained an emphatic protest against the claim to the hegemony of Germany which Austria had, on the occasion of the Würzburg programme, put forward as deducible from her right of presidency in the Diet, and which appeared to be reasserted in the claim to the exclusive presidency of the Directory.

It was in the third condition, however, that the real strength of Prussia's position was made manifest, and that the extent to which the Coalition had succeeded in opening the eyes of even Prussian statesmen to the true position of Prussia in Germany became apparent.

Prussia,\* argues the Prussian memorandum, is called upon to part with a portion of her independence, and to enter into engagements seriously hampering her freedom of action as a great Power; and when she examines in favor of whom these sacrifices are to be made, she finds that it is not the nation or Germany, but those elements which stand, if not in actual opposition to, at least apart from, the body of the nation, and whose centre of gravitation is not necessarily in Germany. In a word, she is called upon to sacrifice her own Particularism to the Particularism of others, and this she will not do. If she is to part with any portion of her independence, she can only do so in favour of a body whose interests, desires, and requirements are identical with those of the German people; and such a body can alone be found in a national representation of the German people. The antagonism between diverging dynastic interests cannot be summarily disposed of by the off-hand process of a majority in the Directory; the only element capable of reconciling such antagonism, in the interest of the German community at large, is an assembly representing Germany in its entirety. Such an assembly can alone afford to Prussia the necessary guarantee that she will be called upon to make no sacrifices but such as shall be for the benefit of Germany. No mere rearrangement of Federal mechanism, however artistic, will suffice to exclude the play of dynastic interests, which can only find their counterpoise and corrective in a national representation. In an assembly elected directly, and in the ratio of population, by the entire German people, the centre of gravity can neither fall outside of Germany, nor settle in a part

\* Report of the Ministry to the King, of the 10th October, 1868.



whose tendencies should chance to lie in a direction opposed to those of the whole. Into such an assembly, therefore, Prussia can confidently enter. The interests and requirements of the Prussian people are essentially and inseparably identified with those of the German people. Hence, in a body in which the latter element obtains its proper weight and significance, Prussia need never fear to be drawn into a policy opposed to her own interests.

When we sum up the results of the Austrian programme and the Prussian reply, we become conscious of the reality of the two principles for which the tribunes of the people contended so fiercely in 1849, and which, after fermenting for half a generation through all classes of the community, had at last taken flesh in the independent action of the two great Powers. We are also able to estimate the organic relation, as distinct from mere political accident, in which Austria and Prussia respectively stood towards Germany. The most which an Austrian Liberal Government, in the zenith of its popularity, and straining every nerve to win golden opinions in Germany, could bid, amounted, when analysed into its component parts, to a stereotyping of the territorial divisions of Germany, and to the mechanical subjection of a minority of the territories to the will of the majority. The least which the most reactionary Government which had ruled in Prussia since 1848 could offer, was that German Parliament, which all true patriots, by common consent, looked to as the only effectual means of breaking down the territorial partition walls of the Fatherland, and giving to the political soul of Germany a body wherein she could reside.

Once more, as immediately before the battle of Bronzell, Austria and Prussia stood each committed to a programme for the reconstruction of Germany absolutely irreconcilable the one with the other. Whither would these cross roads lead them?

For better or for worse, the death of the King of Denmark and the events of 1864 put a stop for a time to the controversy.

The political incidents of the wars waged by Austria and Prussia against Denmark, and by Prussia against Austria and Germany, bear so recent a date, and at the time so exclusively occupied the attention of the European public, that we need not dwell on them here. The skill with which a national war was coined into a political one; the cynical adroitness with which the partnership of Austria was secured for a campaign having for its object the territorial aggran-

dizement of Prussia, when the only motive or excuse for such a campaign on the part of Austria would have been the maintenance, or rather acquisition, of a standing ground *vis-à-vis* of the National party; the consequent shipwreck of Austria in public opinion; the foresight with which, when preparing for the last great struggle, the National programme was put forward extramurally, not only without any attempt to conciliate the National party within the walls, but without one moment's relaxation of the conflict carried on against it, so that if matters went well no previous engagements should hamper Prussia in the application of her successes to purely Prussian uses, or dim the lustre of a victory gained solely by the King, his Conservative Ministry, and his reorganized army, and if matters went ill, the National party might be rallied as reserves;—all these things being fresh in the reader's memory, we are enabled to proceed at once to an examination of the edifice in the course of construction upon the *tabula rasa* created by the battle of Sadowa.

The present Constitution of Germany is based upon the treaty of peace concluded with Austria, known as the Treaty of Prague; on the treaties of peace, and those of offence and defence, concluded with those other belligerent States of Germany which were not incorporated into the Prussian monarchy; on the treaties concluded between Prussia and the States north of the Main, in virtue of which the North German Confederation came into life; on a variety of other treaties and conventions entered into between Prussia and the States north and south of the Main; and lastly, on the treaties concluded between the North German Confederation, as an independent international unit, and the States or fractions of States south of the Main. We cannot examine these numerous instruments in detail, and must confine ourselves to giving a general idea of their results.

The treaty of Prague furnishes the first rough outline of the new configuration which it is intended should be assumed by Germany.

Austria secedes from the Germanic Confederation, and consents to the reconstruction of Germany independently of her; i. e., she is excluded from Germany. A more or less imaginary line, called the Main, divides what remains of the Fatherland into two unequal halves. North of this line Prussia may do as she listeth, except that Saxony is not to be incorporated. It is tacitly understood that she will, with this one exception, annex the



Northern States which took part in the war against her, as well as the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, with which she was not engaged in hostilities, and it is distinctly asserted that she will form a close confederacy with the rest. The States south of this line are to form a confederation, *inter se*, which, when constituted, is to enter into a National union with the North German Confederation. It was to this that the preliminary treaty of Nikolsburg confined its description of the future relations between the North and South; but in the treaty of Prague an additional sentence is introduced, distinctly stipulating that the Southern Confederation shall have an independent international existence, so that, according to the paragraph as it now stands, an *international unit* is to be *nationally* united with another *international unit*. We have already pointed out the contradiction which exists in Federal phraseology between a national and an international union; and it is not easy to account for the presence of so glaring a departure from the recognised use of these terms as that which meets us in the paragraph in question. It would almost seem as if, by the wording of the treaty of Nikolsburg, a door had been left intentionally open for the ultimate fusion of the two Confederations into a National Bundesstaat, and as if some influence had been exerted to modify this intention; and we are involuntarily reminded of the presence upon the scene of action of a French Plenipotentiary, and of the letter in which the Emperor Napoleon explained what were his views in regard to the reconstruction of Germany.\* Be this as it may, the wording of the 4th paragraph of the treaty of Prague remains obscure, and open to contradictory interpretation. It was probably intended that it should be so, the draughtsman of the treaty not bearing in mind the Nemesis which usually attends upon all such diplomatic word-fencing, and places in the hand of the adversary the weapons intended to be used against him.

The treaties of peace concluded with the Southern States afford no additional light

\* "Le conflit qui s'est élevé a trois causes. La situation géographique de la Prusse mal délimitée. Le voeu de l'Allemagne demandant une reconstitution politique plus conforme à ses besoins généraux. La nécessité pour l'Italie d'assurer son indépendance. . . . Nous aurions, en ce qui nous concerne, désiré pour les Etats secondaires de la Confédération une union plus intime, une organisation plus puissante, un rôle plus important; pour la Prusse plus d'homogénéité et de forces dans le Nord; pour l'Autriche le maintien de sa grande position en Allemagne. . . ." —Letter of the Emperor Napoleon to M. Drouyn de Lhuys of 11th June, 1866. See *supra*, p. 257.

on the subject, as the contracting parties only bind themselves to accept the provisions of the treaty of Prague. Certain other treaties, however, concluded with Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Baden, and, though kept secret at the time, signed the same day as the treaties of peace, modify in an important manner the future international relations between Prussia and those States. By these treaties the contracting parties guarantee to each other the possession of their respective territories, and for this purpose engage, in case of war, to place their entire military forces at each other's disposal; the Kings of Würtemberg and Bavaria and the Grand-Duke of Baden binding themselves in such an event to intrust the supreme command of their respective armies to the hands of the King of Prussia.

No corresponding treaty was concluded with the Grand-Duchy of Hesse, though, with the exception of its northern provinces, that State lies south of the Main. In lieu thereof a convention was agreed to, by which, though only the northern provinces of the Grand-Duchy belong politically to the North German Confederation, the entire military forces of the Grand-Duchy are integrally incorporated, in time of peace as well as during war, with the army of the Northern Union.

Of the many mysteries connected with the Prussian reconstruction of Germany, this exceptional position of the Grand-Duchy of Hesse is perhaps the most mysterious. Why so arbitrary a line as that of the Main should have been selected for the demarcation between north and south; why, having been selected, it should, to the despair of the inhabitants of Hesse who dwell upon the two banks of this now celebrated stream, have been adhered to as if some great national or political principle were involved in it; why, having been departed from on the most important point, that of the military union between the Grand-Duchy and the North German Confederation, it should have been maintained in regard to the political division of the country; why something so monstrous should have been called into life as a State barely numbering a million of inhabitants, one half of which is indissolubly united with a confederacy which practically absorbs into itself the rights of external sovereignty of its several members, whilst the other half remains an independent international speck upon the map of Europe,—are problems well fitted to exercise the ingenuity of the political student. We shall not attempt to solve them, but confine ourselves to recording the current popular solutions.



The whole edifice of reconstruction, say some, bears upon it the impress of external influence. When Prussia drew the sword, she nailed to her colours the national programme, viz., the Unification of non-Austrian Germany on the basis of a National Parliament. When she sheathed it, after successes which outdid the expectations of the most sanguine, she forced upon the German nation the programme of the French Cæsar: territorial aggrandizement of Prussia in the north, union and independence of the States of the south. Whatever the nature of the engagements taken at Paris, of which the Emperor's letter was the official registration before Europe, the river Main must have figured in them, and have thus acquired its talismanic virtues. With her own people Prussia broke faith, with her Gallic neighbour she was true to her word.

The idea underlying the arrangements of 1866, say others, was to create a provisional state of things, which should lead to a union of Germany by an easier process of transition than so radical a measure as immediate unification. The more arbitrary the provisional settlement, the greater the momentary discomfort, the more vigorous will be the efforts made to attain to a definite settlement, the quicker will be the process of voluntary adhesion to the North German Confederation, which is the object of Prussian policy. To the Hessians has been assigned the task of supplying the argument of the *reductio ad absurdum*. Like those dumb victims of science, whose sufferings, caused by an arbitrary interference with the laws of life, furnish physiologists with their most effective arguments for the vindication of those laws, they are called upon to exhibit the evils which flow from a wilful disregard of the vital principle of German consolidation.

Others again maintain that these two solutions are not only not incompatible, but that they complement each other. For Prussia to fight her duel with Austria, and to obtain the antecedent conditions necessary for the national reconstruction of Germany, it was necessary to obtain the neutrality of the bystanders. This was done as regards France by the engagements in question; but the letter only, and not the spirit, of those engagements has been adhered to, and everything has been so arranged, that whilst the attitude of Prussia shall appear that of a religious observance of her engagements, it shall be the Southern States that sue for a change of programme.

The provisions of the treaty of Prague, as we need hardly remind our readers, have

remained, so far as the formation of a Southern Confederation is concerned, a dead letter.

The reconstructed Germany, therefore, from which Austria is excluded, consists of the North German Confederation, of three independent States—Bavaria, Württemberg, and Baden,—and of the Grand-Duchy of Hesse: geographically and politically, half in and half out of the North German Union; militarily, wholly in it.

By means of the *national* apparatus of the "Customs" Parliament, these *disjuncta membra* constitute a *legislative unit* for certain specific purposes connected with the levying and distribution of customs' duties, and of certain excise taxes.

By the action of the *international* apparatus of the treaties of offence and defence, they consolidate themselves during war into a *military unit* under the supreme command of the Crown of Prussia.

We must devote our remaining space to an examination of the North German Constitution.

At the conference to which Prussia on the 18th of January 1867 submitted her draft of Constitution for the North German Confederation, twenty-two Sovereign States were represented, the collective population of which amounted in round numbers to thirty millions. Of these thirty millions, Prussia with her newly acquired provinces contributed twenty-four, the remaining twenty-one States making up six millions. This disproportion between the relative importance of the allied States gave rise to the bitter jest current in Germany, which describes the North German Confederation as a treaty of alliance between a dog and its fleas. That in such an Assembly the old Hungarian constitutional maxim "*Vota ponderantur non numerantur*," should have prevailed was natural, and thus in the protocol of the final conference we see recorded how one Plenipotentiary after another lifted up his voice, and said that although his Government entertained serious objections to one or the other feature of the Prussian scheme, still the Prussian declaration that the points objected to were essential rendered it incumbent upon him to waive those objections, and accept the scheme as proposed by Prussia.

The scheme agreed to by the twenty-two allied Governments was submitted by them to a Parliament elected according to the provisions of the Frankfort Constitution of 1849,—i.e., universal suffrage, secret voting, and a division of the entire population of the twenty-two States into equal electoral districts.

The Assembly thus called into life fulfilled,



within the geographical limits assigned to it, all the expectations of those who had looked to a National Parliament as the only effective remedy for the political evils of territorial dismemberment. It represented fairly and truthfully the "climate of opinion" prevalent in the north of Germany as distinct from the local temperature prevalent in the several States.

With scarcely any exception, every man of political mark, of whatever party, found a seat within its walls. The Liberal elements, as was to be expected, largely preponderated, but, on the other hand, the Conservative elements of all shades, from the feudal reaction to the liberal-conservative, were represented in a truer ratio to their real power than they had been in the Prussian Chamber of Deputies.

The Liberal majority of this Constituent Assembly (and the National Parliament subsequently elected for the ordinary business of legislation bears all the essential features of its predecessor) was divided into two great sections, between whom there existed far less cordiality and far more acrimony than appears to us, as bystanders, justifiable, when we consider how identical in the main are the objects of both. We have noticed elsewhere that the two ideas for the realization of which the German nation has not ceased since the War of Liberation to strive, are unity and freedom—*Einheit und Freiheit*. It was with this double cry that the Prussian legions drove their adversaries into the swollen waters of the Katzbach. It was in these two directions that the efforts of the Prussian negotiators at the Congress of Vienna were defeated. It was in the attempt simultaneously to solve these two problems that the Frankfurt Parliament came to its untimely end. Now, though there most assuredly exists no essential incompatibility between these two objects, but the reverse, inasmuch as, taking the genius of the Teutonic race into account, it is difficult to conceive of the permanent establishment of the one without the other, yet it is not less true that during a period of more or less revolutionary transition, a passionate and one-sided striving for the one object necessarily calls into life forces which act in a direction adverse to the other. The vigorous concentration of power into one hand for the purposes of unity operates *pro tanto* against the simultaneous assertion of the rights of individual and local liberty. Headlong enthusiasm in the cause of the latter acts in a proportionate degree against the concentration and centralization of power.

Hence most of the catastrophes which have occurred in the crisis of German develop-

ment have owed their origin to the mutual friction of these two forces; and if at the present day we inquire into the causes of the comparative slowness with which the work of consolidation progresses, we cannot fail to see that amongst the weightiest is the antagonism produced by the exclusiveness with which the one and the other principle is clung to by its respective votaries. Instead of being worshipped together at the same shrine, the two idols have been set up behind separate altars, and the priests who ought to form part of one holy brotherhood revile each other as if they were the ministers of rival religions.

Though the two forms of worship may be found side by side in every part of Germany, the one predominates in the North, the other in the South. The Northerner taunts the Southerner with his parochialism, his incapacity to seize any idea but that of cantonal independence, his unwillingness to make any sacrifice for the national cause or the common good. In language yet more bitter, the Southerner reviles the Northerner for his Caesarism, his blind lust for power, and his readiness to sacrifice civil and political liberty to the vainglorious desire of establishing a military colossus that shall dictate its laws to Europe. The North German Constitution, says the Suabian, can be summed up in three paragraphs: "Hold your tongue; Pay taxes; Be a soldier."

The two sections of the Liberal party in the North German Parliament, known by the names of the National Liberals and the party of Progress, respectively correspond to these two classes of worshippers. Both hold the cardinal points of the modern Liberal creed, but the formula of the former may be said to be, "Take care of Unity, and Liberty will take care of herself;" that of the latter, "Take care of Liberty, and Unity will take care of itself." Both accept the events of 1866 as *faits accomplis*, but the party of Progress do so without having shaken off the effects of the antecedent struggle, and with the bitterness of that struggle still in their hearts. The National Liberals accept the new dispensation in a glad and hopeful spirit, and feel like men who have their feet on the first round of the ladder, and to whom scaling the remaining rounds is a comparatively easy task. The former pride themselves on being logical, the latter on having acquired political wisdom.

The scheme presented by the allied Governments to the constituent Parliament satisfied neither the National Liberals nor the party of Progress. The Prussian Conservatives were naturally in their hearts averse to it, inasmuch as it consecrated many



of the principles to which they were the most hostile; but as they constituted the Government party, and had given M. de Bismarck *carte blanche* in regard to his German policy, they were bound to accept and support it. The Particularists of the non-Prussian States of every shade were against it.

It was under this Parliamentary constellation that the attitude of the National Liberals decided the fate of the scheme in a manner favourable to the wishes of its promoter. From the first, M. de Bismarck knew that they would submit to almost any conditions rather than that a common Constitution for North Germany, of one kind or another, should not come into life, and this enabled him on all critical occasions to use the argument of the *Non possumus* with the same effect with which he had used it in the conferences of the allied Governments. The words once out of his mouth, the National Liberals voted with the Government party, and secured a majority. On the other hand, in regard to such concessions as he showed a readiness to make, the National Liberals, joining with the party of Progress, obtained a majority over the Conservative supporters of the Government. There thus came to be established relations of peace and amity, though hardly of cordiality, between M. de Bismarck and some of the most important elements of the Liberal party—relations profoundly affecting the present and future both of the statesman and of his new allies, but with which we cannot occupy ourselves here.

Looked at from the standing-ground of those Federal physiologists who had so learnedly analysed the various genera and species into which federative bodies must of necessity be classed, the North German Constitution presents a *lusus nature* which it is not easy to describe.

Some introductory notion of it may perhaps be conveyed to the reader if we say that it combines the objects of the "Bundesstaat" with such materials as could be saved from the wreck of the Constitution of 1815; or, to convey a more definite idea, if we describe it as an edifice of which the basis and foundation is national, and the superstructure international.

The organs of the Confederation are only two in number, the National Parliament (*Reichstag*) and the Federal Council (*Bundesrath*), and consequently the outlines of the structure are simple enough. The difficulty consists in obtaining a clear conception of the way in which these organs fulfil the executive and legislative functions assigned to them.

The National Parliament presents no difficulty. It is taken bodily out of the Constitution of 1849, and may therefore be considered as the contribution of the professors and the nation to the new edifice. Its functions are legislative, their sphere being limited by the subjects designated in the Constitution as falling within the competence of Federal legislation, viz., army, navy, mercantile navy, consular representation, customs, excise taxes on tobacco, salt, and sugar, posts, telegraphs, weights and measures, currency, banking, patents, railways, navigation of rivers, canals, high roads, laws for civil and criminal procedure, laws respecting domicile, settlement, and a common North German denizenship, passports, laws regulating the exercise of trades, *taxes to be imposed for Federal purposes, loans for Federal purposes*. That *bonâ fide* rights of legislature on so vast a field as the above necessarily invest the body enjoying those rights with considerable political power, is self-evident. There is, indeed, no political question of any importance which cannot be directly or indirectly brought before the forum of the National Parliament, and which would not be profoundly affected by the verdict it might pass upon it. Nevertheless, the representative branch of the North German Legislature will not be able to assume a really independent political position, or exercise a direct and decisive influence over the political destinies of its constituents, until the right of yearly voting the military estimates, and that of fixing the numerical force of the Federal army, has been firmly established. Whether the year 1871\* will see this right not only acknowledged in theory but acted upon in practice, is a question upon which we will not venture an opinion.

Independently of this eventuality, however, a great accession of political power will accrue to the Parliament whenever the

---

\* The most important amendment made by the Constituent Assembly in the draft of Constitution submitted to it was that affecting the military budget and the quota of recruits to be furnished by the Confederate States. According to the proposal as it originally stood, a quota of one per cent. of the population, and 225 thalers per head for every man under arms, were to be fixed once for all by the Organic Statute of the Confederation. The Assembly, however, made a firm stand on this point, and a compromise was at last brought about, to the effect that, until 1871, the above taxes in blood and money were to remain in force, but that from that date the National Parliament was to vote the military estimates both in men and money. *Even after 1871, however, the payments in both kinds were to continue until changed by a law.* As Prussia can always prevent such a law being passed, it would appear as if, notwithstanding the above provision, she had it in her power to prolong the above rates indefinitely.



necessity of contracting a Federal loan, or that of imposing new Federal taxes, shall arise. As regards the latter, the combination of national and international machinery which characterizes the new Constitution leaves it open to the allied Governments to put off the day when the right of voting money-bills shall perceptibly increase the power of the Parliament, for, as the Constitution at present stands, the only *national* sources of Federal revenue are derived from the customs and from excise taxes on sugar, salt, and tobacco, and any deficiency which may arise is made up by the *international* expedient of *pro rata* contributions (*matricular beiträge*) from the several States. It is however clear that this expedient is one which cannot last long, and that sooner or later fresh Federal taxes will have to be imposed.

If, turning from the National Parliament, we inquire where are the other branches of the Legislature, and look for the Executive, for the Sovereign, and the Ministers of the new-born commonwealth, we find ourselves face to face with the Federal Council, and our troubles begin. Examined structurally, the Federal Council is nothing else than the Plenary Assembly of the Frankfurt Diet, with the votes of Austria and the Southern States eliminated, and with Prussia substituted for Austria as presiding Power;\* consequently its outward and visible semblance presents the international features of a Congress of Plenipotentiaries, in which, notwithstanding that the office of presiding at the Congress is permanently assigned to one of the allied Powers, none is theoretically before or after another.

It is of importance to the correct appreciation of the Constitution we are examining, that we should precisely estimate what this right of Presidency is in theory, and what it amounts to in practice. As regards the theory of the office, we must carefully guard against confounding the functions of the Presidency of the North German Confederation with those of the President of the United States. The latter is the executive head of a sovereign body, and the office he fills absorbs many of the attributes which, under a monarchical form of government, are vested in the Crown. It is a distinct and independent factor in the mechanism of the commonwealth, and, in virtue of the right of veto,

constitutes one of the three branches of the Legislature; it cannot, moreover, be conceived otherwise than in the concrete form of an individual person. The *personality* of the President of the United States is as important a political fact in the American Republic as that of the Czar of Russia is in the Russian autocracy.

The Presidency of the North German Confederation is the reverse of all this. Examined functionally, it is nothing else than the chairmanship of an international board, and has no functions or attributes distinct from that board. In the political abstraction entitled the North German Confederation, Prussia is the presiding Power (*Presidial Macht*). In the body outwardly and visibly representing that abstraction, the Federal Council, the Prussian Plenipotentiary, under the name of Federal Chancellor, takes the chair at the head of the green table round which the Plenipotentiaries sit, in the same way that the Austrian Plenipotentiary, under the name of presiding Plenipotentiary (*Presidial Gesandter*) did at the Frankfurt Diet. He directs the business of the board, and is invested with all the attributes which are requisite for the transaction of such business; he is also the organ through which the board communicates with other public bodies, and its mouthpiece in the Parliament, and he has to see to the execution of the Federal laws, for which purpose, be it noted, a special department, under the modest title of the Federal Chancellor's Office, has been created.\* Beyond this, however, he has no distinct and independent position apart from the board. Like every other Plenipotentiary, he is worth exactly what his vote is worth. He can, whenever he chooses, vacate the chair in favour of a colleague, and the work goes on just the same as it did before. Hence, though Prussia is the presiding Power, and the Prussian Plenipotentiary presides at the Federal Council, the King of Prussia is not President of the Confederation; and it is worth remarking that, with some important exceptions to be later no-

\* By an ingenious device, not destitute of a grim sort of humour, Hanover, Electoral Hesse, Holstein, Nassau, and Frankfurt were resuscitated *ad hoc*, and the votes they had held in the Plenary Assembly of the Diet were consigned to the hands of Prussia, who with her own four was thus credited with seventeen votes.

\* The "Bundes Kanzlei Amt" consists of a board composed of Räte or Councillors, presided over by a President, into whose hands are collected, for the immediate use of the Chancellor, the various threads of the Federal Administration which centralizes in the seven committees of the "Federal Council," to be later adverted to. It is divided into sections corresponding to those seven departments, each of which is presided over by a Rath, with a staff of subordinate officials, so that what at first sight appears but a room full of clerks to carry on the business of the Chancellor's Office, assumes, on closer inspection, the rudimentary outlines of an imperial State machinery. M. Delbruck, the President of the Board, is one of the very ablest civil servants in the service of the Prussian Crown.



ticed, the person of the Prussian sovereign, in its concrete individuality, nowhere appears upon the face of the Constitution.

*It is therefore not an individual but a corporation in which the North German Confederation centres and culminates.* It is a board and not a person that stands face to face with the National Parliament, exercising partly executive, partly legislative functions, and hence, in the most monarchical portion of Europe, the denizens of the new Confederation, in so far as a common North German citizenship is being established, will become to all intents and purposes citizens of a republic, and not the subjects of a crown.

Such is the theory. If we turn to the practical working of the machine we obtain a very different picture. The international equality between the allied Governments vanishes, and the overwhelming preponderance of Prussia is everywhere apparent.

We shall best realize in what this preponderance consists if we note, *first*, the mode of doing business prescribed by the Federal Council; *secondly*, certain exceptional functions delegated to the Crown of Prussia. Though theoretically consisting of Plenipotentiaries, the Federal Council in practice bears more resemblance to the ministerial conferences proposed in the scheme of the Würzburg Coalition than to a diplomatic Congress. As it is not like the Frankfort Diet, permanently assembled, but meets periodically for sessions of no undue length, the Prime Ministers themselves, those of the more important States at least, are able to attend and to act without applying for special instructions. Moreover, the rule having been laid down that the votes of members who are without instructions do not count, the business that has to be transacted can be got through then and there at the green table with the utmost rapidity. In this respect the Federal Council resembles an aggregate Cabinet Council of the twenty-two allied States.

For the transaction of Federal business, more especially for that of preparing the bills to be presented to the National Parliament, the Council appoints seven permanent committees, upon whose reports it deliberates *in pleno*, and decides by simple majority.

These committees are:—1. For Army and Fortifications; 2. For Navy; 3. For Customs and Taxes; 4. For Commerce; 5. For Railways, Posts, and Telegraphs; 6. For Justice; 7. For Federal Accounts.

Prussia is represented in each of the seven committees; and in addition to this, the King of Prussia, as supreme head of the

military forces of the Confederation, nominates all the members of the committees for the army and navy. The twenty-one earthen vessels are thus each of them severally and individually brought into direct and immediate contact with the one iron one.

When we consider that the meetings of the Council are not public, but take place after the manner of diplomatic conferences, away from the light of day; that the business is transacted off-hand, and without the lengthy process of reference to the respective Governments; that the President of the Council not only wields seventeen votes out of the forty-three, but also the *Non possumus* of a Power never unmindful that its strength relatively to that of the sum-total of the other Powers represented is as four to one; and lastly, when we remember that the individual in whose hands this power is lodged is Count Bismarck, we shall not fail to see that, though the forms of international equality have been kept up, the supremacy of Prussia has been amply provided for.

We have, however, still to notice certain attributes with which the King of Prussia is invested as Sovereign, not indeed of the Confederation, but of the presiding State of the Confederation.

These are, *first*, that of Federal Commander-in-chief, or supreme head of the Federal forces. Under the Constitution of 1815, this office only came into existence when the *casus belli* had arisen. It is now a permanent office, enabling the impact of a single will to stamp itself for better or worse upon the entire male population of a Confederation embracing thirty millions of inhabitants.\* *Secondly*, That of representing the Confederation in its international relations. To the Sovereign of Prussia is delegated, by his twenty-one peers, the right of declaring war and concluding peace in the name of the Confederation, as well as that of accrediting Federal diplomatic agents to foreign States, and of having foreign agents accredited to him as procurator of the allied Governments.†

\* The principle of the Federative State (*Bundesstaat*) is only partly carried out in the Federal army, the sovereigns of the several States having retained many rights (such as the nomination of officers up to a certain rank, etc.), which would be incompatible with the idea of a strictly Federal force, such, for instance, as the army of the United States. The rights delegated to the King of Prussia, however, are quite sufficient to give him practically the complete and entire control of the Federal land forces.

The Federal navy, on the other hand, is based on the "Federative State" principle, pure and simple. It is as absolutely in the hands of the King of Prussia as a regiment of his guards.

† There are many other executive attributes which,



The above sketch of the North German Confederation, meagre though it be, will probably suffice to convey to the reader the impression universally prevalent throughout Germany, that the present state of things is merely provisional, and that it is designedly such. We should be transgressing the limits of the task we have proposed to ourselves were we to speculate upon the future to which this "provisorium" is destined to lead. All we can do is to register the present conditions of the problem.

The most important fact to note is the re-appearance, though under perfectly different conditions, of the principle of dualism which has been pregnant with so many catastrophes to Germany. The phenomenon which now makes its appearance, however, is not that of the mechanical dualism of two bodies whose spheres come into external contact and endanger by their mutual friction the political framework which contains them, but, if we may so describe it, that of the organic dualism of two natures inhabiting the same body. For, to all intents and purposes, the twenty-four millions who make up the mighty kingdom of Prussia are living a double political life, and are ruled by a double Government. On the one side there is the Prussian Parliament, the Prussian Ministry, and the Prussian Bureaucracy; on the other side there is the National Parliament, the Federal Chancellor, and the Federal Chancellor's Office. Now, if we examine the individuals who compose these bodies we shall find that they are more or less the same. Four-fifths of the National Parliament consist of Prussian representatives, and not only the Parliamentary leaders and orators, but the political parties and fractions of the Prussian

Parliament, with the great bulk of the members composing them, transplant themselves bodily from their seats in the Prussian Chambers to those in the National Assembly. The Federal Chancellor, moreover, and the Prussian Premier are one and the same person. Nevertheless, between the corporations thus more or less made up of the same units there exists not only a most marked and radical difference, but there can likewise be traced the elements of a real antagonism. Account for it how we will, corporations, and more especially political corporations, are imbued with a principle, and have a *raison d'être* of their own, apart from the individuals of whom for the time being they may be composed. We could not without entering into the internal history of the Prussian State, hope to give our readers an adequate idea of the vital principles of the corporations in question. But the essential difference of the conditions under which the same orator speaks when standing on the tribune of the Prussian Chamber or on that of the National Parliament, is self-evident. In the one case it is the traditions of the Prussian monarchy which envelop him, in the other it is the aspirations of the German future by which he is inspired. On the one occasion everything combines to elicit the latent Prussianism within him, on the other everything combines to foster and expand the sense of national patriotism. Since we have got used to the debates of the North German Parliament we cannot read those of the Prussian Chambers, not even those of the Lower House, how much less those of the Upper, without a sense of depression. We are repeatedly made conscious of the "note" of provincialism,\* and cannot forget that we are at Berlin, that is, socially speaking, in the capital of the Province of Brandenburg, and yet we have none of this feeling in reading the speeches of the Prussian deputies to the Reichstag. There is all the difference between the atmosphere of an Imperial Parliament and that of

in a *bond fide* Federative State, would flow naturally from the organ representing the Federal sovereignty, which in the North German Confederation have been delegated to the King of Prussia, such as the summoning, proroguing, dissolving of the Reichstag, etc. The most important of these, besides those mentioned in the text, is that of superintending the execution of the Federal laws. The Federal laws take precedence of the State laws, and take effect upon their promulgation, i.e., their publication in the *Bundes Gesetz Blatt* (Gazette of the North German Confederation). This precedence of Federal over State laws is the purest "Federative State" element that has been imported into the North German Constitution; and the seeing to their execution is the most directly executive function exercised in the Confederation. The point to bear in mind, however, is, that the King of Prussia does not exercise these functions as sovereign of the Confederation, but as delegated thereto by the sovereign—that sovereign being the corporation of the twenty-two allied States. He signs, as it were, for the firm having the largest amount of capital engaged in it, but in the eye of the law he is only a "partner."

\* No better illustration of what we desire to express could be found than the threat used by the Minister of Justice during the present session of the Prussian Chamber, to the effect that if the House refused him the paltry sum of £150 for an assistant judgeship, the Government would renew the Constitutional conflict which during six years shook the fabric of the Prussian State to its foundations. Of course this was a *brutum fulmen*, and the Minister had more or less to retract, but this does not alter the local colour of the transaction. It is the bare fact that such a scene was possible in the Prussian Parliament which is so painfully suggestive of a Marylebone vestry; such a threat on the part of a Government official would have been absolutely impossible in the North German Parliament.



a local body. Which of the two natures will master the other?

The same germ of antagonism is to be traced in the two bureaucratic hierarchies; the Federal hierarchy, gradually expanding out of the Federal Chancellor's office, and the old Prussian bureaucracy, which looks upon itself as the depository of the traditions of the Prussian State. Which of the two will have the greater vitality?

To judge by present appearances, it is to the National Parliament that the centre of political gravity is rapidly shifting, and in the Federal Chancellor's office that the executive is beginning to centralize. Two important facts have just become known:—*First*, the expense of the Foreign Office is in future to be an item of the *Federal*, and not of the Prussian, budget, which is tantamount to the creation of a Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and *pro tanto* is a step in the direction of the merging of the Prussian in the Federal international unit. *Secondly*, General von Roon, the Prussian Minister of War, and the author of the scheme for the re-organization of the Prussian army, has taken his place in the Federal Council, and has thus been adstricted to the executive element of the North German Confederation, as far as such an element as yet exists. These are important and rapid strides towards the creation of a Federal Government,\* and the Federal Government, once in existence, must be looked upon as the half-way house to the creation of the Federal Sovereign, *i. e.*, to the assumption by the Crown of Prussia of a title, be it that of Emperor or of King of the Germans, which, while investing it with sovereign prerogatives over the Confederation in its own right (and not by mere procuration, as at present), will complete the national structure of the present edifice, with the collateral effect, however, of the loss by Prussia of her present privileged position in the Confederation, as well as that of her definite amalgamation with Germany.

Now, natural and logically necessary as such a change appears to the bystanders to

be, we do not believe it will be easily accomplished. The phrase, "mediatisation of Prussia," meaningless as it proves to be when its meaning is searched for, fills the minds of vast classes of Prussians with a horror as of the valley of the shadow of death; and nowhere, probably, would the resistance to the change be so great as in the Hohenzollern called upon to wear the German crown. Particularism is still the stumbling-block in the way of German unity, but the conditions of the problem are reversed. In the long political struggle which preceded the battle of Sadowa, it was the Particularism of the Middle States which jeopardized the future of Prussia, and with it the future of Germany. The present danger lies rather in the strength of the Particularist elements in Prussia.

We are however in no way despondent about the future, though we confess we should look to it with more confidence if we could credit the Prussian nation, great and sterling as are its national qualities, and full of the stuff of which solid greatness is built up, with a little less provincialism and a little more *μεγαλοφυγία*. "Every man," says Hamlet, "has business and desire." The political fault of Germany has undoubtedly been that she has attended too little to "business," and has lived too exclusively within the sphere of "desire." We cannot but praise Prussia for throwing herself with vigour upon the performance of the former, but she should not forget that the condition of all progress is "to desire better things," and we should feel more hopeful if we could see a little of the idealism,—by virtue of which, be it not forgotten, Germany, during the worst days of her political bondage, maintained her high position amongst the nations,—returning to the political field from which it is now so ignominiously discarded. The incarnation of the German race into the German State is a great and therefore an ideal task, the greatest and therefore the most ideal which the century has been called upon to perform. By cutting the Gordian knot of the German question with her sword, Prussia has taken upon herself the sole and undivided responsibility of this task. Not only her own destinies, but those of Europe, depend upon the man in which she may fulfil it. The eyes of the civilized world are upon her. Let her not forget that "unto whom much is given"—and, *a fortiori*, by whom much is taken—"from him shall much be required."

\* It is very suggestive that Count Bismarck, who, when the Statute of the Confederation was being discussed in the Constituent Assembly, so strenuously and successfully opposed the creation of a Federal Ministry, has on more than one occasion, when talking in the Chamber of his acts as Federal Chancellor, used the expression "Federal Government," a body which has as yet absolutely no existence, legal or other.



# THE NORTH BRITISH REVIEW.

NO. C.

FOR JULY, 1869.

ART. I.—THE LIFE OF OUR LORD. By Rev. WILLIAM HANNA, D.D., LL.D. 6 vols., foolscap 8vo. Edin.

1. *The Earlier Years of our Lord's Life on Earth.* 2d Edition. 1868.
2. *The Ministry in Galilee.* 2d Edit. 1869.
3. *The Close of the Ministry.* 1869.
4. *The Passion Week.* 1866.
5. *The Last Day of our Lord's Passion.* 17th Edition. 1868.
6. *The Forty Days after our Lord's Resurrection.* 5th Edition. 1868.

"I WOULD rather," said one of the noblest men who have taught Ethics from a University chair to this generation, "I would rather be the author of a brief series of expositions of the life of Christ, executed after the idea of Lord Bacon's *First Flowings of the Scripture*, so as to help my fellow-men to understand that life better, than be the author of the grandest system of speculative ethica." The volumes before us go far to realize this aspiration. Their pre-eminent aim is to unfold the Sacred Individuality of Christ, in its unique glory, as that is seen in the successive incidents of his human life. They show, without parade, the results of much meditation on problems not directly stated, with an insight that is rarely delicate as to the great Character they strive to delineate. Fragments of apologetical evidence are thus inwoven into the course of the narrative, and some deep soundings of moral evidence are taken in a very simple manner, while the lectures contain hints of some ulterior questions touching the very essence and genius of the Christian faith. Though enriched by contributions from several foreign fields, they are a genuine product of British soil, and will appeal peculiarly to the British type of mind.

VOL. L.

Six years ago Dr. Hanna offered to the public the first volume of this series, selecting "the last day of our Lord's Passion" as his special theme. His aim in that volume was to construct "a continuous and expanded narrative, intended to bring out, as vividly as possible, not only the sequence of the incidents, but the characters, motives, and feelings of the different actors and spectators in the events described, refraining from all critical or doctrinal discussions." In the following year, the author issued a companion volume on "the forty days after the Resurrection." In its Preface he states that he "has long had the conviction that the results of that fuller and more exact interpretation of the books of the New Testament to which Biblical scholars have been conducted, might be made available for framing such a continuous narrative of the leading incidents in our Redeemer's life as would be profitable for practical and devotional rather than for doctrinal or controversial purposes." While that volume was passing through the press, the *Vie de Jesus* of M. Renan was published. Dr. Hanna makes a brief allusion to this work, and while expressing his desire that "a full and critical exposure of all its arbitrary assumptions and denials, affirmations without proofs, doubts without reasons, inconsistencies and contradictions, errors historical and exegetical," should be undertaken by some competent critic, he speaks of

"a simpler, more direct, and more effective method of dealing with the work, by exposing the flagrant failure of its capital design and object—viz., to eliminate all that is supernatural and divine from the character and life of Christ, and yet leave him a man of such pure and exalted virtue, as to be worthy of the unreserved and unbounded love and reverence of man-



kind." "The singular result of this attempt to strip Christ of all divine qualities and properties is, that it mars and mutilates his character even as a man. Without any controversial treatment, the effect of M. Renan's work may be neutralized by a simple recital of the life of Jesus, so as to show that the blending of the natural with the miraculous, the human with the divine, is essential to the coherence and consistency of the record; that the fabric of the Gospel history is so constructed that if you take out of it the divinity of Jesus the whole edifice falls into ruins."

These sentences sufficiently explain the design of the two earlier volumes. The success which attended their publication encouraged their author to complete the series; and at intervals during the last four years he has issued one volume devoted to "the Earlier Years," one connected with "the Passion Week," and two relating to "the Public Ministry."

The idea which lies at the root of this latest effort to unfold and illustrate the life of Christ, is, that the facts recorded by the four evangelists are their own best witnesses—bearers, evidence, and defence; and that the record is historically inexplicable, if the divine element which the Church catholic has inferred from it be eliminated from the life of Jesus. In this respect there is a marked affinity between the work of Dr. Hanna and the treatise of Dr. Young, entitled, *The Christ of History*. Dr. Young starts with the presupposition that the records of the Gospels are but fragments of ancient history, in which we may expect to find all the characteristics of past literature transmitted to a modern age. He claims for them in the first instance no higher credit than that which criticism accords to the pages of Herodotus or Livy. But as he proceeds to examine the record of the four evangelists, he finds that they narrate the acts and words of One whose existence is utterly inexplicable as a product of the known forces that work in history and form human character, as they reveal a life from first to last ideally perfect; and as it is an axiomatic truth that like ever produces like, he infers that such a character could not have arisen out of the soil of humanity propagated from the past, but must have been a descent into that soil from above. We have come into contact with a life which historical processes cannot explain, and which cannot on any scientific principle be ranked in the common category of men. Its solitude, uniqueness, and completion forces us to infer that it could not have sprung from a parentage that was incomplete, one-sided, and defective. To say that the loving adoration of the biographers and others transformed a

really imperfect life into one ideally complete, is but to transfer the miracle from Christ to his followers. For, granting the perfection of the character that has come down to us (whatever be the origin of the record, and the process of its transmission), its existence without a reality to give rise to it is much more inexplicable than is the reality itself. The poetic idealization by a band of disciples who should all agree as to details—illiterate men, sprung of a biased, schismatic race, creating out of their own enthusiasm, with the most slender basis in fact, the only pattern of a life approaching to the measure of the stature of the perfect of which history makes mention, is much more difficult to account for than is the appearance of the ideal itself.

To a mind amenable to this and cognate processes of reasoning, Dr. Hanna's work will appear a valuable complement to Dr. Young's. In almost every page he will find corroboration of the line of argument. The evidence arising from the character and moral individuality of Christ, as the ideal of humanity made real, is the centre round which everything else revolves, and to which everything is made subservient. The outlying questions of religious criticism are passed over. We have no discussion as to the origin of the Gospel narratives. The vexed questions of date and authorship are not entered upon. The problem of the supernatural in its relation to natural law and order, the philosophy of the Christian faith as to the person of its Founder, the historical preparation for the Advent at the confluence of the several streams of oriental and of western thought, the relation of Christ to the religious systems of the past and the existing sects of Judaism, are nowhere formally discussed. In short, all the *prolegomena* to a study of the life are subordinated to a simple recital of the life itself. The former inquiries are doubtless essential to a learned and scientific theology. Questions of philosophy and of history, in the words of Pressensé, "hold the approaches to the subject;" and we may even admit that everything depends upon the accuracy of our historical narrative, and upon the precise date of the documents which record it. But, on the other hand, if the main event recorded—the divinity of that human life—carries its own light within itself, it may indirectly prove the accuracy of the story. A distinct function is therefore fulfilled by those who adopt the less ambitious method of portraying the Life in its divine sequences and harmonies, that it may be left to attest itself, and be its own evidence. We hold it possible for a wise and thoughtful mind, without the aid of a



vast critical apparatus, and with nothing but the four Gospels in his hand, to arrive at a conclusion, *strictly philosophical*, as to the origin of Christianity and the claims of its Founder.

Historical study cannot solve the questions which the course of Church history has raised. Those who have gone most deeply into the problems of modern criticism are convinced that mere archaeological research cannot clear up any controversy touching the supernatural. Erudition is not needful for the determination of the main question at issue.\* The critical questions are as to the authenticity of date and authorship, and the competency of the historians; as to when and by whom the books claiming an apostolic origin were written, and whether their authors were competent witness-bearers. To solve these questions we must proceed backwards up the stream of Time, studying century by century, examining the quotations of successive commentators and opponents, that we may be sure that the books have come down to us unimpaired. We have to pierce through the accumulated literary strata of eighteen centuries. Without much difficulty we can traverse fifteen of these. When we come, however, to the second, or even to the third century, we find the ground less firm, while the air grows gradually dim with mist. The further back we travel, our authorities are fewer and less trustworthy, less scientific, more given to gossip, less able to distinguish between fact and rumour. The age of the first two centuries of our era was one of manifold literary activity, but the majority of its records have perished, and its testimony is on the whole obscure. Hence the difficulty of reaching the solid ground of scientific certainty by the processes of historical criticism alone. We must satisfy ourselves that the writings of the early Fathers, which allude to the gradual formation of the canon, are themselves authentic; we must discover the qualifications which these writers possessed for forming a judgment on the matter in question, the range of their critical insight, their freedom from bias, their love of

fact and reality, and their success in reaching it. This leads us into the domain of contemporary literature—to a comparison of the religious and the secular writers; into questions touching the philosophy, morality, the social state and customs of that age; and the very treatises accessible to the student of history are for the most part written in some special interest, and are the product of some foregone conclusion. But suppose our critical apparatus complete, and the historical inquiry ended, the very question which we had hoped to solve by history *returns* in all its magnitude, *as a problem of philosophy*. Therefore, since it must in any case remain for solution after the critical inquiry is closed, its study may validly precede any attempt thus to ascend the stream of history. In short, the function of historical criticism seems to lie in an intermediate region between the preliminary question of the supernatural (which is one of speculative philosophy) and the problem to which we must in any case return,—the religious significance of the life of Christ (which is a philosophical inference from certain unique moral phenomena.)

The idea of rewriting the Life of Jesus, already written in the Gospels, is a thoroughly modern conception. So long as the doctrinal conclusions of the Church as to the person of Christ were more valued than the facts of the sacred Biography itself, and so long as the work of our Lord overshadowed his life, anything approaching to a psychological analysis of his character and acts seemed an idle, if not an irreverent procedure. It is not too much to affirm that the divinity of our Lord for ages overshadowed his humanity, so as to cast it into the shade. But during the latter portion of the eighteenth, and more particularly from the beginning of this century,—mainly through the influence of Schleiermacher,—the attention of theologians has been increasingly turned towards the human life, in its relation to the age in which it appeared, and the revolution which it has accomplished in the world. And it is only *in its humanity*, as a life exhibiting the signs of growth and progress, that a historical or biographic study is possible. Within the last hundred years, innumerable "Lives of our Lord" have been written by friend and by opponent; and it is singular that while in each case we must mainly revert to the four original recorders, alike for our materials and for the touchstone by which to try any new commentary or analysis, such is the hidden wealth of these four biographies, that it has been impossible for any one mind, or for any single generation, to exhaust their fulness, and, by drawing it

\* On this point we have the testimony of Strauss himself. In the Preface to his *New Life of Jesus*, written for the German *populace*, he says, "It is a mere prejudice of caste to fancy that ability to comprehend these things belongs exclusively to the theologian or the man of learning. On the contrary, the essence of the matter is so simple that every one whose head and heart are in the right place [i.e.] may well rest assured that whatever, after due reflection and the proper use of accessible means, still remains incomprehensible to him, is in itself of very little value."—(Page viii. of Preface, Eng. Trans.)



fully forth, to supersede the need of future commentary. It is equally evident that the four biographers, being contemporaries of our Lord, and addressing a contemporary audience (while ignorant of the vexed controversies as to their record that would arise in the future), would necessarily take much for granted, would leave many gaps in their narrative, unimportant in themselves, but which would give room for future study and reverent conjecture. They present us, it is true, with more than a skeleton record, yet they leave much for the tact of a wise interpreter in collecting the fragments of their narrative, and illustrating their significance as a whole. The task of those who attempt this work anew is thus to transplant themselves to the apostolic age, and to re-state, in the light of their own time, the distinctive features of that "life which is the light of men." The very multiplication of these "lives of our Lord" has become an indirect testimony to the grandeur of the Original. Successive historians exhaust the life of an ordinary man, and future recensions of it become tedious, repetitive, and bald. For example, if we compare the two biographic sketches of the greatest Greek of the ancient world, the Socrates of Plato and of the Memorabilia, with the manifold attempts to write the Life of Christ, the contrast is arresting. Strauss has indeed asserted that the picture of Socrates is the clearer of the two; and that a comparison of Xenophon and Plato with Matthew and John is unfavourable to the latter. Such an assertion is not surprising from one who has had the hardihood to affirm, that however consistent the testimony for the apostolic origin of the latter might be, he could put no faith in it, simply because it bears witness to the supernatural. But this much is self-evident,—that the world has not welcomed so many lives of Socrates as of Christ; and biographers have not attempted to write them, because, in the former case, they have not found the moral uniqueness, the many-sided and mysterious grandeur, which has drawn successive interpreters to the latter. And we affirm with confidence that the issue of new lives of our Lord will never cease. Each future generation will be impelled by an inner necessity to travel backwards for itself along the stream of history to the fountain-head, carrying thither the burden of its perplexities for solution.

We have a guarantee, in the very nature of the case, that the biographers of our Lord would be more faithful to their original than the friends of Socrates were. Far from attempting to idealize their Master, they were from the first incapable of

understanding his ideal greatness. Little as they understood him, they felt that they were in contact with a character far above themselves. Their adoration, though imperfect, would restrain them from putting into the lips of their Master what he did not really say, or recording what he did not really do. Exaggerate his greatness they could not; diminish it they dared not. But the fact that Plato, a philosophic thinker of equal calibre and greater comprehensiveness, was the recorder of the moral teaching of his predecessor (much of which he rejected and superseded),—instead of being, as Strauss asserts, a guarantee of impartiality and historical veracity, might easily lead the founder of the Academy into exaggerations to which the fishermen of Galilee were not exposed. It was of less consequence to Plato and to Platonism that the dialogues should exactly reproduce the oral teaching of Socrates, than it was to the disciples (who had no philosophy but that of their Master), to draw a photographic portrait of his life.

We have alluded to the peculiar difficulty we encounter in ascending by the light of history to the apostolic age, from the dimness of some of the intervening links, from the breaks in the continuity of the stream. In addition to this, the very growth of theological opinions and creeds, the venerable edifice of systematic thought, and the endlessly divergent commentaries of churchmen, prevent us from seeing the first age with our own eyes as clearly as we would wish; and if they do not at times confuse our vision, they become at least "something between a hindrance and a help." But we are in reality much nearer the age of the apostles and of our Lord than we are to the two subsequent centuries, and much nearer (except in actual time) than were the critical inquirers of the third and fourth centuries. We can understand it better than we understand some of the periods of modern history. No age can measure itself. It must be subjected to the sifting scrutiny of the future before it becomes intelligible. And though we have lost some of the links in the process of transmission, the fact that Christianity, thus sifted and winnowed, now gives forth a clearer light as to its origin, while it holds its ground in the forefront of modern enlightenment, is an indirect testimony to the divinity of its birth. Subjected to the extreme rigour of critical analysis, the life of Jesus is surrounded with a new halo of glory; its significance is enhanced by the strain it has endured, and the assaults it has resisted. And our remoteness in time, our distance from the apostolic age, enables



us to compute the historical triumph of Christianity by the silently increasing monument which the Ages are building to its Founder. Remote from the apostles, we do not breathe the atmosphere of a time when the very haze of floating philosophies and vague aspirations, with the obscure origin of the new religion, might have hid its divinity from us; and while we do not rest the evidence of our faith upon a process of critical inquiry, the fact that the efforts of destructive criticism have continually failed in tracing Christianity to a natural source, is an accumulation of testimony the other way, and reduces to a minimum the likelihood of any future discovery adverse to the faith of Christendom. The conclusion which we reach, independently of historical criticism, is not likely to be shaken by a series of puzzles which criticism itself is yearly diminishing.

There are other reasons which lead us to prefer the psychological to the critical study of the Gospels. When the merely critical instinct is predominant, it usually renders the mind as unfit for weighing moral evidence wisely, as the exclusively mathematical intellect is incompetent to deal with probable evidence. It sometimes checks the more sacred instinct of worship, and, sharpening one faculty, it blunts another. It may disqualify a man for duly appreciating some of the grander facts of history, of which the causes are hid, because they have their origin in the mystic region of personality. It may diminish reverence for what is obscure only because it is deep and fathomless, and may conceal the latent glory of those phenomena of human history which point upwards to the supernatural. The best antidote to this one-sidedness will be found in a devout study of the facts of our Lord's life on earth, in their sequences and harmonies, in the relation of the parts to the whole, and of the whole to the parts, in their origin, import, and final purpose. In these facts, theologians of the most opposite tendency, and who have reached very opposite conclusions as to detail, will find their common meeting-ground and rallying-point. The theory or doctrine of inspiration which they may chance to hold is of less consequence than their treatment of the facts which the inspired documents authenticate. And the theology that is by each successive system-builder derived from a fresh, patient, and earnest study of these facts, will be at once larger and deeper, more exact and more profound, than any that tradition can transmit or criticism construct. Theology becomes a series of wise inferences from the words and acts, from the scope and tendency,

of our Lord's life; not a mere articulated skeleton formed by the juxtaposition of texts, but a living body of interdependent truths,—in a word, *the interpretation of fact*. But to accomplish this many things are needed: the patient skill of an interpreter, "one among a thousand," who can appreciate the divinest elements in human life,—the far glance of the religious seer,—freedom from bias and preconception of what the life ought to be, or to accomplish,—humility wedded to insight,—intellectual integrity in alliance with the docile spirit that has learned its own ignorance,—and, we must add, an appreciation of the world's need of light, as well as a readiness to welcome the supernatural ray.

A brief glance at some of the efforts to write a harmonious narrative of the life of our Lord may suffice to bring out the points of resemblance and contrast between them and this latest British work. We must confine ourselves to a few, excluding the commentaries and dissertations, however excellent. The bibliography of the subject is very fully given in the fourth edition of Hase's *Life of Jesus*.

In patristic times theologians merely sought to arrange the facts of the sacred biography in a harmonious order. Criticism was then unknown. The mediæval Church-commentary was tedious and fantastic, consisting chiefly of catenas from the Fathers; while the tendency to write legendary lives of the saints led some to add apocryphal stories to the narrative of the four Gospels. Not even at the time of the Reformation was the theological mind turned with any freedom to the human side of our Lord's life. It may even be said that the idea of a psychological explanation and study of it is foreign to the genius of all the Christian centuries till we come down to the last hundred years.

The *Great Exemplar* of our English bishop, Jeremy Taylor, however excellent in design and felicitous here and there in detail, is circumlocutory, diffuse, full of irrelevancies, and burdened with superfluous learning. It may be doubted whether any reader of that treatise ever reached a more enlarged and luminous view of our Lord's life as a whole by means of it. It is only just, however, to remember that the great English prelate speaks most humbly of his work, as but "an instrument and auxiliary to devotion." He was "weary," he tells us, "and toiled with rowing up and down the sea of controversial questions," and therefore turned to that "which is wholly practical, and which makes us wiser, because it makes us better."



Shortly after the middle of last century. J. J. Hess of Zürich published an admirable biographic sketch, in which we recognise two noteworthy features. The value of the miraculous element in the Gospel histories he considers as entirely subservient to the moral results to be attained. As a mere display of power, apart from these results, it could have no inherent value. Hess was also one of the first to signalize the ideal *beauty* of our Lord's life, and the satisfaction it affords to the purest æsthetic sense, as one evidence of its origin. He was a careful, reverent compiler, and whenever a miracle can be explained as an acceleration of natural phenomena he abstains from supposing any other agency at work in the process.

In 1796, Herder published a treatise on the synoptics, and a sequel in the following year on the narrative of St. John. He concentrated his attention almost exclusively on the moral and spiritual aspects of the divine life, and their influence on humanity, striving also to harmonize the different records. The miraculous element he thought of little moment, incapable either of proof or of disproof by a later age. All the miracles that could (in his estimation) be explained by natural causes, such as the exorcism of evil spirits, the transfiguration, the phenomena attendant on the baptism, etc., he thus accounted for; others, such as the cure of the sick, the transformation of water into wine, and the resurrection of Lazarus, he explained as symbolical of the spiritual truth of Christ's influence over the lives of men. It is difficult to understand Herder's exact position in reference to this second class of miracles. Possibly it was not clear to his own mind. He seems to admit the reality of the resurrection, yet he attaches little value to its outward form. The spiritual and continuous miracle of moral resurrection which it symbolized is to him the main point in the narrative. Nevertheless he firmly maintained the divinity of the life of Christ.

Paulus, in his *Gospel Commentary* and subsequent *Life of Jesus*, further develops the view of Herder, carrying it however to a one-sided extreme. A disciple of Spinoza and of Kant, he rejected entirely the idea of the miraculous as supernatural. He seems to regard it as a later addition to the original record of the text, appended by unwise interpreters. The evangelists he thinks make no assertion of supernatural power attending the works of Jesus; they rather hint that he employed natural means to effect his ends. He does not wish to explain away the reality of remarkable works

(such as cures of the sick, etc.), but only to put these on an intelligible basis. For this purpose he endeavours to divest the recorded miracles of a certain clothing of opinion which he imagines to have been wrapped around them—subsequent accretions to the original fact—forgetting that in the narrative of the evangelists these details are the very substance of the story.

He was followed by Schleiermacher, one of the most powerful intellects and one of the noblest men that Germany has produced. He held fast by the divine element in the life, but denied the violation of natural law in the miracles; and to account for these he stretched the idea of the natural to its widest limits. He endeavoured to account for Christ's foresight by supposing an organization marvellously susceptible. The healing of the sick he explains by the simple forth-putting of unique power upon the minds of the diseased, which in turn reacted on their organism. Miracles were wrought by the supernatural might of one who was above nature, but that power effected its end through natural agency. However we may dissent from his explanations of the miraculous, we cannot forget the reverence and faith of Schleiermacher. He has contributed perhaps more powerfully than any single mind in modern times to direct the current of theology to the person of Christ, and to the ethical significance of his work. His influence is everywhere traceable in subsequent theological literature.

In the year 1829, Hase offered an important contribution to German theology in his *Manual*. Following Schleiermacher in his rational explanation of the miraculous, as far as that is possible, and attributing our Lord's works of healing to the power of the will over the body, the raising of the dead to the restoration of suspended animation, he nevertheless held that all these works were strictly miraculous, "the clear dominion of spirit over nature; no interruption of Nature's laws, but only a restoration of her pristine harmony and order." Unknown powers, possessed alone by Jesus, accelerated natural processes; this sinless perfection giving him an unique control over the material,—a power of which sin had bereft the race. "In every matter of fact," he says, "which has been handed down as a miracle, it belongs to science to search for its natural causes; when these cannot be shown with historic truth and certainty, then the miracle indicates either the limits of our natural powers and natural knowledge, or else those of the age in which the miracle is recorded." He thus defines the fundamental thought of his book, "that a divine principle revealed



itself in Jesus, but in a purely human form." The reports of our Lord's words and acts, however, he thinks may contain minor inaccuracies, due to the imperfect narration, and the blending of their own opinions by the historians. Hase, even more than Neander, represents the *via media* in German theology, midway between a frigid naturalism and a blind uncritical supranaturalism.

Six years later, in 1835, Strauss issued his famous *Life of Jesus*, intended only for the learned; and, after twenty-nine years, he has followed it by a *New Life of Jesus*, designed for the populace. The aim of the former treatise, as defined in the later, was to show that "all attempts to conceal or explain away the supernatural in the Gospel details were vain, and that consequently they were not to be claimed as strictly historical." The miraculous element was to be rejected *a priori*, and in addition a number of "contradictions and inconsistencies" could be freely pointed out. But how to account for the origin of the Gospel image of Jesus was the special puzzle which Strauss set himself to solve. His solution is well known as "the mythical theory." He admitted an original substratum of fact in the narratives, but round that nucleus of fact an imaginary series of myths had gathered, and the function of the historian was to separate or disintegrate the two. The original fact might be somewhat as follows:—There existed at the time of Christ's birth a special messianic hope in Palestine. A remarkable Jew appeared, and conceived the idea of morally revolutionizing his age, in accordance with the prevalent hope that God was about to interpose in behalf of the nation in some signal manner. His early popularity led some of his followers enthusiastically to call him the Messiah. He received the homage reluctantly at first, but afterwards willingly. Coming into collision with the traditional Jewish party, he, without difficulty, foresaw his own death, past instances of the prophet's fate perhaps suggesting it. After his death, his disciples, mourning his lot, began most naturally to idealize their departed master. They found in the books of the Old Testament words which they twisted into messianic predictions of what had actually happened. They believed that their late teacher was not really dead; and by their excited imaginations spectral visions of his presence were easily mistaken for the reality. They proceeded, under the delusion of his continued existence, to magnify the events of his previous life, freely to idealize them, and to attribute to him the highest conceivable greatness. Thus Strauss finds in the four Gospels, instead of the history of the real Christ, a

later idealized conception of him, "a legendary deposit of contemporaneous messianic ideas, the latter, perhaps, partially modified by his peculiar individuality, his teaching, and his fate."

The fundamental assumption which runs through Strauss's work is the impossibility of any history of a being other than one "entirely and clearly human. A personage half human and half divine may figure in poetry, but never in fact." Miracles are absolutely and inherently impossible. Miracle he repeatedly defines as "that heterogeneous element in life that resists all historical treatment." He refuses to believe in its real occurrence on any conceivable evidence whatever. To hear testimony from an eye-witness "would do no good; we should tell him downright that he was trifling, that he must have dreamt it, if we did not lose our opinion of his honesty, and accuse him of absolute falsehood." As to the evangelical miracles, "not one has been recorded by an eye-witness, but, on the contrary, by those who were disposed to do anything rather than try their tradition by a critical test." He therefore proceeded to apply the same principle of explanation to the Gospel miracles which had been applied so successfully by Welcker and others to explain the growth of Greek legends and Oriental fables. They were a series of later myths, which the reverence of an after age had created, and by which it had surrounded a remarkable man with a halo of posthumous glory! And these myths had been, by the same process, historically displaced, and thrust, like a fault in geologic strata, backwards in time. The Christian myths were "not, in their original form, the conscious and intentional invention of an individual, but a production of the common consciousness of a people or religious circle." The term "myth" Strauss would limit "exclusively to those original unconscious formations which arose as by necessity."

But gradually other stories palpably unreal were invented. In the narratives of the fourth Gospel, in particular, he has the hardihood to assert that we meet with much that is conscious and deliberate invention,—mere fraud, in short. In his later work, Strauss acknowledges that, "mainly in consequence of Baur's hints, he allows more room than before to the hypothesis of conscious and intentional fiction." Retaining only the fundamental ideas of his former work, the principal if not the sole consideration is to decide what the gospel history is *not*. The negation consists in this, "that in the person and acts of Jesus no supernaturalism shall be suffered to remain: for



no single Gospel, nor all the Gospels, can make us debase our reason to the point of believing miracles." The affirmative counterpart to this negation is twofold—*1st*, The determination of the real history of Jesus; and, *2dly*, The explanation of the way in which the unhistorical parts of the narrative arose.

We need not follow Strauss minutely in a counter-analysis of his "peculiar apparatus for causing miracles to evaporate in myths." It is of more importance to show how he has failed as a historical student of the era which witnessed the rise of Christianity. A deeper analysis of the state of Palestine at the time of the advent will prove the impossibility of the growth of a series of myths in the apostolic age. The very chaos of that time, the heterogeneous character of the Jewish sects, the perplexed state of political relationships, the variety of forces at work in society, the absence of simple spontaneous movements and social impulses—in short, the general alertness and multitudinousness of the time—was fatal to the growth of such a series of legends as those which Strauss has indicated. The age of the apostles was more critical and reflective than spontaneous and impulsive. There was doubt and hesitation, as well as expectancy, in the general mind. Enthusiastic idolatry of men was rare, hero-worship almost unknown. But it is only in the infancy of a nation that the mythical instinct has any range or field of operation—only in the twilight of national culture that fiction is mistaken for fact; while it is to the deification of the powers of nature (as in the polytheistic tendency) rather than to the deification of a man that the mythical instinct turns. But long prior to the advent, the Jewish mind had reached a high-water mark of intellectual vigour. Palestine had been divided for generations into opposite philosophical schools, led by astute and learned rabbis: and during the lifetime of our Lord a hot controversy raged between the pure theism of the Pharisees and the materialism of a sect which boldly denied the supernatural. If the existence of the sect of the Sadducees, and our Lord's frequent collisions with its leaders, be admitted, it is easy to see how eagerly they would have seized upon any alleged miracles that could be denied, and exposed them. This sect continued to flourish, and was variously modified, after the founding of the apostolic churches. If, then, some of the earliest acts of the church-leaders consisted in the elaboration of mythical incidents, it is inconceivable that the history of the first century should not have preserved some record of the collision of the disciples

with the rationalistic sects of Palestine. The recorded "acts of the apostles" make it clear that no such collision took place; and the apostolic epistles give no hint of controversies within the churches, or around them, as to the reality of our Lord's miracles,—which may be deemed a proof that no such controversies existed,—while the historical evidence we possess as to the moral character of the apostles, excluding on the threshold the supposition of conscious fraud, equally forbids the idea of credulity, and acquiescence in imposture. Further, the imagination of the apostles could scarcely have created the facts, when one of these which they record is their own incompetence to comprehend their Master's character, and the wonderfully delicate, but far-piercing rebukes they received for their repeated obtuseness of soul: truly a highly elaborate myth for a company of fishermen to concoct! In the Gospel narratives we are indeed in wonder-land; but it would be the *ne plus ultra* of marvels to imagine the disciples to have invented this fact, implying a dexterous artificial fraud and a wholly modern ingenuity the better to secure their credit. Besides recording without scruple these facts against themselves, some of them shortly afterwards sealed their testimony by their death. Men do not willingly die for the honour of legends. They must therefore have believed them to be facts; and if they could not easily be impostors, they must either have been true witness-bearers or the dupes of fallacious evidence. Let us therefore examine those documents received as authentic by almost all critics,—the epistles of St. Paul to Rome and Corinth, and his first epistle to Thessalonica. These letters are based upon the facts of Christ's life. They imply that they were recent and well known; and we ask if a legend could grow in twenty years into such dimensions? Could a series of elaborate and unparalleled myths spring suddenly into life, and sway a whole community, within the space of two decades, especially when we remember how slowly great movements grew in that age, compared with the swift current of our modern times?

Still further, while the creation of myths is thus negatived by the character of the first Christian age, the unopposed reception of fabulous stories in the second or third age, in reference to an event so momentous, is equally inconceivable. There were hundreds and thousands of contemporary Jews who could have silenced the testimony of a few apostles, if it had been possible to contradict or to expose it; while there were many cultivated Greek and Roman minds,



not predisposed in favour of Jewish tradition or Oriental legend generally, who, during the lifetime of the apostles, gave in their adherence to the Christian faith. The conquest of *their* minds by a series of Hebrew myths is a fact which Strauss does not attempt to explain. Nor does he inform us how, if this be the natural genesis of the Christian faith, it has arisen but once, in one age, and amongst one people. The formation of such myths should have proceeded equally from several centres, and thus the uniqueness of the Christian faith is unexplained by the mythical theory. Strauss has told us that he will admit the uniqueness of Jesus only "when other instances of the same unique perfection shall be clearly proved from history;"—an utterly unwarrantable dictum. But we may validly reply that we will believe in the *possibility* of a mythic origin of the Gospel narratives when other instances of the same unique perfection shall have been proved to spring from legend, or even if we could discover one parallel instance of such a growth from such a nucleus.

In the positive part of his work, Strauss endeavours, as he had done in his earlier treatise, "to point out what might have formed the historical kernel." By the most reckless and haphazard guesses he tries to remove the first deposits of the unhistorical, and to show how layer after layer may have risen above each other. But we are left in the end to gather up the fragments of an imaginary Straussian Christ. The contrast between such individual conjecture and the ascertained results of modern science (with which it invites comparison) is even startling. Guesses are not tolerated in the scientific world, though a modest conjectural hypothesis may lead the way to the discovery of unknown laws. But while the temple of science is slowly reared by pupils who build humbly on foundations laid by their teachers, literary critics do not scruple to begin their labours by an attempt to abolish the work of their predecessors.

The admirable work of Neander on the life of Christ was mainly a reply to Strauss. But its controversial portion is not so valuable as its positive contribution to a true estimate of the life. It is so well known that it need scarcely be referred to; and amongst all subsequent "Lives" it still holds a place of honour. Defective on many points, and unmethodical in others, the manifold wisdom of the book, its large suggestiveness and rich detail, are unrivalled; while its innate truthfulness has called forth a tribute even from Strauss. Neander explains miracles by referring them to "laws of Nature as yet undiscovered," a fertile hint, which has been

largely developed since, but which may be delusive if the new processes are put in the same category of "law" with the old.

Baur, Weisse, Ewald, Olshausen, Tholuck, Harless, Lange, Stier, and Ebrard, amongst German theologians, have since treated the life of Jesus with varying talent and success. Ewald, is learned, profound, intense; Lange, rich in devotion, felicitous in fancies, but attenuated in his moral insight, is occasionally so fantastic that some of his thoughts depend for their beauty on the mere form of the words. There is a good deal of the mirage in his work. Stier is rich in exegetical suggestion, more imaginative than discriminative, prolix at times, and, though with occasional narrowness, has written an earnest and loving treatise on our Lord's life and works. Ebrard's is one of the most condensed and learned treatises on the subject. He considers the Gospel history first according to its form, and next according to its contents, his primary aim not being polemical, and being convinced that the statement of what he regarded as the true facts of the case is the best way to reply to objections. His tone is occasionally imperious and pragmatical, and there is a slight admixture of vanity in his work; all others having, in his opinion, failed to do that which he has succeeded in doing.

The work of M. Renan, which startled Europe in 1863, is a well-known book. Within a year it is said to have called forth a hundred replies. It is the natural sequel in the province of French religious criticism to the dominant *Philosophie Positive*. In the years 1860–61 M. Renan had charge of the French scientific mission to Phœnicia; and he tells us that, while traversing the country in all directions, "the history which at a distance seemed to float in the clouds of an ideal world, took a form, a solidity, which astonished me. The striking agreement of the New Testament text with the places, the marvelous harmony of the Gospel ideal with the country which served it as a framework, were like a revelation. I had before me a *fifth Gospel*, torn, but still legible." But as his philosophy abjured the supernatural, he had to *construct* a new life of Jesus by eliminating the miraculous element; and, given the problem, how to find a natural explanation of the origin of Christianity by reducing its alleged marvels within the limits of natural causation, or denying the more unmanageable ones as fictions, the ingenuity of M. Renan is great, though tainted by recklessness, and the "easy" morality which winks at minor faults. It is not difficult to see that a system which starts by denying the personality of God cannot end by ad-



mitting the divine personality of Jesus. It is a slight concession, that M. Renan admits the apostolic origin of the fourth Gospel, against the school of Tübingen. This Gospel, no less than the others, he must critically test by a process of excision; and no single discourse can be received as authentic, because there were "no stenographers present to fix those fleeting words." It is noteworthy that, while he addresses himself to the stupendous task of reconstructing the history, he is not contented with suggesting a few facts as a possible nucleus, but he freely enlarges on its probable details. He has assigned himself a task almost rivalling the labour of Cuvier, who, from the fragment of a fossil bone, reproduced an ancient skeleton; and yet this seems to him one of the simplest processes in the world, requiring only modern enlightenment and the studied rejection of the miraculous! The result and the process together are utterly unscientific. He rejects and accepts at pleasure events which have the same historical vouchers, and for the mutilation of which he supplies us with no other crucial test than his own critical fancy. One fact is taken, and another is left. This event is true, but that is interpolated, and this is a forgery. No law of selection is stated except the *a priori* dictum that all the supernatural is legendary.\*

Strauss and Renan have both said that the miraculous is "that resisting element which defies historical treatment." But to give the investigator license to select, abridge, or erase at will, from a series of documents which come down to us with the identical witness of past testimony, is to transform history into legend, and criticism into romance; and the "fifth Gospel" which M. Renan "saw," and has striven to relate, is reduced to the level of an apocrypha. It is of little use to tell a historian in search of reality that "nothing to be found in the Gospels is strictly authentic," and yet that they "are truer than the naked truth, because they are truth idealized;" while the chemical test which will dissolve the spuri-

ous compound, and precipitate the pure truth, is the mere idealistic fancy of a learned and ingenious dilettante.

The chief source to which, according to Renan, we are to trace the early development of Jesus, was the influence of Nature, and the delightful climate of Galilee. The poetic aspiration after a brighter national future, nursed amid the valleys of the north, and beside the waters of its lake, imparted a soft and delicate tone to the earlier years. That delicious pastoral country inspired our Lord with his first ideas of the kingdom of God. Renan asserts that all the earlier teaching of Jesus was mild and gentle, in conformity with the gentleness of the district in which he was reared,—quietly ignoring a dozen facts to the contrary! From the "delicious idyll" of the earlier years, we pass by an abrupt transition to the period of action, when Jesus "most unwillingly became a thaumaturgist," and the gentle rabbi glided into "the charlatan with a high purpose." The hiatus between these two periods M. Renan has not filled up, even on his own theory. He contents himself with dogmatically assuming the change, as at the fall of the curtain in a drama. Though Jesus commanded his followers, "Let your Yea be yea, and your Nay, nay," and asserted that he came himself to "fulfil the law," M. Renan can affirm that he quietly made a compromise with truth, finessed with his contemporaries, and winked at the innocent enthusiasm of the populace, who ascribed unreal miracles to his power. "His greatest miracle," says he, in a delusive epigram,—"*his greatest miracle would have been his refusal to perform any.*" Yet they were "disagreeable to him," "imposed upon him." Some he only "thought he performed." Some were natural cures idealized by the populace, in their hunger for marvels; for example, the exquisiteness of his person cast out many devils! All the while the Founder of Christianity was utterly unacquainted with the processes of Nature, and in a state of exquisite "poetic ignorance" of her laws.

It is unnecessary to follow M. Renan through the legendary details of his own work of fiction. Its caricature of the original, its travesty of Christ's doctrine, its outrageous assumptions and utterly reckless manipulations of the story, its errors against art, have been admirably dealt with by M. Pressensé; and the rose-water adulation of the exquisite prophet of Galilee has been well described by another as "a betrayal of the Lord, but not without the kiss."

Immediately on the appearance of the *Vie de Jésus*, M. Pressensé wrote a short

\* He has indeed told us of "an excellent touchstone" to be found in "a kind of splendour, at once mild and terrible, a divine strength which emphasizes the authentic words, and detaches them from their apocryphal context. The real words of Jesus betray themselves spontaneously" (p. 21, Eng. Trans.) A more unscientific dictum could scarcely be devised. We may well ask whether, if a whole synod of critics were assembled, and urged to apply this touchstone independently, two of them would agree in their "detachments" of the text, or the reconstruction of its fragments—either in their analysis or their synthesis? A scientific touchstone should be precise, and not arbitrary or confusing.



pamphlet in reply, entitled *The Critical School and Jesus Christ*. Few fragments of controversial literature are superior to this small book. He has since then compiled a larger treatise, entitled *Jesus Christ, his Works, Life, and Times*, which covers the whole field discussed by Strauss and Renan. He briefly announces his aim to be to "dissipate some of the misconceptions by which the God-man is veiled from the eyes of my contemporaries." In an orderly manner, dealing first with those questions of philosophy and history "which hold the approaches to the subject," he vindicates the supernatural on speculative grounds, and seeks to prove the originality of the Christian faith by comparing it with the decaying religions of the East, and those Oriental and Western philosophies amidst which it came as a new birth. Pressensé has ably shown that Christianity was not "a product of the various elements in the ancient world, the confluence of its streams," though the resemblances between them prove that the new religion was "made for humanity, to answer its inmost needs." He has brought varied learning to the more delicate task of literary criticism, to which he next advances, dealing with the documents in which the records of Christianity have come down to us, to establish their place and value; and he concludes by unfolding the actual life of our Lord in its chronological sequences. In the latter part of his treatise we find a marked similarity of aim to Dr. Hanna's work. In Pressensé we find the French faculty of clear comprehensiveness. He traverses a wide area, and condenses the results of his survey in a few weighty paragraphs. His sentences shine like cut crystal; but they lack the calmer depth of German thought, and the warm glow of reverent enthusiasm, which pervades the Scotch divine. Clear, subtle, and eager, he has the characteristic fire of the best French writers on morals; but the meditative depth and the poetic sight of the British mind is on the whole more valuable in one who would attempt the great task of writing the Life of the Son of Man.

But the leading characteristics of Dr. Hanna's work will be more fully seen by comparing it with recent efforts in our own literature. We have alluded to Dr. Young's *Christ of History*, a volume of pre-eminent power. It stands somewhat in the same relation to Ullmann's treatise on the *Sinlessness of Jesus*, as these volumes of Dr. Hanna to such a work as the Life by Lange. It is full of genuine English sense and sagacious philosophy, and is pervaded by a high tone of reverence. Ullmann may deal in a

more philosophical manner with his special department of evidence, but for comprehensive wisdom in interpreting the phenomena of our Lord's life, and drawing the legitimate inferences from them, we know no volume equal to Dr. Young's—though Dr. Bushnell has also ably discussed the same question in a more condensed form, in one chapter of his treatise on *Nature and the Supernatural*.

In the Bampton Lectures for 1859, we find the Bishop of Gloucester endeavouring "to illustrate the connexion of the events in our Lord's life, and their probable order and succession." These lectures of Dr. Ellicott's are pervaded by a lofty tone of pious emotion; but they are diffuse, rhetorical, and of slight apologetic value. The notes are better than the text. The aim of the Bampton lecturer was similar to Dr. Hanna's—"to arrange, comment upon, and illustrate the principal events in our Redeemer's earthly history; to show their coherence, their connexion, order, and significance." But we miss in this treatise those clear and luminous outlines which Pressensé gives us, and those glances into the inmost secrets of the divine life,—that insight joined to catholicity which pervades the volumes before us. Dr. Ellicott is intense, poetic, reverential. He trembles with emotion in all that he writes. But his thought is too fluent. It loses precision in a deceptive rhetorical glow.

The Rev. Samuel Andrews has compiled a useful manual on the life of our Lord, dealing chiefly with its chronological aspects, in which he mainly follows Tischendorf's *Synopsis Evangelica*. His introductory essays on the dates of our Lord's birth, baptism, and death are valuable. The book is learned and accurate, but it presents a bare outline, useful mainly for reference.

The late Dr. Kitto has left a volume of "illustrations" of the life, which bears a certain resemblance in its aim to Dr. Hanna's.

It contains picturesque and vivid descriptions of the chief events of our Lord's ministry. His relation to contemporary Jewish life and the society of Palestine, the state of opinion in reference to him, its fluctuations, and the results of his life-work, are drawn with rare felicity. Kitto is a photographic archaeologist, who vivifies his descriptions of place and of manners with an almost Oriental wealth and profusion of detail.

We notice another English work, not so much for its intrinsic merit as for its partial anticipation of the order and plan which Dr. Hanna has followed. It is a series of seven volumes, by the Rev. Isaac Williams, Fellow of Trinity, Oxford, written in compara-



tive ignorance of the questions of modern criticism, and even with a fear lest "his own inquiries should degenerate into a merely critical or scholastic dissertation;" but in which the devout author ranges over the periods of our Lord's life with the view of introducing into his work "something of the depth and devotional thought of ancient interpretation." It is a work based largely on the ancient catenas, especially on the *aurea catena* of Aquinas. But it is curious to note that the author began with the last day of the passion (issuing a tentative volume), and proceeded thence to the rest of the life, as Dr. Hanna has done. The titles of his volumes are, *The Nativity*, *The Ministry*, (2 vols.), *The Holy Week*, *The Passion*, *The Resurrection*.

In the remarkable anonymous work titled *Ecc Homo* we have one of the ablest and most reverent attempts to estimate the meaning of our Lord's life, and his influence in the world. But as it is rather a treatise on Christian Ethics than a biographic study of the sacred character, we abstain from further reference to it.

Adequately to write the Life of our Lord, so as to bring out the wealth which lies half concealed and half revealed in the record of the evangelists, the biographer would require to possess such a combination of separate excellences that we can never expect to find the task executed to perfection. If it be true, as some one has said, that "it would require a second Christ to comprehend the first," it would no less require a divine biographer adequately to record a divine life. Knowledge of the philosophy of human nature, poetic insight into the physical universe and into human life, a wide knowledge of men, of the course of history, and of the forces that swayed the world prior to the Christian era, familiarity with antiquarian lore, a topographical knowledge of Palestine, the power of keen analysis and of large constructiveness, with personal reverence and devoutness of heart, are all prerequisites to the task. These are not combined in any single individual. It is therefore vain to look for a realized ideal of biography that shall surpass the story of the four evangelists.

The latest complete effort to reproduce the scenes of that distant age, and to reset them in the framework of the nineteenth century, now lies before us. And while most of the "Lives" written recently excel this of Dr. Hanna in some one respect, it may be doubted if any of them presents such a combination of excellences. The historical, analytical, literary, topographical, and devotional features of these six volumes

are less remarkable in themselves than in their union, and throughout the whole work there breathes an admirable humility. There is no parade of learning, no distracting foot-notes, no allusions for the erudite alone. It is an unencumbered, unartificial work. We are presented with the products and not with the processes of reasoning; with the results of scholarship without the display of the critical knowledge on which they are based. Dr. Hanna takes, as we have said, all the facts supplied by the four evangelists, and believing that each has its own significance, weaves the whole into a connected thread of narrative. Many surface discrepancies are thus harmonized, and the consecutiveness of the life, with its silently increasing purpose, is disclosed with a singular freshness. In addition, unsuspected harmonies reveal themselves, and evidence to which the harmonist who starts with the idea that the record is full of flaws which require the correction of modern criticism is blind, becomes apparent. It is true that Dr. Hanna relies less on critical analysis in his expositions than on that loving insight which sees into the heart of questions when verbal exegesis stands still at the door. He deals much more fully with the events themselves than with the records or channel by which they come down to us. His pre-eminent aim is to ascertain the inner character of the agents in the scenes, and especially of the central Character in the narrative.

Varied psychological insight reveals itself in all his analyses of character, especially in the account given of St. Peter, St. John, and St. Thomas. From incidental phases of thought and feeling a large significance is developed. The character of the betrayer, and the motives which led Judas to the commission of the crime with which his name is associated; the "inner workings of conscience and of humanity" in Pilate; the differences between St. Peter and St. John; the explanation of the denial by the former, and of the meaning of the look which led to his repentance; the conflicting elements in the soul of St. Thomas, are all admirably rendered. The dramatic portraiture is vivid, yet most delicate: photographic, as we have said, in the sharpness of the outlines, yet with coloured light and shade preserved, and with many of the phases of individuality suggested rather than portrayed; while the recital of the events of our Lord's life, so uncontroversial and undogmatic, so reverent and careful, leads at every stage to the adoration of faith. The classic grace with which the style of these volumes flows on may prevent many from perceiving the real depth of the stream, how clear the waters



are, and how the heavens are reflected in them. The pervading tone is that of reverential thoughtfulness and repose. We think that Dr. Hanna's descriptions of place excel those of any other writer, with the exception of Dean Stanley, in a quiet picturesqueness, in the subdued light of local colouring with which he has invested the localities he describes. By a few vivid touches he carries us into the very heart of the scene. We have the advantage of the writer's personal visit to the localities,—a fact never obtruded, but which gives a steady background of reality and of vividness to all his descriptions. We have no highly-coloured figure-painting, but an exquisite *felicity*, a directness and pictorial precision which leave little to be desired.

In their descriptions of Nature, and its possible influence on our Lord, the difference between Renan and Dr. Hanna is noteworthy. According to the former, "the aspect of Nature" was "the whole education of Jesus." The soft beauty of Galilean lakes and meads, woods and hills, created a correspondingly soft beauty in the soul of the tender prophet of Nazareth; and thus the whole history of his earlier years is "one delightful pastoral." To the deeper insight of our author, Nature's influence over Christ was only inspiring and suggestive. It supplied illustrations of the laws of his kingdom for the disciples, and the framework of parables for the people. Dr. Hanna does not presume to indicate the thoughts which the thirty years' residence in Nazareth may have quickened, but the place, "so retired, so rich in natural beauty, with glimpses of the wide world around for the morning or evening hours," where he had

"watched how the lilies grew, and saw how their Creator clothed them, had noticed how the smallest of seeds grew into the tallest of herbs; where outside the house he had seen two women grinding at one mill, inside, a woman hiding the leaven in the dough; where in the marketplace he had seen the five sparrows sold for two farthings; where the sheep-walks of the hills and the vineyards of the valleys had taught him what were the offices of the good shepherd and of the careful vine-dresser—all these observations of thirty years were treasured up, to be drawn upon in due time, and turned into the lessons by which the world was to be taught wisdom."

It is instructive to note the difference between these two travellers, who have both gone over the same ground, and traced the footsteps of Jesus so far as they can be now identified, the one with a faith in the supernatural, and the other without it,—both accurate observers and exquisite narrators.

The difference between their interpretations is wide enough, but are we wrong in ascribing the failure of the latter to his prepossession *against* the supernatural, so that "his eye saw only what it brought with it the power of seeing"?

As a specimen of picturesque beauty in Dr. Hanna's narrative, we may select the description of the source of the Jordan at Cæsarea-Philippi (*Galilean Ministry*, p. 317); and for instances in which the visit of the author to the places he has described has enabled him almost to photograph the scene, we may refer to his account of Jacob's Well, of the road from Bethany to Jerusalem past the hamlet of Bethphage, of the shores of the Lake of Tiberias, and his identification of Wady Fik as the ancient Gadara.

But the description of Nature is subordinated to a recital of the main incidents of the Life, and these incidents are again subservient to the development of character. The outward invariably yields to the inward, the physical to the moral and spiritual. Every other interest revolves around the Sacred Biography itself. The figures of the disciples move around their Master, and serve as a background of contrast to him; while all the minor characters, Jewish, Greek, Roman, Syro-phenician, are sketched by a delicate pencil and with singular tact. So that from a perusal of these volumes we believe that the sympathetic reader will carry away a more distinct image of the character and life of Christ, and his relation to his contemporaries, than he can gain from the more brilliant page of Pressensé, or the more elaborate discussions of Neander.

In the evangelical narratives there are frequent *breaks* in the continuity of the story, to fill up which by wise inference and not by rash conjecture is one end of historical study. These gaps are due not merely to the silence of the narrators, and the consequent want of connecting links, but to our ignorance of the motives which led to this or that course of action, and of the feelings with which our Lord's acts were accompanied. Much of what we may call the outward drapery of the scenes of the ministry is altogether omitted by the evangelists; and this, when supplied by a discreet interpreter, sheds peculiar light upon the incidents themselves. Or again, when several possible explanations of an event may be given, it is the part of the interpreter to choose the most likely, and, by a wise selection, it is singular how much light may be cast upon the narrative, while all trace of a hiatus between the events disappears. By thus clothing a scene with its unrecorded



moral drapery, much apparent harshness and arbitrariness vanish. For example, in the case of our Lord's cursing the barren fig-tree, when we see that he was, "enacting a parable," selecting a type of moral barrenness, and shadowing forth its doom, the very act of destruction becomes morally beautiful. We may instance a few of these suggestions which occur in Dr. Hanna's volumes. The explanation of the sigh which escaped from our Lord's lips before he cured the deaf and dumb man at Bethsaida (*Galilean Ministry*, pp. 307-8); the explanation of the vernacular Aramaic word "Ephphatha" then used in the district of Decapolis, or the use of the Hebrew phrase "Talitha-cumi" to the dead maiden in Jairus's Hebrew-speaking household; the reasons suggested for our Lord's visiting at a particular time the northern district of Caesarea-Philippi, where he was "surrounded by the emblems of various faiths and worships;" or the analysis of the motives which led the Greeks in Jerusalem to wish to see Jesus,—the act of cleansing the Temple having impressed them (*Passion Week*, p. 144); or the reasons why Galilee was selected as "the chosen trysting-place" for the appearances of the risen Lord with his disciples (*Forty Days*, pp. 109-11). In reference to all the manifold breaks in the narrative we may say what Dr. Hanna says of one set of them,

"We cannot doubt that if all the minor and connecting links were in our hands, we should be able to explain what now seems to be obscure, to harmonize what now seems to be conflicting. But in the absence of such knowledge we must be content to take what each writer tells us, and regard it as the broken fragment of a whole, all the parts of which are not in our hands, so that we can put them connectedly together."—(*Forty Days*, pp. 25-6.)

Another advantage of such a study of the Life of Jesus as this, is its unfolding of the exquisite *sequences* both in the acts and teaching of our Lord, and in the progressive testimony of others to his claim, those singular "ties of thought" and of incident, to which Dr. Hanna so often refers, the orderliness of the development of his plan, and the harmonious evolution of his whole work towards the world. The very key to the interpretation of one scene is often to be found in its sequence or connexion with another. The continuity of the story is marvellous, and when a blank occurs which cannot be filled up, a reason for the hiatus can usually be found. Incident leads on to incident, disclosure to disclosure. Testimony is added to testimony. Christ himself teaches only as the disciples are able to

receive his teaching. Enigmatic gleams of truth are dropped, which become intelligible only in the light of the sequel. This characteristic is one in which the life of Jesus differs from all other lives. There was no immaturity of plan or act, and no tardy development: nothing came too soon, nothing too late. The life advanced "without haste, yet without rest." Thus forming a grand and growing unity, it suggests, in its very uniqueness, that its subject himself "saw the end from the beginning." We can even see that to change its order would be to mutilate its parts, to reverse its sequences would be to mar its perfection.

In connexion with that inexhaustible fullness which Dr. Hanna most happily and sometimes unconsciously signalizes in our Lord, his lectures are eminently suggestive of new phases and unexhausted processes of thought. They raise a multitude of open questions at which they merely hint, and the curtain falls upon them, leaving them unsolved. Hence their catholicity. They proclaim one great Faith throughout, but they refuse to dogmatize upon details. It is difficult for a man with strong convictions which he holds firmly to be catholic towards those who differ from him; while it is easy for one who sits apart holding no form of creed to be blandly tolerant of all. But when we find catholicity in alliance with a strong faith, the union is as admirable as it is rare.

The most distinctive feature of these volumes remains to be noticed. It is the frequency with which the soundings of moral evidence are taken in the simplest manner. The author is not writing a formal *apologia*, but he has indirectly written one.

Thus in one of the earliest chapters, on the Nativity, our attention is turned to that "strange timing of events that then took place." Dr. Hanna shrinks from the attempt to penetrate within the veil which hides from us the secret things of God; but he finds it possible to detect "some natural and obvious benefits which have attended the coming of the Saviour at the particular period when it happened." It has enhanced the number and force of the evidences for his mission. For had Christ appeared at an earlier age, there would have been no room or scope for prophecy; and the record of his miracles coming down to us from a time when contemporary history was in the main legendary, would have been more open to question than it can possibly be when it proceeds from a literary age, and reaches us "through the same channel, and with the same vouchers for its authenticity, as a large portion of ancient history." Further,



the world seems to have been left for a long time to itself, "to make full proof of its capabilities and possibilities." Some of the highest forms of civilisation had already appeared; and the culture of Greek philosophy and art had failed to elevate human nature morally. History anterior to the advent seems to prove that, while human nature may variously elevate itself by efforts proceeding from within, and on its own plane, it cannot thus rectify its disorder and reach its ideal. Between the political condition of Palestine at the exact period of our Saviour's birth and the work which our Lord had to accomplish in the world, Dr. Hanna finds another pre-established harmony:—

"Had Jesus Christ appeared one half-century earlier, or one half-century later than he did; had he appeared when the Jewish authorities had unchecked power, how quickly, how secretly had their malice discharged itself upon his head! No cross had been raised on Calvary. Had he come a few years later, when the Jews were stripped even of that measure of power they for a short season enjoyed, would the Roman authorities, then the only ones in the land, of their own motion have condemned and crucified him?"—(*Earlier Years*, p. 38.)

Again, in comparing the four Gospels with the apocryphal narratives, we are arrested by the immense chasm between the two. "Men who wished to honour Christ in all they said about him; men 'better taught, many of them, than the apostles,' men who

"had the full delineation of the manhood of Jesus before them, could not attempt a fancy sketch of his childhood without not only violating our sense of propriety, by attributing to him the most puerile and unmeaning displays of divine power, but shocking our moral sense, and falsifying the very picture they had before their eyes, by attributing to him acts of vengeance."—(*Earlier Years*, p. 120.)

The harmony between the life of childhood and youth at Nazareth and the period of public labour, is found to yield another testimony to the miraculous in Christ's life:—

"His self-recognition as the Son of God in Jerusalem, when twelve years of age, his declaration of it to his mother, his acting on it throughout life, his words in the Temple, followed by eighteen years of self-denial, and gentle, prompt obedience, his growing consciousness of divine lineage, and of the selfishness, worldliness, and hypocrisy he detected around him, his divine reticence, his sublime and patient self-restraint, his refraining from all interference in public matters and all exposure to public notice," are the natural signs of the

development of a life sprung not of this world. —(*Earlier Years*, pp. 184-5.)

In the call of the first disciples a sign of the supernatural is seen at the very opening of the ministry:—

"Silently, gently, unostentatiously, Christ enters on the task assigned to him. Would any one sitting down to devise a career for the Son of God descending upon our earth, to work out the salvation of our race, have assigned such an opening to his ministry; and yet could anything have been more appropriate to him who came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, than this turning away from being ministered to by the angels in the desert, to the rendering of kindly services to John, and Andrew, and Peter, and Philip, and Nathanael?"—(*Earlier Years*, p. 241.)

Similarly, the self-denial implied in Christ's turning from the Samaritan villages, where a ready reception was accorded to him, and sending his disciples exclusively "to the house of Israel" (*Earlier Years*, p. 346), is inexplicable on the naturalistic theory of his life.

Dr. Hanna points to the unbroken unity of plan running through the course of the public ministry as a further evidence of the supernatural, for it indicates "a previous foresight." He whose life was never deflected from its course by any of the cross-currents of human affairs must have seen the end from the beginning.

"It has not been so with any of those men who have played the greatest part on the stage of human history. Their own confessions, the story of their lives, their earlier compared with their later acts, tell us how little they knew or thought beforehand of what they finally were to be and do. There have been shiftings and changes of place to suit the shiftings and changes of circumstances; surprises here, disappointments there; old instruments of action worn out and thrown away, new ones invented and employed; the life made up of a motley array of many-coloured incidents out of which have come issues never dreamt of at the beginning. Had Jesus seen only so far into the future as the unaided human eye could carry, how much was there in the earlier period of his ministry to have excited false hopes, how much in the latter to have produced despondency! But the people came in multitudes around him, and you can trace no sign of extravagant expectation. The tide of popular favour ebbs away from him, and you see no token of his giving up his enterprise in despair; no wavering of purpose, no change of plan, no altering of his course to suit new and obviously unforeseen emergencies."—(*Earlier Years*, pp. 262-3.)

The thread of a consistent harmony thus runs through the life from beginning to end; and here we meet the counter-assertion of



M. Renan with a direct and peremptory negative. Neander had already admirably replied to the attempt of De Wette and Paulus, to prove a change of purpose in our Lord's life; and the remarks of Dr. Hanna, with the criticism of Pressensé, are a sufficient reply to Renan.

The mysterious moral power which our Lord at times exercised over men offers fresh evidence of his superhuman origin. In the scene at the cleansing of the Temple, whence came that singular spell "over those rough cattle-drivers, and those cold calculators of the money-tables," that at the bidding of the youthful stranger all power of resistance vanished? And on the brow of the cliff at Nazareth, as well as in the garden of Gethsemane, whence came that sudden irresistible power over bands of men, that yielded they knew not why? No psychological analysis will explain these three events without the element of the supernatural.

Again, the evident ease and sense of power (never paraded) with which our Lord wrought his works of healing points in the same direction. He gives no explanations, and offers no argument to prove that he is the Christ, but simply and naturally, as one who held the key of Nature's storehouse, he proceeds to work a miracle as we would set about the commonest acts of our lives. When the miracle-workers of antiquity (as Elijah) are represented as raising the dead, they claim no personal power to do so; and it is only "with trouble and with pain," after long delay, and as the delegates of Jehovah, that they succeed, showing that they had to rise above themselves in the act. Our Lord, on the contrary, acts without any sign of rising above his accustomed level. He speaks to the dead, "in the style of him who said, Let there be light, and there was light."

A still more remarkable characteristic of our Lord's life remains to be unfolded, one which leads us to the very root of the moral evidence for his divinity. It is the infinite assumptions that he makes, which, if unsupported by an inward consciousness of their reality, would sink him, morally, beneath the majority of men. So that we must choose between the horns of a dilemma: either he was much more than human, or much worse than his calumniators. This is admirably indicated by Dr. Hanna. Take the words on the ground of which alone our Lord was condemned to die. "Art thou the Son of God?" was the question of the judges, and it was from his reassertion of the fact that he was condemned as a blasphemer. But if the fact was not true, in

the unique sense in which Jesus claimed it, and in which his accusers knew that he claimed it, it must have been the very height of blasphemy in him. No passing delusion could lessen the sin of such a reiterated assertion by one of sane mind, were it false.

"If only a man," says Dr. Hanna, "Jesus was guilty of an extent, an audacity, an effrontery of pretension, which the blindest, wildest, and most arrogant enthusiast has never exceeded. The only way in which to free his character as a man from the stain of egregious vanity and presumption, is to recognise him as the Son of the Highest. *If the divinity that was in him be denied, the humanity no longer stands stainless.*"—(*Last Day*, p. 78.)

To apprehend the full bearing of this remark, we must consider it in relation to the successive incidents of the life, and the continuity of the claim Christ made. He speaks of his oneness with the Father, of an hour coming in which all men, and even the dead, should hear his voice and live. "If this were but a man speaking of the Creator, and to his fellows, we know not which would be worst, the arrogance in the one direction, or the presumption and uncharitableness in the other" (*Earlier Years*, p. 375). Again, in pronouncing a doom over the cities of Chorazin and Bethsaida, for rejecting himself, he "anticipates the verdict of eternity" (*Galilean Ministry*, p. 123). At Caesarea-Philippi he minutely and circumstantially predicts the details of his own death; and on his last entrance into Jerusalem foretells the destruction of the city, which Josephus informs us was to the letter fulfilled. Strauss seems to perceive the force of this, as he admits (*New Life*, vol. i. p. 45) that "this previous certainty (if real) must have been as supernatural as the event itself." And in accordance with his theory, the prediction must be construed as an apostolic afterthought, to enhance the mythical glory of the Master. But it is not to the fact of Christ's prevision that we now point, but to the claim associated with it; the assumption of the right to judge mankind; his certainty of a future empire over the world and the realm of the dead; and the conviction is forced upon us, that if no supernatural consciousness supported our Lord in making these assertions, he sinks at once to the level of an inhuman impostor. He denounces terrible woes over the Pharisees. Could the greatest of the prophets have ventured to speak to them as from the throne of heaven, as one who would shortly be seated there? And if this was a delusion on his part, his words not only lose all meaning, but are



from first to last profane, and might be turned against himself. In the house of Simon the Pharisee he quietly makes the assumption that to him all debts are owing, and that by himself alone they could be forgiven. He arranges the future destinies of his disciples, pre-announcing and fixing the time and manner of their death. Deity incarnate alone was entitled to use the language, "If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?" He washes his disciples' feet, and thereafter says, "Ye call me Master and Lord, and ye say well, for so I am."

"No one ever made pretensions so high, no one ever executed offices more humble, no one ever claimed to stand so far above the level of our humanity, speaking of him-self as the light of the world, having rest and peace and life for all at his disposal. No one has made himself more thoroughly one with every human being whom he met, or was so ready with the services which one man may claim from his brother."—(*Passion Week*, p. 290.)

Again, in the very institution of the Lord's Supper, Dr. Hanna sees a unique testimony to the supernatural in Christ. He says it must have been instituted at the time asserted in the narrative; for "how could any body of men, without a falsehood in their hands which every one could detect, at any posterior period commence the celebration?"

"But who would ever have risked his reputation, his prospect of being remembered by the ages that were to come, by exhibiting such an eager and premature desire to preserve and perpetuate the remembrance of his name, his character, his deeds? They have left it to others after them to devise the means of doing so; neither vain enough, nor bold enough, nor foolish enough, to be themselves the framers of these means. But who is this who, ere he dies, by his own act and deed, sets up the memorial institution by which his death is to be shown forth? Surely he must be one who knows and feels that he has claims to be remembered such as none other ever had? Does not Jesus Christ, in the very act of instituting in his own lifetime this memorial rite, step at once above the level of ordinary humanity, and assert for himself a position towards mankind utterly and absolutely unique?"—(*Passion Week*, pp. 380-1.)

Again, as to the Resurrection. "It is by this event," says Dr. Hanna, in common with many others, "that we desire the entire question of the supernaturalism of our religion to be decided." The most remarkable attestation of this fact is to be found where we would least expect it, viz., in the state of the disciples' minds before and after the event occurred. No writer of fiction,

no elaborator of floating myths, would have conjoined with the predictions of Christ as to his resurrection, before he died, such an entire forgetfulness of these facts on the part of the disciples a few days afterwards; "such an utter prostration of all faith and hope as that which the evangelists describe, lasting till the most extraordinary means were taken to remove them, and yielding slowly even then." We can easily account for the state of the disciples' minds when their hopes seemed shattered by their Master's death, and the very power of remembering his words had vanished: but we cannot understand how the inventor of a cunningly devised fable, or the credulous idolatry of a number of disciples, full of faith and idealism, could have conjoined these two almost repugnant facts—facts which no man could have foreseen, on a calculation of probabilities, because they run utterly counter to the ordinary course of human action. We need not insist on the fact that Christ had "perilled his own reputation on its occurrence;" nor do we rest so much on the positive testimony borne by multitudes to the fact itself. But the puzzle which anti-supernaturalism cannot explain is the moral hiatus between the utter gloom and di-may, nay, even the despair, of the apostles at the time of their Master's death, and the sudden kindling of their faith (the faith of martyrs), which, within a few days, leapt into flame. What link connected these two states of mind in the apostles? Could it have been wholly subjective? There is a gap to be filled, a moral chasm to be spanned, and no bridge but that of the supernatural reality will span it. This becomes even more evident when we consider the origin and education of the apostles. They were rude unlettered men, slow of heart to believe; men without the faculty of poetic idealization; some of them with a large infusion of the spirit of honest doubt. It is a mistake to suppose that the rustic mind of a peasant is usually more amenable to spectral delusions than the soul of the imaginative thinker; and these Jewish peasants, the fishermen of Galilee, required the strong, clear evidence of fact before they would believe that which at first seemed to them too good news to be true. Then it might have been possible for one disciple to have elaborated the myth of the resurrection, for one excited woman to report that she had seen a ghost, and that it resembled the dead Master whose loss they all mourned: but a mixed multitude of diverse minds, in every variety of circumstances, united their testimony to the fact; a cloud of witnesses declared it with



one voice. And such was the force of the evidence to them that they willingly sealed it by death, while the resurrection became the central fact of apostolical testimony and of missionary preaching for years. No link but that of a real resurrection, the re-appearance of the historical Christ for a season with his disciples, can explain this victorious faith of the men, the rapid assent to their doctrine, the planting of innumerable churches, and the speedy power of Christianity in the world.

But perhaps the best contribution to this line of evidence will be found in Dr. Hanna's chapter entitled "The Great Commission." In the narrative of one of those manifestations of Jesus to his disciples after the resurrection; we read that "he came and spake unto them, saying, All power is given unto me in heaven and on earth." "How," asks Dr. Hanna,—

"How could a man of woman born, who had lived and died as we do, have been regarded as other than the vainest and most arrogant of pretenders, who said that all power in heaven and earth was his, had there not been something in the whole earthly history of this man which corresponded with and bore out such an extraordinary assumption? The simple fact that there was a man who lived for three-and-thirty years in familiar intercourse with his fellow-men, yet, ere he left the world, was recognised and worshipped by five hundred of them, as one who was guilty of no presumption in saying, 'All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth,' goes far to sustain the belief that he was indeed the Son of the Highest. To imagine that a Jew, the son of a Galilean carpenter, educated in a village in the rudest part of Judea,—that such a man, being a man and nothing more, could have lived so long upon the earth without saying or doing anything to belie the belief in his divinity, presents a far greater difficulty than does the doctrine of the Incarnation."—(*Forty Days*, pp. 157-8.)

The commission to the infant Church followed this claim of power—"Go, preach the gospel to every creature:"—

"A mission so comprehensive was as novel as it was sublime. Familiarity with the idea blunts the edge of our wonder; but at that time, when, in a remote Jewish province, Jesus gathered a few hundred followers, and sent them forth, assigning them a task not to be accomplished till all nations had been brought to sit under his shadow; the idea of a religion addressed to all, equally adapted to all, and needed by all, had never been broached, never been attempted to be realized. Prior systems gloried in their exclusiveness; and, both socially and religiously, the Jew of the Saviour's time was one of the most shut in and bigoted of his race. His faith and his patriotism were one; and the deeper the patriotism

the narrower the faith. And yet it is among this people—it is from one brought up in one of its wildest districts, it is from one for whom birth, position, education, had done nothing in the way of weaning him from the prejudices of his countrymen; it is from him that a religion emanates whose professed object is to gather into one the whole human family. The very broaching of a project so original, so comprehensive, so sublime, in that age, and in these circumstances, stands out as an event unique in the history of our race. Had Jesus Christ done nothing more than set this idea for the first time afloat, that it was desirable and practicable to frame for the world a religious faith and worship which should have nothing of the confinements of country, or period, or caste, he would have stood by himself, and above all others. But he did more than this. He not only announced the project, but he devised the instrument by which it was to be accomplished. He put that instrument in its complete and perfect form, into the hands of those by whom it was to be employed. That instrumentality has never asked for, because it has never needed, improvement or change. When Jesus said, 'Go make disciples of all nations,' he announced, and that in the simplest, least ostentatious way, as if there was no novelty in the project, no difficulty in its execution, as if it were the most natural thing in the world, that it should be taken up, and the surest thing that it should be carried out, the most original, the broadest, the sublimest enterprise that ever human hands have been called upon to accomplish."—(Pp. 156-166.)

Dr. Hanna has not written a book for scholars, yet in his volumes there are hints of problems which the most learned scholars may very easily miss. To a devout imagination and a mature judgment aspects of truth are sometimes disclosed to which mere erudition is often blind. We may mention several of these questions underlying the narrative of facts, which are hinted at rather than discussed by our author. The significant absence of any information as to the mode of ordination of the twelve apostles—Christ "having done nothing with his own hand to erect or organize the church" (*Galilean Ministry*, p. 329); the pretended primacy of St. Peter (pp. 332-6); the exposition of the relations of Church and State, in the analysis of the saying, "Render unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's, but unto God the things which are God's" (*Passion Week*, p. 79); the trial to our Lord in bearing the burden of insoluble problems which should hereafter perplex his Church, as, for example, the destination of human souls after death (*Galilean Ministry*, pp. 124-5); the possible pain arising from the restriction of his earthly ministry, and its insignificant results (*Passion Week*, p. 147); the "room for the patriotic sentiment



in Jesus, that love of country by which every true man is characterized; and, mingling with that which was divine and broadly human, purified from all imperfection, narrowness, and selfishness, that patriotic grief which wept over the overthrow of Jerusalem" (*Last Day*, p. 168). In the answer to the question of the Sadducees (*Passion Week*, p. 90) the root of the system of materialism is disclosed; and the relation of a free personal being to his creation, with the possible changes which nature may undergo in the economy of the future, is alluded to. In the classification of the miracles, as wrought upon nature and upon man, and the reasons given for "the vast preponderance of the latter," we have a glance into the philosophy of the miraculous. To display omnipotence was not Christ's aim, or he could have done so far more strikingly than he did. His omnipotence was veiled under the moral import and the spiritual end to be reached. A deep question in morals, and the relation of the central commandment to the separate precepts, are discussed in connexion with the lawyer's question, "Master, which is the great commandment?" (*Passion Week*, p. 103). We may further notice the reasons assigned for our Lord's delay upon the earth for forty days between the resurrection and the ascension, and for the brief mysterious glimpses of these days, viz., that both the humanity and divinity should be signalized; the one by his residence so long, and the clearly human appearances; the other by their peculiar character, brief and fugitive, almost spiritual and spectral. Had the old Galilean life been resumed, the "rising faith in the divinity" of Jesus would have been checked. Had he ascended immediately from the tomb of Joseph of Arimathea, "in the blaze of that new glory around his person, the man Christ Jesus had been lost, the humanity swallowed up in the divinity" (*Forty Days*, p. 39).

The view taken of the nature of our Lord's resurrection body is also noteworthy. It is represented as undergoing during the forty days a gradual transition from the material to a spiritual state, "the corruptible being on its way to the incorruptible, the mortal putting on the clothing of immortality" (*Forty Days*, p. 58). Strauss has affirmed that on this point there is an insuperable contradiction in the accounts of the evangelists: one statement representing the resurrection body as physical, because able to digest food, another representing it as a ghost, because able to pass through closed doors. He therefore speaks of the story as a "fantastic imagination." But

the supposition that the body which arose from the grave was physical, but that it gradually became etherealized, though not new, is so exceedingly suggestive, that we wonder it is not generally received by the Church. We have some analogies which bear it out. The spirit may gradually exercise a vast ascendancy over the body; and in proportion as a man acquires victory over the senses the form of his organization is refined. Matter may finally yield to spirit, so as to be its elastic and ethereal vehicle, rather than, as now, its impediment and drag. Spirit may gradually be able to dispense with the aid of matter, and after having been educated and enriched by it may stand less and less in need of its coarser stimulus. And in the resurrection body of Christ we have the type of what the bodies of men may become in a more etherealized universe. It is only in keeping with other divine laws to which he was subject that the process of transition in our Lord's case should have been gradual.

There are occasional repetitions in the course of these volumes, arising no doubt from the order in which they appeared. We have, for example, the analysis of the character of St. Peter given twice over in the same words. Had they been written in a consecutive series, beginning with the Nativity, the retrospect in the fifth volume on the *Last Day of the Passion* would not have occurred; nor such regressions as the biographic sketch of the Virgin, which is suggested merely by Christ's address to her from the cross. The admirable sermon on "the great invitation," introduced into the recital of the Galilean ministry, may be justified by the grandeur of the theme, and because it contains the very essence of our Lord's message to the world; but it somewhat breaks the continuity of the narrative, and, if treated in its evidential character, as testifying to him who could alone invite a world to find repose in himself, it would have been more homogeneous and complete. The two discourses on the parables of the Virgins and of the Talents, and the description of the day of final judgment (in the *Passion Week*), might have been retrenched, especially as some other discourses revealing the inner life of our Lord are briefly passed over. The reference to the abuse of works of fiction introduced into the lecture on the weeping for the daughters of Jerusalem is scarcely relevant.

While it is true that we find in these volumes some things more adapted to the pulpit than the permanent literary page, they are a very noteworthy specimen of Scottish Christian teaching. It is to be re-



gretted that a philosophical analysis and defence of the great data of the Christian faith is seldom heard from the modern pulpit. A notion seems to prevail that the elementary facts of the gospel of Christ ought to be the staple of the teaching there. It was not so always. If we consult the specimens which survive even of patristic and mediæval preaching, or examine the great masters of English Platonism in the seventeenth century (to select but two instances), we shall find that their ideal was widely different. The exclusion, or even the subordination, of those fundamental themes with which reflective men are struggling, from the place where they should be welcomed and cherished, will impoverish, if it does not arrest, the power of the pulpit. Believing as we do, with the *Spectator*, that questions of an "apparently refined and scholastic nature lie at the very basis of national energy and national morality," we think that these should be freely discussed from the place of direct Christian education.

We would suggest to Dr. Hanna the expediency of following this series of volumes with another, dealing with some of the questions which he takes for granted in these. Though the series is complete in itself, a supplementary discussion of some of the problems which the Tübingen school has raised would form an appropriate introduction. Much remains to be done in this direction. We have not as yet an absolutely accurate history of the results of modern criticism as to the origin of the Gospel narratives.

We should also have relished from the same pen some chapters devoted to the still more arduous task of gathering together the main elements in the teaching of our Lord, summarizing its results, and showing the re-appearance of its germs in the apostolic doctrine of the Epistles. If we proceed beyond a mere recital of events to ponder the *meaning* of the facts narrated, we are immediately led into the region of doctrinal form. Doctrine is but the *explanation of fact*. But we think that the collection of "the first flowings" of Christian doctrine from the words of its Founder would reveal some curious discrepancies between it and the creeds of later ages, some modern growths and incrustations, possibly also some losses and departures from its first ideal.

We cannot part with these volumes without a further reference to the fundamental feature which distinguishes this Life of our Lord from those by Strauss and Renan. The admission or rejection of the superna-

tural determines that fundamental feature. Its recognition is the touchstone of success, its rejection the badge of failure. From the account we have given of the French and German works, it will be seen that they agree in pronouncing the supernatural unhistoric. Renan has not the hardihood to assert that miracles are impossible, but in the name of universal history he says, that "up to this time no miracle has ever been proved," as none has ever occurred in presence of men capable of testing its miraculous character. Strauss is at once bolder and more rash. In his judgment miracle is "that heterogeneous element which makes history impossible." He would admit nothing supernatural, no matter how numerous the witnesses or harmonious their attestation. Philosophy pronounces the verdict *a priori* which scientific history ratifies *a posteriori*. Miracle is contingency and lawlessness within an orderly world. It implies that God acts against his own laws. It amounts to a correction of the universe, and consequently involves its imperfection: and as the evangelical recorders had no critical tests, their evidence loses all power of proof.

It will be observed that we have here a gigantic *petitio principii*, a gratuitous assumption utterly inadmissible in philosophy, unless supported by the evidence of an intuition. But its advocates deny the validity of the intuitions, and found it on an induction from historical phenomena. As such it ignores the boundaries of human knowledge. It illogically infers a universal conclusion from a number of particular instances of fixed order in nature (these instances being irrelevant to the argument, as they are admitted on both sides). And it may be directly negated by positive testimony to the opposite. We therefore turn Strauss's dictum against his own theory, that "there may be things so incredible in themselves that this incredibility would invalidate the evidence of a witness in other respects the most credible of men" (by which principle he would reject a miracle, however attested). It may be applied with the greatest cogency to the assumption that Jesus was merely human, notwithstanding any amount of evidence as to the origin of the Gospel narratives. This is an assumption so incredible, that its incredibility would shake the evidence of any witness from the first century that attested it.

But we decline to admit the postulate from which both Strauss and Renan and all anti-supernaturalists start. They first define a miracle in a fashion which travesties the doctrine maintained, and then refuse



on the ground of their dogmatic postulate to admit the relevancy of the only kind of evidence that could substantiate that which they reject. Even although the occurrence of a miracle were tantamount to the suspension of Nature's laws (which it is not), to be entitled to assert that such a violation of Nature was impossible the objector should be conversant with the inmost secrets of natural phenomena, to be absolutely sure that no new force or set of forces had escaped his notice, or was held by the Divine mechanic in reserve. In short, if miracles are impossible, man in his ignorance cannot know the fact. The secret would belong exclusively to Him who has chosen to reveal the opposite. For a creature of limited intellectual vision to deny the possibility of miracle is indirectly to arrogate omniscience. M. Renan has seen this, and hence has fallen back on historical ground, and contents himself with affirming that no miracle has ever been critically attested.

The question of the miraculous thus recedes into a problem of speculative philosophy. Miracles are impossible except on a theistic theory of the universe. But no theist can validly deny their possibility. It remains for historical and more evidence to authenticate the fact. But the first postulate of theism, the free-will of God, and the existence of an infinite *reserve of power* in the Divine Nature,—power unexhausted in the creation and upholding of the universe,—supplies us with a firm philosophical basis on which the fact may repose.

Searching for a human analogy to the transcendent power which theism thus conceives as ever within and behind the veil of Nature, we do not betake ourselves to marvels and apparitions; for we find the true analogue within the human will. If our will is free in any sense, it is a source of power; it can originate new processes. By the forth-putting of our free causality we can produce a new series of effects, which, however, blend throughout the whole process with the customary sequences of Nature. We change the order of Nature by introducing a new force within its realm. And if God be free, if human freedom is but a dim reflection or adumbration of his, it is self-evident that he may introduce at will new forces within the existing order of things. We can alter no law of Nature: we can only discharge a new force from the centre of our personality amongst existing laws. And in the miracles of Christ we see Nature amenable to a Divine will, as it is amenable to the supernatural action of our human wills. The difference is not in the nature of the effects produced, but in the rank and power

of the Agent producing them. The reign of law is unbroken; but Nature is flexible, and bends before a new-born power. The novel and seemingly anomalous agent blends harmoniously with the existing framework of causation, and is itself subject to the sweep of mundane law the moment that it is introduced. Its miraculous character lies in its source. The new element is not lawless, nor does it come to violate law, or dethrone it. The supernatural is but *the higher natural*. God does not readjust his former work; he supplements it, out of the infinite reserve of his nature. Without the rigour of fixed law, confusion and anarchy would reign: and without the presence of a supernatural will behind the orderly phenomena, the universe would be locked up as in the chains of fate; and intermediate between the chance of the one system and the rigour of the other, between causalism and fatalism, the doctrine of a supernatural and living will emerges.

But we cannot affirm that the presence of God is more real in a miraculous event than in a natural process. That would be to banish God from the realm of Nature,—to limit him to the abnormal and exclude him from the normal. The spiritual and supernatural is rather the *source* of the natural and material. The latter is an apocalypse of the former, a revelation of God, "the garment we see him by." And the "signs and wonders" of the New Testament were not more truly (though they were *as* truly) the signs of the supernatural, than were the lilies of the field, or the fowls of the air, from which our Lord deduced the doctrine of a universal Providence. What we see in the phenomena of the universe is the apparatus by which God reveals himself constantly in Nature; what the disciples saw in the miracles of our Lord was the apparatus by which he revealed himself once in his Son. The supernatural is the same in both cases. We cannot affirm that the presence of God is less real throughout Nature at all times (though we may not discern it) than it was in the peculiar and unique machinery of the Christian advent; or, to make the distinction more emphatic, that in the *resurrection* of Lazarus God was more specially revealed than he was in the natural *death* of Lazarus. The former incident was but a selected means to impress upon a callous generation the reality of the supernatural, and to supply a type of the continuous miracle of history. But why should our biassed "men of science" so persistently deny the possibility of such a gentle incursion into the realm of Nature of that power which ever sleeps behind phenomena? They deny that there



can be "sought in heaven or earth but what is dreamt of in their philosophy." But Science itself is only the human interpretation of natural phenomena, and the human classification of Nature's powers. Why refuse to include within the limits of historical fact a series of new manifestations of which the cause is occult, underworking, and divine? We do not fall into the abyss of oriental dualism by so doing; for between the ordinary and the extraordinary the difference, as we have said, is only one of degree. And a miracle is the highest revelation of Nature, because of the supernatural Power which resides behind and within it everywhere. Apparent violations of order are but instances in which laws that are inferior yield normally before the power of the superior.

But some reason for the introduction of the new agency within the old order may be shown to exist. Nature was already marred by the introduction of moral evil, and the necessity for the supernatural arises simply from the failure of the natural—a failure not due to any physical defect within the universe, but to the loss of moral power in man. The original and normal state of the creature had by his own act become the abnormal; and the introduction of the supernatural was a means of his restoration to the normal, as human nature had failed to raise and regenerate itself. If the present condition of the earth were its normal state, and evil were merely a defect to be balanced in due time by excess, there would be no room for supernatural agency. But if evil be a moral blot in the universe, the interposition of God to remove the blot of the creature is immediately seen to be but the restoration of order.

But the restorative process which is introduced will be in strict conformity with the nature of that which it comes to restore, *i.e.*, it will be mainly spiritual and moral. The physical wonders which may accompany it will be altogether secondary and subordinate. Now, in discussing the Christian miracles, attention is often fixed on the physical marvels, which have no value and little meaning apart from their moral end. A prodigy is a mere finger-post pointing to some moral truth. And possibly the Christian miracles have repelled the scientific world, mainly because of the attention which Christian apologists have bestowed upon their outward forms. But the physical is the accidental, the moral is the essential in a miracle; and the radical conception of the supernatural in Christianity is the restoration of a lost moral order, by the free act of one whose power is the mere energy of his love.

Thus considered, the supernatural is not only an essential part of Christianity, it is Christianity itself. Eliminate it, and you eliminate root, branches, and the whole tree; and the religion of Christ falls at once to the level of the other religious systems, if it does not (because of its claim to the supernatural) sink beneath them all.

Strauss had attempted to show that if a belief in miracles has any warrant at all, it may be as freely extended to those of the Greek mythology, or oriental Buddhism, or mediæval Catholicism, as to those "signs" which accompanied the birth of Christianity. As we reject the former marvels as unhistorical, and make an exception in favour of the Christian miracles, we must show some valid reasons for the exception. If we can prove that it would involve a greater marvel, and tax our credulity more, to treat the Christian miracles as legends, than to accept them as facts, we have a presumption in their favour; just as if, by the rejection of all miracles, the life of Christ could be made to yield a more satisfactory result, we should have a presumption on the other side. We therefore accept the challenge, and point to the totally different character of the Christian miracles from the poetic idealizations of Greece or the apocryphal legends of Jewish story. The test of a divine moral purpose, in which power is ever "vassal unto love," will easily distinguish between the spurious and authentic; while the evidence of facts is in the one case clear, and in the other obscure. We think that the volumes of Dr. Hanna have abundantly proved this point. But a scientific vindication of the miraculous is comparatively useless to those critics who assert their impossibility *a priori*. Strauss virtually says, "I will not be persuaded though one rose from the dead." Renan desires that the alleged marvel should be performed before the Academy of Sciences, and repeated frequently, that no illusion or sleight-of-hand be mistaken for reality. But this demand is fatal to the very idea of the miracle. It is wrought not to excite wonder, but to produce a moral result. Renan ignores the spiritual element in the physical prodigy. But no miracle could have been wrought to gratify the scientific curiosity of men already biassed against its evidence. It is recorded in the Gospels that in certain districts our Lord "could do no mighty works, because of the unbelief" of the spectators. But his miracles were varied sufficiently to prove that by no stock process, legerdemain, or fraud, could any one of them have been wrought; while the whole key-board of Nature was amenable to his will.



Pressensé has well said, "Falsehood may have its hour, but it has no *future*;" a maxim by which it would be unwise for any generation to test a novel doctrine submitted to it. But the advance of history, with its "increasing purpose," the gradual extinction of those forms of faith which have no permanent root in human nature, or in the facts of the past, and the severe strain to which those must have been subjected which have outlived the scrutiny of the ages, warrant its application to history at large. What stands the criticism of Time is true; and if error lives, its vitality is due to the truth with which it is in all cases mixed up. The constant and distracting succession of hypotheses as to the origin of the Gospels, and the twilight of uncertainty to which most of them conduct, present a strange contrast to the light which the supernatural casts upon the life of Christ. The first work with the majority of the critics is to abolish the conclusions of their predecessors. This is consistent enough in those who hold with Renan that "the ideal is ever a utopia." But we pronounce his dictum philosophically false, and historically untrue. The ideal *has been realized* in One Human Life. Its solitariness and its ideal completeness is the source of its unique power in the world; and it has "possessed the future" much more completely than it conquered the age in which it first appeared.

We have sufficiently indicated our high estimate of the work of Dr. Hanna, and of the contribution he has made to the apologetical literature of the Church. It has been written mainly for those who have not been perplexed by the questions of modern thought,—rather for the Church than for those outside its borders. But its function is much wider than its author states it, and it may yet take precedence of more ambitious treatises in the estimation of the Church catholic.

---

ART. II. — *Diary, Reminiscences, and Correspondence of Henry Crabb Robinson, Barrister-at-Law, F.S.A.* Selected and Edited by THOMAS SADLER, Ph. D. 3 vols. London: Macmillan and Co., 1869.

IN February 1867, Henry Crabb Robinson was gathered to his fathers, at the great age of ninety-one. His decease produced little sensation. To the general public his very name was unknown. A large circle of familiar friends and admiring acquaintances alone recognised and appreciated his personal

abilities. The ancient sage refused to consider any man happy till after his death. That the late Mr. Robinson did not enjoy this life thoroughly we should hesitate to admit. Yet we contend that to him, more than to contemporaries of greater celebrity, was it given to merit a large and enviable share of posthumous fame, to provide during his lifetime for the instruction of his successors, and to transmit to posterity information at once rare and valuable; rare, because within the compass of few to acquire, and valuable, on account of its intrinsic and enduring worth.

The Diary and Correspondence of Mr. Robinson constitute a work which is both the record of his life, and his monument. By birth a Dissenter, he was thus excluded, through the operation of rules now happily cancelled, from the advantages of an University education. His family belonged to that middle class which constitutes the backbone of English society. From youth to old age he delighted in acquiring knowledge. In his earlier years he busied himself in considering and discussing those religious and social problems which a century ago agitated the active and inquisitive spirits of the age. Before the outbreak of the French Revolution, a taste for speculative inquiry, accompanied by an aversion to the existing order of things, was the marked characteristic, not of the Continent only, but of this country also. Our Revolution of 1688 had become an accepted fact. The oldest and most bigoted Tories had transferred their baneful services to the Hanoverian dynasty. At his accession, George the Third said that he gloried in the name of Briton; he had not long to wait before he could boast that the remaining adherents of the house of Stuart gloried in him. As years passed on, the pressure of personal government increased, and the power of the representatives of the people diminished. Wars were recklessly waged, the nation's treasure was lavished, the people's blood was spilled, at the bidding of a short-sighted and obstinate, yet powerful king. These sanguinary and dearly bought contests reduced the country's strength. Terrible and irretrievable defeats weakened England's prestige. The climax came when the American colonies conquered their independence.

For the discomfiture which the English arms underwent in America there was a compensation in the triumphs gained in India. A rising and sturdy colony was lost for ever; but a dependency, which was also an empire, was added to the territory of Great Britain. Yet the most glorious successes in the East produced very little



effect at home. The mind of the nation was barren in great works. There was more speculation than production. Dissatisfied with old forms and empty phrases, the younger men strove to transform literature from a manufactory of rounded sentences into a perfect image of living ideas. Godwin and Southey, and Coleridge and Wordsworth, were the earliest preachers of the new doctrines. While they were yet planning and elaborating their schemes, Henry Crabb Robinson was a youth craving for novelty, and ready to welcome it. Born in 1775, his earliest recollection was the illumination to celebrate the acquittal of Admiral Keppel, an admiral who had a narrow escape from being sacrificed to gratify party animosity, and to give increased point to the sarcasm which the execution of the unfortunate Byng called forth from Voltaire. Another remembrance of his childhood makes it clear that Cowper's ballad of John Gilpin at once became popular in the largest and most conservative of audiences, that which fills the nurseries of the land. Mr. Robinson remembers not only its publication, but also the fact of having received sixpence for getting it by heart. He was a boy when the news came that a Revolution had taken place in France. He rejoiced at the occurrence, not because he had any political knowledge, but because, as the son of a Dissenter, he had been taught to regard the Church as a persecuting body. Hence, he gloried in the thought that the Church, as represented by the French priests, and the upholders of the Church, as represented by the French monarch, had been forcibly overthrown. As with many others, so with him: the excesses of the revolutionists filled him with disgust.

When sixteen years old, and after he had been the articled clerk of an attorney at Colchester, Mr. Robinson heard Erskine deliver one of his effective speeches. There was a charm in the voice and a fascination in the eye of the great forensic orator, which made a lasting impression on the listener. He detected his trick of style, and afterwards profited by it. This consisted in frequent repetitions. "He had one or two leading arguments and main facts on which he was constantly dwelling. But then he had marvellous skill in varying his phraseology, so that no one was sensible of tautology in the expressions. Like the doubling of a hare, he was perpetually coming to his old place. Other good advocates, I have remarked, were ambitious of a great variety of arguments." About this time also he heard a sermon from one whose name will outlive Erskine's—the venerable John Wesley. Broken with years, and hardly able to make himself audible, his

preaching "was for the most part pantomime, but the pantomime went to the heart. Of the kind, I never saw anything comparable to it in after life." In a letter to his brother he gives a fuller account of the proceedings. One passage merits attention, testifying as it does at once to Wesley's freedom from bigotry and from sectarian cant. Mr. Robinson writes, "After the last prayer he rose up and addressed the people on liberality of sentiment and spoke much against refusing to join with any congregation on account of difference in opinion. He said, 'If they do but fear God, work righteousness, and keep his commandments, we have nothing to object to.'"

In 1795 Mr. Robinson read a book, then recently published, which materially biased his opinions and influenced the course of his after life. This was Godwin's *Political Justice*. When it appeared this work produced a sensation among the reading and thinking public similar in kind, and perhaps greater in degree, than did the publication in our day of Buckle's *History of Civilisation in England*. The religious world was scandalized. The circle of independent reasoners was delighted. The crowd took its tone from the majority, and regarded Godwin as a man bent on subverting public order and striking a fatal blow at civilisation. Mr. Robinson records that it became a reproach to be a follower of Godwin, but that his enthusiasm was so great as to render him willing to become a martyr for the principles of Godwin's philosophy. He adds, what is the highest tribute of praise which could be paid to that misunderstood writer, that "in one respect the book had an excellent effect on my mind—it made me feel more generously." He also mentions, what he often repeated in after life, that his style of living, the training to which he voluntarily subjected himself, were adopted after a perusal of the work; that for many years he preferred freedom of action, a garret and a pittance, to any luxuries which he might have obtained through renouncing his life of self-denial and self-culture.

Those were the days when English liberty was little more than a name. The Stuarts were not more high-handed when the Star-Chamber was in full vigour than were the constitutional advisers of George the Third, after the French Revolution had aroused the apprehensions of the timid and given a handle to the tyrannical. Prosecutions, instituted for acts deemed treasonable and for writings styled seditious, nearly always ended in the conviction and severe punishment of the accused. Gilbert Wakefield, a scholar of merited and acknowledged position,



was sentenced to two years' imprisonment for hazarding the remark, in a letter written by way of reply to a sycophantic pamphlet of the devoted and the ultra-loyal Bishop of Llandaff, that the poor would lose nothing by French conquest! The publisher of Mr. Wakefield's letter expiated his crime by a few months' imprisonment. Nor was the anxiety to restrain the utterance of free political thought confined to cases in which the Sovereign or the Constitution of this country had been ridiculed or criticised. Two young men, editors of the *Courier*, were imprisoned for two months because they had written a paragraph to the effect that the Emperor of Russia "had acted oppressively, and made himself unpopular with the nobility, by a late decree prohibiting the importation of timber." When we learn that at this period the sufferings of the poor were very great, owing to the scarcity, and consequent high price of provisions, that the middle class was bending under the pressure of local as well as general taxes—the poor-rates alone amounting in many cases to as large a sum as that paid in the shape of rent,—we cannot wonder that many should have been tempted to despair of their country, that a few restless spirits should have meditated a revolution brought about by violence, and that men of calm judgment and unquestioned patriotism should have concluded that the time had come for sweeping reforms in the representation of the people, and for a thorough change in the conduct of the national affairs.

At the beginning of 1800 Mr. Robinson went to Germany with a view to acquire the language and study the literature of that country. In these days there is nothing unusual in this. Several young Englishmen are now to be found among the students at most of the German Universities. In many a German city and village is an English colony, composed of those who, for reasons either laudable or discreditable, think it advisable to quit their native land for a definite period, or for ever. But the case was otherwise seventy years ago. Then it was a feat to ascend the Rhine and visit the principal cities of Germany. It was a proof that Wordsworth and Coleridge did not conform themselves to the ways of their fellows in the ordinary affairs of life, any more than they observed the rules which had been accepted as binding upon all writers of verse, that both should have considered a visit to Germany as a part of their education. It is a curious coincidence that Mr. Robinson, who afterwards became the devoted admirer of one, and the attached friend of both, should in this matter have done as they did. However, his stay was longer than theirs. He

saw more of the country, and became personally acquainted with more of its distinguished men than they did. The first experience he had was by no means enviable. He had taken up his abode at Frankfort when the French were engaged in extending the principles of the Republic by overrunning and annexing the possessions of their neighbours. More than once he ran great risk of being taken prisoner, because, as an Englishman, he was an enemy of France. His knowledge of German stood him in good stead in some cases; in others the French officers being courteous enough to affect ignorance, thereby enabled him to retain his liberty. The account of a long tour, which he made in 1801, through Germany, Switzerland, and Bohemia, is filled with interesting details of the prevailing customs of the people and general character of the country in those days. The following anecdote might have been quoted with effect some years ago, when the Liberal party vainly tried to enforce that policy of "levelling up" in Ireland, which has now been abandoned for that of religious equality. When in Bohemia he made inquiries as to the position of the Hussites. He was told that "they are the most loyal and peaceable of all our people." "It did not use to be so?" "Oh, no! they were always breeding disturbances, but the Emperor Joseph put an end to that. Their priests were very poor, and lived upon the peasants; one man gave them a breakfast, another a dinner, another a bed; and so they went from house to house, beggars and paupers. When the Emperor came to Prague to be crowned, among the decrees which he issued the first day was one that the Hussite priests should be allowed the same pay as the lowest order of the Catholic clergy. And since then we have never had a disturbance in the country."

Most important to him, and most interesting to us, of all the visits Mr. Robinson made in Germany, and of all the acquaintances he formed there, were his visits to Weimar in the days of its glory, to Jena when at the height of its academical renown, and his introduction to Herder and Wieland, to Schiller and Goethe. The following is his account of the first interview he had with him whom the Germans venerate as the greatest man of their race:—

"My companion then took me to Professor Meyer, who introduced us into the presence of Goethe—the great man, the first sight of whom may well form an epoch in the life of any one who has devoted himself seriously to the pursuit of poetry or philosophy.

"I had said to Seume that I wished to *speake* with Wieland and *look* at Goethe—and I lite-



rally and exactly had my desire. My sense of his greatness was such, that had the opportunity offered, I think I should have been incapable of entering into conversation with him; but as it was, I was allowed to gaze on him in silence. Goethe lived in a large and handsome house—that is, for Weimar; before the door of his study was marked in mosaic, *SALVE*. On our entrance he rose, and with rather a cool and distant air beckoned us to take seats. As he fixed his burning eye on Seume, who took the lead, I had his profile before me, and this was the case during the whole of our twenty minutes' stay. He was then about fifty-two years of age, and was beginning to be corpulent. He was, I think, one of the most oppressively handsome men I ever saw. My feeling of awe was heightened by an accident. The last play which I had seen in England was *Measure for Measure*, in which one of the most remarkable moments was when Kemble (the Duke), disguised as a monk, had his hood pulled off by Lucio. On this Kemble, with an expression of wonderful dignity, ascended the throne and delivered judgment on the wrong-doers.

"Goethe sat in precisely the same attitude, and I had precisely the same view of his side-face. The conversation was quite insignificant. My companions talked about themselves—Seume about his youth of adversity and strange adventures. Goethe smiled with, as I thought, the benignity of condescension. When we were dismissed, and I was in the open air, I felt as if a weight were removed from my breast, and exclaimed, 'Gott sei Dank!' Before long I saw him under more favourable auspices; but of that hereafter."

During his subsequent residence at Frankfurt, he made the acquaintance of Goethe's mother, who had "the mien and deportment of a strong person." Of her son she spoke with affection and pride. She gave Mr. Robinson this account of the origin of Goethe's first drama, *Göts von Berlichingen*:—"Her son came home one evening in high spirits, saying, 'Oh, mother, I have found such a book in the public library, and I will make a play of it! What great eyes the Philistines will make at the Knight of the Iron-hand! That's glorious—the Iron-hand.'"

In the autumn of 1802 Mr. Robinson went to Jena, and matriculated as a student at the age of twenty-seven. His matriculation certificate seemed a curious document in his eyes. It set forth in Latin that he had been found fitted for studying all the arts and sciences, had undertaken not to knock anybody on the head, never to become a member of club or society, and to use all his knowledge for the advantage of religion and society. An account of his student life during five days of the week is given in an extract from a letter:—

"About six o'clock the man who brushes my clothes and cleans my shoes will open my bedroom, or rather closet, door, and light my candle. I shall instantly jump out of my wretched straw hammock, and go into my room, where in half-an-hour our pretty chambermaid will bring my dried carrots, called coffee, which I shall drink because I am thirsty, but not without longing after tea and toast. This done, I shall take up Schelling's *Journal of Speculative Physics* and, comparing the printed paragraphs with my notes taken last Friday, try to persuade myself that I have understood something. Then I shall listen to another lecture by him on the same subject. What my experience will then be I can't say; I know what it has been. Precisely at ten I shall run to the auditorium of his 'Magnificence,' the Protector Voigt, and hear his lecture on Experimental Physics, which we call Natural Philosophy. I shall admire his instruments, and smile at the egregious absurdity of his illustrations of the laws of Nature, and at his attempts to draw a moral from his physical lessons. He may possibly repeat his favourite hypothesis of two sorts of fire, male and female; or allude to his illustration of the Trinity, as shown in the creative or paternal, the preserving or filial, the combining or spiritual principles of Nature. Or he may liken the operation of attraction and repulsion in the material world to the debt and credit of the merchants' cash-book. (*N.B.*—These are all facts.) Wearied by the lecture, I shall perhaps hardly know what to do between eleven and twelve o'clock, when I shall reluctantly come home to a very bad dinner. Jena is famous for its bad eating and drinking. Then I shall prepare myself for a lecture or two from Geheimer-Hofrath Loder, on Physical Anthropology, by far the best delivered and most useful of the lectures I attend. I shall do my best to conquer my dislike of, and even disgust at, anatomical preparations, and my repugnance to inspect rotten carcasses and smoked skeletons. And I expect to learn the general laws and structure of the human frame, as developed with less minuteness for general students than he employs on his anatomical lectures for students of medicine. From Loder I shall proceed to Schelling, and hear him lecture for an hour on *Æsthetics*, or the Philosophy of Taste. In spite of the obscurity of a philosophy in which are combined profound abstraction and enthusiastic mysticism, I shall certainly be amused at particular remarks (however unable to comprehend the whole) in his development of Platonic ideas, and explanation of the philosophy veiled in the Greek mythology. I may be perhaps a little touched now and then by his contemptuous treatment of our English writers, as last Wednesday I was by his abuse of Darwin and Locke. I may hear Johnson called thick-skinned, and Priestley shallow. I may hear it insinuated that science is not to be expected in a country where mathematics are valued only as they may help to make spinning-jennies and machines for weaving stockings. After a stroll by the river-side in Paradise, I shall at four attend Schelling's lecture on Speculative Philosophy, and I may be animated by



the sight of more than 180 enthusiastic young men, eagerly listening to the exposition of a philosophy which in its pretensions is more aspiring than any publicly maintained since the days of Plato and his commentators—a philosophy equally opposed to the empiricism of Locke, the scepticism of Hume, and the critical school of Kant, and which is now in the sphere of Metaphysics the Lord of the Ascendant. But if I chance to be in a prosaic mood, I may smile at the patience of so large an assembly listening, because it is the fashion, to a detail which not one in twenty comprehends, and which only fills the head with dry formulas and rhapsodical phraseology. At six I shall come home exhausted with attention to novelties hard to understand; and after, perhaps, an unsuccessful attempt to pen a few English iambics in translation of Goethe's *Tasso*, I shall read in bed some fairy tale, poem, or other light work."

The foregoing account of life at a German University sixty-seven years ago is doubly interesting. It enables us to understand that to professors and students alike the work was very exhausting. The toil of delivering several lectures daily must have been as trying as the task of listening to them. Very slight changes would have to be made in the picture were it altered so as to represent the daily existence of professors and students in Germany now. The reader must be warned, however, that Mr. Robinson was not a typical student. Not all those who studied at Jena then were as assiduous as he, if his fellow-students bore any resemblance to their living successors. German students, for the most part, are quite as fond of pleasure as of study. They frequent the lecture-rooms as often as it is required of them to do so in order to become qualified for the requisite certificate. It was doubtless the same at Jena in 1802. Indeed, Mr. Robinson records that these students drank beer, sang songs, and fought duels. He expressly protests against the notions current then, and not wholly extinct now, that their lives are loose and their manners coarse. Nor were the duels any more terrible in his than in our day. He says that a hundred were fought in the course of six months without limbs being seriously injured or lives being lost. Indeed, the greatest wound inflicted is a slight cut or trifling scratch. The student's duel is but a trial of skill with naked weapons, conducted according to rules which render fatal consequences almost impossible.

Among the notable personages whose acquaintance Mr. Robinson made at Jena was Savigny, afterwards well known as the greatest of German jurists and as a profound writer on Roman law; Paulus, the theologian, whose heterodoxy was quite as great

and his fame as well deserved as the heterodoxy and fame of Strauss; Voess, the translator of the *Iliad*; and Wolf, the disseminator of doubts as to the unity of the Greek epic. Of the first of these Mr. Robinson can recall nothing remarkable, excepting the remark, which modern writers of English law have shown to be well founded, that "an English lawyer might render great service to legal science by studying the Roman law, and showing the obligations of English law to it, which are more numerous than is generally supposed."\*

Being at Weimar in 1804, Mr. Robinson made the acquaintance of Madame de Staël, the most distinguished woman of her day, an authoress whose writings were universally read, whose talents were universally admired, who, at a time when good talkers of both sexes were to be met with in many a drawing-room, was renowned and envied on account of her marvellous conversational powers, whose sharp sayings were more dreaded by Bonaparte than a host of armed foes, and who was arbitrarily banished from France because she refused to bridle her tongue at the bidding of a despot. She had come to Germany in order to converse with the men of note, and collect materials for a descriptive work. Naturally, the fame of Weimar led her to choose that small yet brilliant capital as the temporary place of her abode. The most distinguished men were not at all eager to respond to her advances. Schiller and Goethe hardly concealed their dislike to the cross-examination to which Madame de Staël subjected them. Others of less note were flattered, and ready to serve her. However, she found it difficult to fathom the explanations they gave of the different philosophical systems then in vogue, which she professed a desire to understand. It was probably in the hope that Mr. Robinson would help her that she made his acquaintance. Whatever may have been the motive, the result was attained. Nor did the intimacy expire with the occasion which gave birth to it. On the contrary, it increased in strength as years passed away, for Madame de Staël soon discovered that in Mr. Robinson she had an admirer who would not stoop to flatter her vanity, but who was alike ready and willing to enlighten her mental darkness.

On his part, he was greatly pleased when first invited to pay her a visit. He was rather surprised, owing to his ignorance of

---

\* To the recently published edition of Reeves' *History of English Law*, Mr. Finlason has prefixed an elaborate Introduction in which the correctness of Savigny's remark is verified.



Parisian customs, to be ushered into her bedroom. "She was sitting most decorously in bed, and writing. She had her night-cap on, and her face was not made up for the day. It was by no means a captivating spectacle, but I had a very cordial reception, and two bright black eyes smiled benignant-ly on me." She paid him the compliment, which was doubtless deserved, of saying that of all those with whom she had conversed he alone had enabled her to comprehend German philosophy. He records his utter failure in making her feel the transcendent excellence of Goethe. Indeed, he once told her that she had never understood and never could understand that great poet. Her reply is a fine specimen of French audacity tempered with French wit: "Her eye flashed—she stretched out her fine arm, of which she was justly vain, and said in an emphatic tone: 'Monsieur, je comprends tout ce qui mérite être compris: ce que je ne comprends n'est rien.'" That the accusation was well founded and the defence insufficient is proved by the following example of her success in spoiling a fine thing. Mr. Robinson had repeated to her the noble saying of Kant: "'There are two things which, the more I contemplate them, the more they fill my mind with admiration—the starry heavens above me, and the moral law within me.'" She sprang up, exclaiming, 'Ah, que cela est beau! Il faut que je l'écrive,' and years after, in her *Allemagne*, I found it Frenchified thus: 'Car, comme un philosophe célèbre a très bien dit: Pour les cœurs sensibles, il y a deux choses!'" Mr. Robinson's sole yet sufficient commentary on this is "the grave philosopher of Königsberg turned into a *cœur sensible*!"

Although Mr. Robinson made the acquaintance of so many distinguished persons, yet he did not force himself on their society. Indeed, he regretted in after years that he made so little use of his opportunities. Instead, then, of having a long string of anecdotes picked up with infinite toil, and procured at some cost to those who were made to yield them, he has but a small number of sayings to record. Dining with Goethe, he was struck with, and made a note of, this remark, uttered after the poet has stated that he hated everything Oriental: "I am glad there is something that I hate; for otherwise one is in danger of falling into the dull habit of literally finding all things good in their place, and that is destructive of all true feeling." He records the impression of gloom cast over society by the premature death of Schiller, and adds that the only conversation with him he could recall turned upon an inquiry whether or not

Schiller knew English, to which the reply was, "I have read Shakespeare in English, but on principle not much. My business in life is to write German, and I am convinced that a person cannot read much in foreign languages without losing that delicate tact in the perception of the power of words which is essential to good writing." If for "read" the word "write" had been substituted, we should have heartily concurred in this remark. There is no doubt that the practice of writing a foreign language tends to vitiate style, inasmuch as our thoughts insensibly clothe themselves in foreign guise. The habit of conversation tends in the same direction. But reading is altogether different.

An incident which occurred at a party at which many persons of quality were present, gives us a fair impression of the esteem in which Schiller and such as he were held by the courtiers of Weimar. Referring to the loss occasioned by Schiller's decease, Mr. Robinson exclaimed, "The glory of Weimar is rapidly passing away." One of the Gentlemen of the Chamber was offended at this, saying angrily, "All the poets might die, but the Court of Weimar might still remain." He was right. The poets did all die. The Court of Weimar still remains, but its very name would be unknown if these despised poets had not hallowed it with their presence.

As a student Mr. Robinson had a narrow escape from expulsion. A professor named E—, who was unpopular among the students and his colleagues, committed the offence of delivering as his own, a lecture on the Roman Satirists which had been written by another. The book containing the proof of this plagiarism being put into the Englishman's hands, he made use of it in a way very uncomplimentary to the German professor. "As soon as the lecture was over, and E— had left the room, I called out to the students, 'Gentlemen, I will read you the lecture over again,' and began reading. I was a little too soon, E— was within hearing, and rushed back to the room. An altercation ensued, and I was cited before the Prorector." The most distinguished of the professors took Mr. Robinson's part; the students naturally sided with him also. He forwarded a statement to the Senate containing his version of the affair, sending along with it corroboratory documents. The result was a victory to him. This goes to prove that he had acquired a mastery over the German tongue. Soon after this he had an occasion for displaying his linguistic acquirements. Journeying homewards he left Jena for Hamburg in August 1805, passing



through a part of North Germany then in possession of the French. Being an Englishman he was liable to capture and imprisonment as a prisoner of war. With a fellow-passenger, who was a Frenchman, he had many angry disputes in German. As soon as he had been ferried across the Elbe all danger of capture was over, because Hamburg had been declared neutral territory. When in the carriage again, and moving onwards, Mr. Robinson felt unable to repress his feelings of triumph, and, snapping his fingers at the Frenchman, exclaimed in German, "Now, sir, I am an Englishman." The other did not conceal his mortification, and said, "You ought to have been taken prisoner for your folly in running such a risk." The packet in which he sailed for England carried the news of a battle which humiliated Austria, and made the name of Bonaparte a word of terror throughout Europe, while not a few English statesmen were filled with consternation when they heard of the French having triumphed at Austerlitz.

After returning home he made the acquaintance of Mrs. Barbauld, of Charles Lamb and his sister. It is worthy of note that a stanza written by Mrs. Barbauld in her old age was a great favorite with Wordsworth, to whom Mr. Robinson repeated it. When the poet had got it by heart he walked up and down his room muttering, "I am not in the habit of grudging people their good things, but I wish I had written these lines." If for no other reason than this, the lines merit quotation, but they merit it also because they are really beautiful:—

"Life! we've been long together,  
Through pleasant and through cloudy  
weather:  
'Tis hard to part when friends are dear,  
Perhaps 'twill cost a sigh, a tear:  
Then steal away, give little warning,  
Choose thine own time;  
Say not good-night, but in some brighter  
clime  
Bid me good-morning."

Mr. Robinson was present at Covent Garden when Lamb's farce *Mr. H.* was performed for the first and only time. The prologue was well received; but on the disclosure of the hero's name, Hoggesh, his dislike for which constituted the pivot of the piece, the hisses were loud and general. In these "Lamb joined, and was probably the loudest hisser in the house."

To eke out his limited means Mr. Robinson undertook some literary drudgery, translating from the French at a guinea and a half the sheet. An engagement as reporter for the *Times* afforded him more congenial

employment. In 1807 he was sent to Altona as special correspondent. The French had then overrun the Continent. The crushing defeat of the Austrians at Austerlitz was succeeded by a victory as thorough over the Prussians at Jena. Denmark was neutral. Whether that neutrality would be preserved or not was the problem of the day, and it was regarded with special interest by English statesmen. The defeat of the Russians at Friedland led to the conclusion that the French would soon compel the Danes to side with them. In order to prevent unpleasant consequences from this, it was decided to capture the Danish fleet, an operation which our Admiral performed with greater ease than was exhibited by those of our statesmen who had to defend the morality of the transaction. After narrow escapes from capture, Mr. Robinson first visited Sweden, and then returned to England, when his services as special correspondent were recompensed by promotion to the post of foreign editor of the *Times*. He did not long remain at his post. The Revolution in Spain in 1808 rendered that country for the moment the object of attention. What Mr. Robinson had done with success on the banks of the Elbe he was asked to repeat on the shores of the Bay of Biscay. Accordingly, as the special correspondent of the *Times* he sailed on the 23d of June 1808 for the little town of Corunna.

What the correspondent thought of Corunna, and what he did there in his official capacity, interest us less than the account he gives of the way in which the operation of the naval and military services were conducted. The following passage shows that for the worst misdeeds and the most inexcusable shortcomings in the Crimea, whereof an account was given to the public by another distinguished correspondent of the *Times*, there were only too many precedents:—

"This I must state as the general impression and result—that in the economical department of our campaign in Spain there was great waste and mismanagement, amounting to dishonesty. One day — came to me full of glee, and said, 'I have done a good day's work; I have put £50 in my pocket. C—[who was one of the commissariat] wanted to buy some [I am not sure of the commodity]. He is bound not to make the purchase himself, so he told me where I could get it, and what I was to give, and I have £50 for my commission.' On my expressing surprise he said, 'Oh, it is always done in all purchases.'

"Another occurrence, not dishonourable in its way, but still greatly to be regretted, must be imputed, I fear, to a very honourable man. Only a few days before the actual embarkation of the troops, there arrived from England a



cargo of clothing, a gift from English philanthropists (probably a large proportion of them Quakers) to the Spanish soldiers. The supercargo spoke to me on his arrival, and I told him he must on no account unload, that every hour brought fugitives, that the transports were collected for the troops, which were in full retreat, and that if these articles were landed they would become, of course, the prey of the French. He said he would consult General Brodrick. I saw the supercargo next day, and he told me that the General had said that the safest thing for him to do was to carry out his instructions literally—land the clothes, get a receipt, and then whatever happened he was not to blame. And he acted accordingly."

Of the famous battle he saw nothing. When the firing began he was dining in a hotel. He walked a mile or two out of the town, met carts arriving with wounded, saw some French prisoners, learned that the enemy had been driven back, and then returning, went on board the vessel prepared beforehand for his departure. Six months afterwards his connexion with the *Times* ceased. Having recorded this fact, he goes on to give sketches of two of the notable writers for that journal. Everything relating to the *Times* in its earlier days has acquired historical importance. We shall quote these sketches because they are revelations of what was at the time hidden in profound mystery:—

"The writer of the great leaders—the flash articles which made a noise—was Peter Fraser, then a fellow of Corpus Christi, Cambridge, afterwards Rector of Kegworth in Leicestershire. He used to sit in Walter's parlour and write his articles after dinner. He was never made known as editor or writer, and would probably have thought it a degradation; but he was prime adviser and friend, and continued to write long after I had ceased to do so. He was a man of general ability, and when engaged for the *Times* was a powerful writer. The only man who in a certain vehemence of declamation equalled, or perhaps surpassed him, was the author of the papers signed 'Verus'—that is Sterling, the father of the younger Sterling, the free-thinking clergyman, whose remains Julius Hare has published.

"There is another person belonging to this period who is a character certainly worth writing about; indeed, I have known few to be compared with him. It was on my first acquaintance with Walter that I used to notice in his parlour a remarkably fine old gentleman. He was tall, with a stately figure and handsome face. He did not appear to work much with his pen, but was chiefly a consulting man. When Walter was away he used to be more at the office, and to decide in the *dernier resort*. His name was W. Combe. It was not till after I had left the office that I learned what I shall now relate. At this time, and until the end of his life, he was an inhabitant of the King's

Bench Prison, and when he came to Printing-House Square it was only by virtue of a day-rule. I believe that Walter offered to release him from prison by paying his debts. This he would not permit, as he did not acknowledge the equity of the claim for which he suffered imprisonment. He preferred living on an allowance from Walter, and was, he said, perfectly happy. He used to be attended by a young man who was a sort of half-servant, half-companion. Combe had been for many years of his life a man of letters, and wrote books anonymously. Some of these acquired a great temporary popularity. One at least, utterly worthless, was for a time, by the aid of prints as worthless as the text, to be seen everywhere—now only in old circulating libraries. This is *The Travels of Dr. Syntax in search of the Picturesque*."

In 1809 Mr. Robinson resolved to qualify himself for being called to the Bar. His legal studies did not hinder him from cultivating literature, and keeping up close intimacy with the notable men of the time. Henceforth his diary is filled with notes of his reading and critiques upon books, with statements of the way in which he passed his evenings, and records of the conversations which impressed him. With Lamb, Southey, Haslitt, Coleridge and Wordsworth, he was on the most familiar footing, visiting or corresponding with them. His account of Coleridge is full and instructive. Page after page might be filled with extracts of extreme value. As we cannot quote more than a few fragments, we shall endeavour to select some of the shorter and more striking passages.

Speaking of Hume, whose preference for the works of the French writers of tragedy over those of Shakespeare was marked, Coleridge said that "Hume comprehended as much of Shakespeare as an apothecary's phial would, placed under the Falls of Niagara." Milton he regarded as "a most determined aristocrat, an enemy to popular elections, and he would have been most decidedly hostile to the Jacobins of the present day. He would have thought our popular freedom excessive. He was of opinion that the government belonged to the wise, and he thought the people fools." "Jeremy Taylor's *Holy Dymy* he affirmed is a perfect poem, and in all its particulars, even the rhythm, may be compared with Young's *Night Thoughts*."

A criticism of Charles Lamb on Coleridge and Wordsworth is noteworthy. To the surprise of Mr. Robinson, "Lamb asserted the former to be the greater poet. He preferred *The Ancient Mariner* to anything Wordsworth had written. He thought the latter too apt to force his own individual



feelings on the reader, instead of, like Shakespeare, entering fully into the feelings of others."

Of Southey, Coleridge once said that he was not able to appreciate Spanish poetry. "He wanted modifying power: he was a jewel-setter—whatever he found to his taste he formed it into, or made it into, the ornament of a story."

As is well known, Coleridge delivered many lectures, of which but few, and these very imperfect, specimens are extant. Frequent references are made to these in this Diary, and some extracts are given. What sort of a lecturer the poet was, the following remarks, which occur in a letter to Mrs. Clarkson, very clearly show:—

"As evidences of splendid talent, original thought, and great powers of expression and fancy, they are all his admirers can wish; but as a discharge of his undertaking, a fulfilment of his promise to the public, they give his friends great uneasiness. As you express it, 'an enchanter's spell seems to be upon him,' which takes from him the power of treating upon the only subject his hearers are anxious he should consider, while it leaves him infinite ability to riot and run wild on a variety of moral and religious themes. In his sixth lecture he was, by advertisement, to speak of 'Romeo and Juliet,' and Shakespeare's females; unhappily, some demon whispered the name of Lancaster in his ear, and we had in one evening an attack on the poor Quaker, a defence of boarding-school flogging, a parallel between the ages of Elizabeth and Charles, a defence of what is untruly called unpoetic language, an account of the different languages of Europe, and a vindication of Shakespeare against the imputation of grossness!!!"

What wonder that Coleridge's contemporaries misunderstood him! How could the ordinary mortal, who, seeing an advertisement that a lecture was to be delivered on "Romeo and Juliet," went to hear it in the hope of being told something about the tragedy, help feeling surprise, mingled with anger, at the audacity of the lecturer in wholly disregarding his text, not even referring to it incidentally, and pouring forth a series of comments on things in general? It is well to bear this in mind when reading of the comparative unpopularity of Coleridge during his lifetime. A great man is not bound to stoop in order to conciliate the good-will of the prejudiced and uninformed; but he is merely discharging his duty when he keeps his promise, and acts with consistency. It is curious that in one respect two men so dissimilar as Coleridge and Byron should have had much in common. They both ostentatiously disregarded the opinion of the public, and both suffered in conse-

quence. These freaks of genius contemporaries rarely pardon.

After a hesitation extending over nearly thirteen years, Mr. Robinson finally determined to make the Bar his profession, and to cease attempting to add to his income by the pursuit of literature. He confesses that his literary ventures were failures. One of these was a translation of a German fairy tale by Anton Wall, and of some extracts from the writings of Jean Paul Richter, an author then unknown to fame in England. This volume was published in 1811. Coleridge and Charles Lamb praised it. The translator states that, as far as he knew, the book was never reviewed, and that it yielded him no credit. Commenting on this he sensibly remarks: "Perhaps, *happily*, for it was the failure of my attempt to gain distinction by writing that made me willing to devote myself honestly to the law, and so saved me from the mortification that follows a *little* literary success, by which many men of inferior faculties, like myself, have been betrayed into an unwise adoption of literature as a profession, which, after this year, I never once thought of."

Now that the subject of Church Establishments is the topic of the day, the following anecdote of Thurlow, and declaration by Wordsworth, will be read with interest. Meeting Dr. Rees, the editor of the Encyclopædia which bears his name, at one of Messrs. Longman & Co.'s literary parties, Mr. Robinson heard him relate "that when, in 1788, Beaufoy made his famous attempt to obtain the repeal of the Corporation and Test Act, a deputation waited on the Lord Chancellor Thurlow to obtain his support. The deputies were Dra. Kippis, Palmer (of Hackney), and Rees. The Chancellor heard them very civilly, and then said: 'Gentlemen, I'm against you, by G—. I am for the Established Church, d—n me! Not that I have any more regard for the Established Church than for any other Church, but because *it* is established. And if you can get your d—d religion established, I'll be for that too!' This declaration is at all events a candid if rather too strong expression of individual opinion. There are those who would shrink from using Thurlow's language who employ his style of arguing. Indeed, Wordsworth acted thus when, in 1812, he "earnestly defended the Church Establishment. He even said he would shed his blood for it. Nor was he disconcerted by a laugh raised against him on account of his having before confessed that he knew not when he had been in a church in his own country. 'All our ministers are so vile,' said he. The mischief of allowing the clergy



to depend on the caprice of the multitude he thought more than outweighed all the evils of an Establishment." The illogical character of these remarks is obvious. Under the existing system, the clergymen were "so vile," according to Wordsworth, that he abstained from church-going, yet he would shed his blood for a Church-establishment of which this was the alleged consequence. On this subject the poet reasoned with as little force as he did on that of constructing railways through the Lake district. In both cases his arguments were simple prejudices.

This Diary contains numerous examples of the morbid dogmatism of Wordsworth. Few men of genius ever had a higher opinion of themselves than he had. There was something sublime in his egotism. Here are two specimens of it, which tally with what others have related:—During a walk with Mr. Robinson in 1812, "he spoke of his own poems with the just feeling of confidence which a sense of his own excellence gives him." "He is persuaded that if men are to become better and wiser, the poems will sooner or later make their way. But if we are to perish, and society is not to advance in civilisation, 'it would be,' said he, 'wretched selfishness to deplore the want of personal reputation.' The approbation he has met with from some superior persons compensates for the loss of popularity, though no man has completely understood him, not excepting Coleridge, who is not happy enough to enter into his feelings. 'I am myself,' said Wordsworth, 'one of the happiest of men, and no man who does not partake of that happiness, who lives a life of constant bustle, and whose felicity depends on the opinions of others, can possibly comprehend the best of my poems.' I urged an excuse for those who can really enjoy the better pieces, and who are yet offended by a language they have by early instruction been taught to consider unpoetical, and Wordsworth seemed to tolerate this class, and to allow that his admirers should undergo a sort of education to his works." Not long after this, "speaking of his own poems, he said he valued them principally as being *a new power* in the literary world."

As a test of Mr. Robinson's taste respecting works of fiction, we may cite his opinion of *Waverley*, the book which made the year 1815 as memorable in the history of novels as the battle of Waterloo did in the annals of war. On the whole, his opinion, written when he was fresh from the perusal of the work, is a proof of his sagacity as a critic. It begins with this sentence:—"The writer has united to the ordinary qualities of prose

fiction excellences of an unusual kind." Then follows a brief analysis of the plot. The remark is made that "the author's sense of the romantic and picturesque in nature is not so delicate, or his execution so powerful, as Mrs. Radcliffe's, but his paintings of men and manners are more valuable." The concluding sentence is: "There is more than the usual portion of good sense in this book, which may enjoy, though not immortality, at least a long life."

A greater test of Mr. Robinson's critical power is furnished by his remarks on the poems of Keats. Having mentioned the fact of his reading them, he adds, the *Hyperion* is "really a piece of great promise. There are a force, wildness, and originality in the works of this young poet, which, if his perilous journey to Italy does not destroy him, promise to place him at the head of the next generation of poets." Again, "I am greatly mistaken if Keats do not very soon take a high place among our poets."

After Mr. Robinson began to practise as a barrister, his personal history is comparatively tame. He attended court, he went circuit; what is less common, he got a good deal of business, and earned a comfortable income. His professional duties did not interfere with his private pleasures. He corresponded with his friends, visited them, kept himself abreast of the literature of the day, and led not only a busy, but an enviable life. During the vacations he made trips to the Lakes, where he held instructive converse with Wordsworth; he made tours in France, Germany, and Italy, sometimes alone, sometimes in the company of Wordsworth or Southey. The narratives of these journeys are extremely readable. There is hardly anything in them about eating and drinking, hotels or conveyances. But of instructive conversations and shrewd comments, of curious meetings, and telling remarks on persons and scenery, there is large store. To give the most cursory account of these things is hardly possible within reasonable limits. Nor can a tithe of the anecdotes, which are at once novel and memorable, be quoted. At the sacrifice, then, of much that we should gladly place before our readers, we must pass rapidly over the remaining pages of this work, merely pausing at long intervals to reproduce some pointed and valuable saying to serve as an addition to the illustrations given rather of the general richness of the harvest than of the precise amount and worth of the yield.

Meeting Macaulay for the first time in 1826, Mr. Robinson characterized him as "one of the most promising of the rising



generation I have seen for some time." "He has a good face,—not the delicate features of a man of genius and sensibility, but the strong lines and well-knit limbs of a man sturdy in body and mind. Very eloquent and cheerful. Overflowing with words, and not poor in thought. Liberal in opinion, but no Radical. He seems a correct as well as a full man. He showed a minute knowledge of subjects not introduced by himself."

During a sojourn in Italy Mr. Robinson became acquainted with one of the Italian friends of Queen Caroline. This was the Marchioness Sacratì. She went to England at the Queen's request as a witness in her favour, but she was not summoned to give evidence at the trial. The Marchioness's opinion was that the Queen was innocent, that her manners were coarse, and that her sanity was doubtful. Interrogated as to whether she had seen Brougham, she replied, "Oh, yes! That Monsieur Brogam was a *grand coquin*." "Take care, Madame, what you say; he is now Chancellor." "N'importe; c'est un *grand coquin*." "What makes you use such strong language?" "Because, to answer the purposes of his ambition, he forced the Queen to come to England." "Indeed!" "The Queen told me so; and Lady Hamilton confirmed it. I said to her, when I first saw her, 'Why are you here?' She said, 'My lawyer made me come. I saw him at St. Omer, and I asked him whether I should go to England. He said, 'If you are conscious of your innocence you *must* go. If you are aware of weaknesses, keep away.''" The Marchioness raised her voice and said, "Monsieur, quelle femme, même du bas peuple, avouera à son avocat qu'elle a des faiblesses? C'était un traître ce Monsieur Brogam."

"I also asked her whether she knew of the other lawyer, Monsieur Denman. The change in her tone was very remarkable, and gave credibility to all she said. She clasped her hands, and exclaimed, in a tone of admiration, 'O, c'était un ange, ce Monsieur Denman. Il n'a jamais douté de l'innocence de la reine.'"

We quote the foregoing passages for a twofold reason. They are curious in themselves, and will probably be cited hereafter as valuable contemporary testimony. But they are misleading as far as Brougham is concerned. He had many sins to answer for, but that of compelling the Queen to visit England was not one of them. Yet he is generally believed to have been the instigator of this step. Probably owing to the circumstance that Mr. Robinson was in the

habit of repeating the words of the Marchioness Sacratì in society, the notion itself may have thereby not only have obtained currency, but have also been accepted as well founded. Although quite ready to retail whatever was damaging to Brougham, Lord Campbell yet treated this topic with impartiality and truthfulness. Miss Martineau, whose severity is that of the critic, not of the envious and impotent rival, has unfortunately written in her memoir as if she gave credit to the insinuation.\* That the Marchioness told Mr. Robinson what Queen Caroline told her is doubtless true. But, then, there is an insuperable objection to placing implicit reliance on every statement made by that Queen. Her innocence may admit of controversy, but as to her veracity there can hardly be two opinions. In this case, there is documentary evidence of an unimpeachable kind to prove that in leaving St. Omer and journeying to England, the Queen acted against the advice of her Attorney-General, and that she took her departure before he was even aware of her resolve to undertake the journey at all hazards. The truth was, that Brougham did not possess the influence over her which he supposed himself to have. She followed the dictates of her self-will. When the result was disastrous she had no hesitation in imputing the blame to others, and she had no difficulty in persuading biassed friends to believe that she spoke the truth.†

An interest of a different kind attaches to the notices of two men whose acquaintance Mr. Robinson made in 1832, and of whom he then wrote as follows. The first of these, Carlyle, he characterizes as "a deep-thinking German scholar, a character, and a singular compound. His voice and manner, and even the style of his conversation, are those of a religious zealot, and he keeps up that character in his declamation against the anti-religious. And yet, if not the god of his idolatry, he has at least a priest and prophet of his Church in Goethe, of whose profound wisdom he speaks like an enthusiast. But for him, Carlyle says he should not now be alive. He owes everything to him! But in strange union with such idolatry is his admiration of Buonaparte. Another object of his eulogy is—Cobbett, whom he praises for his humanity and love of the poor! Singular, and even

\* "He went to meet and escort her on the Continent."—*Biographical Sketches*. By Harriet Martineau. P. 159.

† For an authentic statement of this important episode in the life of Queen Caroline and the career of Lord Brougham, see Yonge's *Life of Lord Liverpool*, vol. iii. chapter 24.



whimsical, combinations of love and reverence these."

The second of these bears a name as widely renowned as that of Carlyle, and exercises an influence over the thoughts of mankind such as few living writers can rival, and who, even when a young man, gave expression to his opinions with that boldness which is his distinguishing merit in mature years: "We were joined by John Mill, certainly a young man of great talent. He is deeply read in French politics, and spoke judiciously enough about them, bating his, to me, unmeaning praise of Robespierre for his incomparable talents as a speaker—being an irresistible orator—and the respect he avowed for the virtues of Mirabeau."

In another place Mr. Robinson writes: "Met to-day the one man living in Florence whom I was anxious to know. This was Walter Savage Landor, a man of unquestionable genius, but very questionable good sense; or, rather, one of those unmanageable men,—

'blest with huge stores of wit,  
Who want as much again to manage it.'"

Passing over many pages, we pause only for a moment to note that Miss Wordsworth said Coleridge once likened a steam-engine to "a giant with one idea." Let us here add to the opinions given of many great Englishmen and Germans, that which is given of a great American writer. In a letter written to his brother in 1848, Mr. Robinson says:—

"I heard Emerson's first lecture 'On the Laws of Thought;' one of those rhapsodical exercises of mind, like Coleridge's in his *Table Talk*, and Carlyle's in his *Lectures*, which leave a dreamy sense of pleasure, not easy to analyse or render an account of. . . . I can do no better than tell you what Harriet Martineau says about him, which, I think, admirably describes the character of his mind: 'He is a man so *sui generis*, that I do not wonder at his not being apprehended till he is seen. His influence is of a curious sort. There is a vague nobleness and thorough sweetness about him, which move people to their very depths, without their being able to explain why. The logicians have an incessant triumph over him, but their triumph is of no avail. He conquers minds as well as hearts, wherever he goes; and without convincing anybody's reason of any one thing, exalts their reason, and makes their minds worth more than they ever were before.'"

Ten years after the date of this letter, and when Mr. Robinson had become an octogenarian, he made the following entry in the album of a friend:—Were this my last hour (and that of an octogenarian cannot be far off), I would thank God for permitting me to behold so much of the excellence confer-

red on individuals. Of woman, I saw the type of her heroic greatness in the person of Mrs. Siddons; of her fascinations, in Mrs. Jordan and Mdlle. Mars. I listened with rapture to the dreamy monologues of Coleridge—"that old man eloquent;" I travelled with Wordsworth, the greatest of our lyrico-philosophical poets; I relished the wit and pathos of Charles Lamb; I conversed freely with Goethe at his own table, beyond all competition the greatest genius of his age and country. He acknowledged his obligations only to Shakespeare, Spinoza, and Linnæus, as Wordsworth when he resolved to be a poet, feared competition only with Chaucer, Spenser, Shakespeare, and Milton."

His latter years were free from the drawbacks which generally accompany and embitter those whose span of life is unusually protracted. Almost to the last hour he could take walking exercise, converse with his friends on the topics of the day, peruse the works of his favourite authors, and make regular entries in his diary. Perhaps no man who had attained the age of ninety-one has ever retained his faculties so well as did Mr. Robinson. His handwriting was firm and legible. But a few days before his death he wrote a letter of condolence to his friend the Rev. Harry Jones, whose mother had been taken away. This letter is notable as much for the circumstances under which it was composed, as for the character of its contents. We shall fitly end our extracts by quoting the half of it:—

"You are much more to be envied for the recollection of such a mother as you had, than pitied for the grief at her loss. The one is alleviated by everything that brings her back to your mind—the other is imperishable. I speak from experience. I had an excellent mother, although she was uneducated, and was not to be compared for a moment with yours in intellectual attainments. She died at Bath of a cancer, anno 1792, and her memory is as fresh as ever. I am not conscious of any habit or fixed thought at all respectable, which I do not trace to her influence and suggestion. Petty incidents, which have lain dormant for generations, I may say, spring up in that mysterious thing—the human mind. One of these started up to-day.

"When I was about twelve, I teased her to let me go to the Buryfair play, and see 'Don Juan,' which contained a view of *hell*. She steadfastly refused. 'No, my dear,' she said, you shall *not* go to see the Infidel Destroyed. If it had been to see the Infidel Reclaimed, it would have given me pleasure to let you go.'"

The letter from which the foregoing extract is made was written on the 4th of January 1867. On the last day of that month Mr. Robinson made the concluding



entry in his Diary. The last sentence is unfinished, and the words are added, "But I feel incapable to go on." Two days afterwards his illness alarmed his friends. On the evening of the 5th of February, after a few hours of insensibility, he quietly breathed his last.

Before taking leave of a Diary, which will doubtless become a favourite book with the lovers of our best literature, let us briefly indicate the character of its author as manifested in its pages, and as exhibited in his life.

It is impossible to resist the impression that Mr. Robinson had much in common with Boswell. They both set up for their ardent worship men whom they regarded as matchless heroes. To Boswell, Dr. Johnson was a literary Jupiter. In his eyes, wisdom was incarnated in the person of the burly, pompous, dogmatic, and proud lexicographer. Less narrow in his tastes, and more accurate in his judgment, Mr. Robinson selected, from among the celebrities of his generation, Goethe and Wordsworth as the two men who were depositaries of the sacred fire. To their weaknesses he was not blind, but he was most considerate for their shortcomings. Nothing gave him greater pleasure than to spread abroad their fame. During his lifetime he succeeded in persuading many Germans to read the poems of Wordsworth, and in inducing many Englishmen to recognise the genius of Goethe. His Diary will continue the work. It will enable thousands to appreciate both these poets more highly than formerly, by enabling them to understand them better.

Yet despite many points of resemblance, Mr. Robinson and Boswell were in essentials the antipodes of each other. Shrewd and sensible as Boswell undoubtedly was, he had in him an element of the buffoon. He was as happy to be made a show of himself as to exhibit the excellences of his mind's idol. If he had not been extremely vain he would never have written a Life which will keep alive the memory of one who would otherwise have been wholly neglected by succeeding generations. But there was no screw loose in the character of Mr. Robinson. A clear head and a logical intellect kept him from committing any gross mistake owing to the intensity of his admiration for certain men. He was competent to judge of their quality. He did not hesitate to point out a blunder in a poem by Wordsworth, nor to admit that Goethe had made mistakes. He was a hero-worshipper, but no idolater.

Mr. Robinson lived to a better purpose than merely reading poetry and collecting anecdotes. His love of liberty was as pro-

found as was his admiration of the beautiful in verse and prose. As a Dissenter he had experienced the deadening effects of intolerance. His efforts were naturally directed towards emancipating his brethren in the faith from the disabilities under which they pined. It was not till the middle of his life that he took up this work in earnest. In early manhood his religious opinions were lukewarm. As late as the age of forty, he wrote: "Though I am not religious myself, I have great respect for a conduct which proceeds from a sense of duty, and is under the influence of religious feelings." Afterwards, a reaction took place: he passed from the calm of indifference to the vehemence of conviction, and, formally professing himself a Unitarian, became one of the champions of his sect. Thinking that Dissenters should have the means of education within their reach, he actively co-operated with the founders of the London University. Believing that a training school for Unitarians was desirable he helped to found University Hall. He founded the Flaxman Gallery, which is not only one of the great attractions of University College, but is also the most splendid monument by which the genius of the great English sculptor could be honored and perpetuated. To the end of his life, the promotion of the interests of these places of education was pursued by him with untiring energy. His greatest political triumph was the passing of the Act relating to Dissenters' Chapels, an Act of which he was the energetic promoter and zealous advocate, and of which the effect was to extend to Unitarians the legal protection enjoyed by other Dissenters.

While the religious body of which Mr. Robinson was a member has the greatest cause to cherish his memory, his name and his good deeds will not fail to make a lasting impression on the public at large, when this Diary is in their hands, and its contents in their minds. Those who look back with pleasure to the time when they heard from the eloquent lips of the writer of the Diary many of the neatly-phrased stories and pithy anecdotes with which it is filled, will peruse it with the greater delight because the printed page, while recalling to their minds the image of the departed, is rich in materials wherewith to form an estimate of his disposition and talents, even more honourable and lofty than the flattering estimate which, during his lifetime they had formed and cherished. It is a work to which no review can do full justice. In order to be thoroughly appreciated it must be read from beginning to end. The three volumes which compose it are large. Upwards of fifteen hundred



pages are contained in them, yet there are few pages which the most exacting critic will desire to cancel, and there is not one which the sensible reader will pronounce to be dull. No small portion of the pleasure with which they will be read is owing to the care and discrimination with which the work has been edited. Dr. Sadler had at his disposal manuscripts of which but the thirtieth part has now been printed and given to the world. Additions and corrections may heighten the interest and increase the utility of a subsequent edition of this Diary. Still, we cannot more truthfully characterize and more justly commend the volumes before us than by pronouncing them invaluable to every student of English literature, and indispensable additions to every well-selected and really precious collection of English books.

---

ART. III.—*History of European Morals from Augustus to Charlemagne.* By WILLIAM ECCLES HARTPOLE LECKY, M.A., etc. etc. 2 vols. London: Longmans, 1869.

DR. WHEWELL divided his great work into two parts, first the "History," and then the "Philosophy," of the Inductive Sciences. In the one he traced the course of their development, in the other its derivation and causes. It appears to us that Morals might admit of a similar mode of treatment, and that their history might advantageously be considered apart from their philosophy; especially where, as in the case before us, the subject is taken up as a fragment only, and confined within the limits of certain ages of the world. The "History of Morals," strictly so called, may be treated bit by bit, and age by age; but the "Philosophy of Morals," the connexion of moral ideas and principles one with another, their interdependence and development, should rather be considered as a whole. Mr. Lecky seems to have undertaken his work without a distinct perception of this difference between the history and the philosophy of the subject before him, and there is a want of consistency in his treatment of it, by which the reader is liable to be perplexed. At the end of his first chapter we meet with the announcement of the object of the work. He there says: "My present object is simply to trace the action of external circumstances upon morals, to examine what have been the moral types proposed as ideal in different ages, to what degree they

have been realized in practice, and by what causes they have been modified, impaired, and destroyed." One would naturally infer from this that it was intended to trace philosophically the generation of moral ideas in general, without any specific limit of time; but in the Preface the author has prepared us for an "examination of the moral history of Europe between Augustus and Charlemagne," a period of great interest, no doubt, in view of a complete history of Morals, but one, as it stands by itself, somewhat arbitrarily selected, and the consideration of which by itself can lead only to incomplete and inconclusive results. For the period is a peculiarly exceptional one in the history of the human mind and of human morals,—a period of general decline throughout, only broken and confused by the discoveries of the Christian teaching. As an introduction to a general history of Morals, which should extend from the culmination of the Pagan to the culmination of the Christian civilisation, the review of the morals of these eight early centuries is highly important; but the great question which it brings into debate, the comparison of Pagan ideas and Christian, of systems confessedly human and systems professing to be divine, it leaves entirely unsettled; as on a great American railway that ends in a morass, the reader at the termination of his eighth century is cast only upon the moral desolation of the darkest of the dark ages, and the history of Christian Morals sinks into the abyss of monkery and superstition.

We are indeed the more perplexed with the fragmentary way in which Mr. Lecky has treated the great subject of the history of Morals, by the character of the chapter with which he introduces it. In this preliminary disquisition he seems to be laying the foundation of a work of much wider scope than that which is covered by the chapters which succeed it. Under the title of the "Natural History of Morals," he there enters into a discussion of the first principles of our moral ideas, and lays carefully before us a very clear and very interesting account of the conflicting schools of thought, which, under the names of Platonists and Aristotelians, of Stoics and Epicureans, of the Intuitive and the Inductive, of the Sentimental and the Selfish or Utilitarian, have at all times divided the speculative moralists between them; and he has traced their principles in action, and shown with much subtlety and discrimination their respective tendencies in practice. Taking his own stand very decidedly with the maintenance of intuitive or innate ideas, Mr. Lecky explains his views with more



than usual lucidity, and argues with candour and moderation, at least, against those of his opponents. He may be assured that one half of the world will always be on his side, and that to that half his reasonings will appear sufficiently conclusive; but he is no doubt too good a philosopher himself to hope to persuade many, or even a single one, of the phalanx opposed to him: and we have already seen, in the notices of his book with which the press teemed in the first fortnight, the usual retorts for which all such speculators must prepare themselves,—that he has misunderstood and misrepresented their opinions before he undertook to demolish them. However this may be—and the result is so inevitable that we are content ourselves simply to notice it in passing,—we must remark the general want of connexion between this preliminary discussion and the remainder of the book. As far as Mr. Lecky treats the history and development of Morals, it matters not in the slightest degree what the true foundation of moral principles is proved to be. Nor does he attempt to establish any such connexion; to show, for instance, that because our first ideas of morality are instinctive, therefore the Stoics of one age became the anchorites of another, or the love of country of the Pagans was succeeded and displaced by loyalty to the city of God in the Christian. Still less is he at the pains to show, or attempt to show, that if we shift the foundations of duty from the Intuitive to the Utilitarian basis, the historical development of Morals must have been different, and to disprove the principles of the selfish school from the actual facts themselves. The chapter on the Natural History of Morals stands, as it seems to us, entirely independent. Once only, as far as we have observed, does Mr. Lecky seem to betray any consciousness of the want of connexion between his History and his Philosophy,—it is where he pauses to remark on the great change which he observes after the recognition of the principles of Christian asceticism, and the relation of the two great schools of Morals to active and political life (vol. ii. p. 155):—

“Among the ancients,” he says, “the Stoics, who regarded virtue and vice as generically different from all other things, participated actively in public life, and made this participation one of the first of duties, while the Epicureans, who restored virtue into utility, and esteemed happiness its supreme motive, abstained from public life, and taught their disciples to neglect it. Asceticism followed the Stoical school in teaching that virtue and happiness are generically different things; but it was at the same time eminently unfavourable to civic virtue. On the other hand, the great

industrial movement which has arisen since the abolition of slavery, and which has always been essentially utilitarian in its spirit, has been one of the most active and influential elements of political progress. This change, though, as far as I know, entirely unnoticed by historians, constitutes, I believe, one of the great landmarks of moral history.”

Here then, if anywhere, one might expect Mr. Lecky to enter into some explanation of the why and wherefore; to show how the same principles should at different periods lead to precisely opposite results; to acknowledge, at least, that a case had arisen for testing historically the generation of results from principles. But perhaps we were wrong in saying that he evinces here a consciousness of the want of connexion between his History and his Philosophy. It is to the reader that the defect is so apparent. We are not sure that Mr. Lecky has noticed it at all.

It is indeed to this kind of haziness of view that we are inclined to attribute the apparently fragmentary character of the work now before us. Bearing in mind the character of Mr. Lecky's former book, *The History of Rationalism*, the object of which briefly was to trace our modern discoveries in moral truth to the defeat and discomfiture of all ideas founded upon the belief in the supernatural, it is not impossible that he may regard the present volumes as the complement to the previous ones, and conceive that he has comprehended the whole history of Morals throughout the Christian ages in the four together. He may say to himself that the history from Augustus to Charlemagne contains the record of the decline of moral ideas from the highest Pagan standard under Augustus to the completest logical deduction from the teaching of primitive Christianity in the ascendancy of the Church under Charlemagne; and that all the advance we have made in morality since the eighth century has been owing to the efforts, gradual and painful, at least till very recent times, of the natural sense of man in revolt against the teachings of a grovelling superstition. Such a view would be a very important one, and demand close and candid investigation were we now engaged in examining it. Were we engaged in reviewing Mr. Lecky's earlier work, *The History of Rationalism*, from which we venture to deduce it, it would be our business to show that the Rationalism itself by which the superstitions adherent to Christianity have been destroyed, may be really the offspring of the free thought which is itself the true inheritance of Christianity. But we make the remark only to account to our own



minds for the apparent inconsistency in the author's present work. It is with the present work only that we are now concerned, of which we propose to give our readers some account, unless the temptation of the subject tempts us too irresistibly into speculations of our own.

The preliminary chapter, of which we have spoken, after stating and examining the conflicting pretensions of the two great schools of *Morals*, concludes with a series of reflections on "the order in which the moral feelings are developed;" or the general effects of the advance of civilisation and material culture upon the estimation in which the virtues and vices of human nature are held among men. These remarks, however, were of a desultory and rambling character, nor do they at all answer the purpose which we might expect them to serve, of laying down the outlines of the discussion which is to follow. It is not till we come to the second chapter, a great division of the subject (for the whole is comprised in five chapters only), that the real purport and interest of the work begins. It is in the collection and grouping of facts, in the very considerable research evinced, and the unflinching lucidity of statement, and again in candour and moderation, and warm personal sympathy with the best feelings of humanity, that Mr. Lecky's merits as a historian of *Morals* mainly consist.

The second chapter contains an account of the moral condition of the Roman Empire. Few things can be more interesting to intelligent inquirers, whether as Christians or philosophers, than to examine the actual results of Paganism from the moment when Paganism attained its highest moral development to the period of its decline and extinction. We are getting more and more to regard the history of our race as a continuous whole. We feel more and more sensibly how every volume, every page, every line of history is evolved out of those that went before it. History admits of no break, of no full stop, hardly of a pause. The child is still father to the man from generation to generation. Our task, then, in examining the history of *Morals*, is to set clearly before ourselves their state at the era of their highest development in the ancient or Pagan world, and then to trace the way in which they were accepted, transformed, or rejected under the gradual advance of the principles of Christianity, which have dominated so long over the conscience of the moderns. The march of novel ideas has continued, we may be sure, interruptedly, while it has admitted of modi-

fication, change, and revolution, from age to age, and almost from day to day. The history of *Morals* is a dissolving view, extending in Mr. Lecky's book over eight centuries—with which it is quite enough to occupy ourselves at present,—but really comprehending the whole history of the human race, as far at least as recorded facts enable us to trace it. We must content ourselves here with a glance at some of its most salient features.

It is true of heathen religion generally, as well as of the religion of classical antiquity, of which it is so often predicated, that they have differed from Christianity in the one essential particular, that they have made little or no pretensions to the inculcation of morality. It is by this characteristic, as it seems to us, that the perpetuity of the Christian system is, humanly speaking, guaranteed. When we see from time to time, and notably at the present era, around us, the signs of a breaking up of old dogmatic beliefs, and a disintegration of religious ideas, not dissimilar in many respects from that which heralded the extinction of classical Paganism, we may be reassured by the recollection of this fact, to whatever obscuration Christian dogma may at any period be subjected under popular impatience of definite creeds. The moral foundations of the Christian faith can never be removed, and can never be long overlooked. That teaching is founded upon indefeasible principles, and appeals to inextinguishable feelings. Remaining for ever as a fixed and indestructible landmark of opinion, it cannot fail to reassert from time to time the dogmatic beliefs with which it is historically connected, and to cluster around it again and again the articles of a theological creed with which it was at the beginning associated. We can see, therefore, no human prospect of any such crisis overtaking the religion of the Christian world as that which signifies the overthrow of the Pagan beliefs of antiquity. Nor need we, as Christians, feel any discouragement at the utter failure of the heathen philosophers to supply the place of the religion which they undermined, to afford a present sanction for the morals they taught, or associate with them a hope in the future.

That such was the mortifying result of the teachings of the Pagan philosophy, is abundantly, if not expressly shown in Mr. Lecky's chapter on "The Pagan Empire." The inculcation of moral principles, entirely neglected by the religions of the Pagan world, was definitively adopted by the rival schools of the Stoics and the Epicureans; and, from the age at least of Augustus, these



schools assumed a wide and comprehensive character. The Romans were very much in earnest in their philosophy, as in most other things. They were not content to trifle with the tenets of Zeno and Epicurus, after the fashion of the idle speculations of Athens and the Hellenic world. They really believed in them, and in their vital regenerative force; they carried them into practice themselves, and disseminated them among others with the zeal of proselytes or converts. They arrayed themselves definitively under the banner of the one leader or the other, and with their instinctive military notions, were wont to regard them rather as military chiefs, under whose word of command they had placed themselves by oath, than as guides of opinion or trainers in the discipline of virtue. There are few of the chief men of Rome in the first century, in which the war between the rival schools or factions was decided for the Romans, who did not openly enlist himself as a soldier of the one or the other. The contention of the Stoics and the Epicureans, the eternal conflict between the Intuitives and the Inductives, was carried on at Rome with the earnestness of an international struggle, and it resulted, in the first century of our era, in the decisive victory and the permanent ascendancy of the former. The principles of Stoicism, as the most congenial to the temper of the Roman people, carried the day. They formed the understanding, they directed the actions, and finally constituted the glory, of many of the greatest exemplars of Roman virtue; and they succeeded so far in impressing themselves on the page of Roman history, as typical of the Roman character. The disciples of Epicurus at Rome, the successors of Cæsar himself, of Atticus and Horace, though probably always more numerous than their opponents, were reduced to obscurity, and content to hide themselves from the general eye, and renounce the open assertion of views which were confessedly discredited. It was no doubt felt at the time, and it has been universally admitted since, that all that was noblest, most unselfish, and most magnanimous in the conduct of the Romans of the early Empire, was derived from their training in the Stoic philosophy; and Stoicism was undoubtedly more widely taught and more conscientiously practised by the Romans of that period than by any other people at any other.

Such a strain as the practice of the Stoical principles puts upon the human mind could only be endured under special circumstances. It was endured at Rome under the deep mortification and stern self-repression of the oppressed and persecuted votaries of

Roman liberty. It was the self-assertion of Roman pride and fortitude against the tyranny of the earlier Cæsars. It was thus that the spirit of the Republic wrapt itself closely round to resist the pelting of the storm of political adversity. Roman Stoicism relaxed under the first rage of returning serenity. The last of its genuine assertors was the patrician who bore his bodily infirmities with patience till he had witnessed the murder of Domitian, and then, but not till then, allowed himself to retreat from his sufferings by suicide. As soon as public liberty was restored, or such a compromise between liberty and monarchy effected as the Romans could be induced to regard with equanimity, the defiant attitude of the Stoic was abandoned, and the name and distinctive teaching of the school became rapidly lost. Under the Antonines, the Porch and the Garden have both equally disappeared from the history of opinion, and both have become practically merged in the Eclectic philosophy, which subsisted by the sufferance of all opinions, and the rigid enforcement of none. From the Epicurean and the Stoic sprang the Eclectic moralists, represented to us by Plutarch and Dion Chrysostom, who practically ruled in the schools of the second and third centuries, and who became the preachers of comprehensive humanity, as distinguished from the national and sectional exclusiveness which had hitherto prevailed in the teaching both of the Greeks and the Romans.

The great moral discovery of the Empire, which, when we take a wide survey of the history of our race, may serve to redeem it in our eyes from its fearful sins against liberty of action and independence of thought, was that of the common claims and rights of mankind in general, the solidarity, in modern phrase, of the nations. The overthrow, indeed, of the exclusive national prejudices which had for ages set up moral barriers between clan and clan throughout the world, which had laid the foundation of the special character of Jew and Greek and Roman, may be traced to the conquests of Alexander. These conquests themselves had been long prepared. Alexander could not have overrun the East with his thirty thousand Macedonians, had not the East been honeycombed, as it were, with Grecian colonies, and its moral ideas as well as its political spirit sapped by Grecian intelligence. But when the hour and the man arrived, ten years or less sufficed not only to subdue, under Grecian domination, the vast realm of Asia Minor, of Assyria, Media, India, and Bactria, but to effect the far wider and greater conquest of Grecian prejudices, and



dispose the Greeks as well as the Orientals to acknowledge one another as brethren, to start together on the career of intellectual conquest which dominated the civilized world for a thousand years, and the effects of which we feel to this day. It was to the Greek philosophy, modified by the cosmopolitan tincture it imbibed after the age of Alexander, that we refer the first conception of the dogma of our universal brotherhood; but it was from the Romans, when from the conquest of the West they proceeded to conquer over again the conquests of Alexander, that this conception received its practical exposition in the laws and institutions of the Empire.

The circumstances of universal empire rendered the fusion of the nations in one amalgam necessary, and this, with one great exception of freedom and slavery, became in a few generations complete. Every wall of partition was thrown down. The spirit of the age, the feelings of mankind in general, kept pace with, and helped no doubt to precipitate, the external action of law. No revolution of sentiment so wide and so rapid has ever perhaps taken place before or since. The religious prejudices of the Roman world accommodated themselves to the social and philosophical views of the period with a facility for which we may look in vain for a parallel; while, on the other hand, the physics and ethics of the Stoics and Epicureans yielded under the manipulation of the Eclectics and the New Platonists to the craving of mankind for dogmatic theology, and invited even the mystical religions of the East to share in their power over the hearts of the believers. These successive schools of thought are described by Mr. Lecky in detail, and their respective effect upon the morality of the age very fully and clearly indicated. The original sources from which this revolution is to be traced are very widely scattered over the remains of antiquity through three centuries, and have been examined by many inquirers. Our author has made himself very well acquainted with them; but his task has been lightened by the labors of those who have preceded him in the same field, and he is not slow in acknowledging his obligations to them. The materials for the history have been long since exhausted; nor was there much room left him for novelty of combination or illustration; but by grace of style as well as by clearness of statement and arrangement, he has succeeded in giving a new interest to one of the most interesting portions of human history. He concludes his chapter on the Moral Condition of the Empire with these discriminative observations:—

"Such were the influences which acted in turn upon a society which, by despotism, by slavery, and by atrocious amusements, had been debased and corrupted to the very core. Each sect which successively arose contributed something to remedy the evil. Stoicism placed beyond cavil the great distinctions between right and wrong. It inculcated the doctrine of universal brotherhood; it created a noble literature and a noble legislation, and it associated its moral system with the patriotic spirit, which was then the animating spirit of Roman life. The early Platonists of the Empire corrected the exaggerations of Stoicism, gave free scope for the amiable qualities, and supplied a theory of right and wrong, suited not merely for heroic characters and for extreme emergencies, but also for the characters and the circumstances of common life. The Pythagorean and Neo-Platonist schools revived the feeling of religious reverence, inculcated humility, prayerfulness, and purity of thought, and accustomed men to associate their moral ideas with the Deity rather than with themselves.

"The moral improvement of society was now to pass into other hands. A religion which had long been increasing in obscurity began to emerge into the light. By the beauty of its moral precepts, by the systematic skill with which it governed the imagination and habits of its worshippers, by the strong religious motives to which it could appeal, by its admirable ecclesiastical organization, and, it must be added, by its unsparring use of the arm of power, Christianity soon eclipsed and destroyed all other sects, and became for many centuries the supreme ruler of the moral world. Combining the Stoical doctrine of universal brotherhood, the Greek predilection for the amiable qualities, and the Egyptian spirit of reverence and religious awe, it acquired from the first an intensity and universality of influence which none of the philosophies it had superseded had approached.

"I have now," he continues, "to examine the moral causes that governed the rise of this religion in Rome, the ideal of virtue which it presented, the degree and manner in which it stamped its image upon the character of the nations, and the perversions and distortions it underwent."

Accordingly, in the two chapters or divisions of the work which follow, he traces the moral history of Christianity, first during the period of the conversion of the Empire, and next of the ages which succeeded down to the era of Charlemagne; lastly, he devotes a separate section to the "Position of Women" under its influence. So comprehensive and so full are the details of each of these chapters that we could not pretend within the limits of a review to give more than a dry analysis of any one of them, and we shall be more likely perhaps to interest our readers in the subject of the book, and in the book itself, if we confine ourselves, in the space before us, to putting forward such



particular reflections on the moral history of Christianity as its perusal has suggested to us.

Mr. Lecky is at pains to show, along with other philosophical historians, the sufficiency of strictly natural causes to account for the success and ultimate triumph of Christianity in the Empire. It is certainly scarcely worth while to refute in these days the ecclesiastical writers of a former generation, who could only ascribe the early diffusion of the Faith to a continuous miracle. There can be no doubt that the moral and spiritual condition of mankind in the period before us was eminently favourable to the reception of some of the cardinal doctrines of the gospel. We have seen how the idea of universal brotherhood, so important a feature in the teaching of Christ and the apostles, had been promulgated by philosophers, and very generally accepted by the conscience of mankind even at an earlier period. It is the preparation of the world for Christianity, rather than the conquest of the world by Christianity, that we admire in the counsels, so far as we seem to trace them, of the Divine Source of religious knowledge. On the other hand, our philosophical historians are too apt to forget that, with all this accommodation in some points to the ideas and cravings of mankind around it, Christianity is not less remarkable for its strong antagonism to them on others. We are not here laying undue stress upon the self-denial, in its ordinary sense, inculcated by Christianity, for the philosophers no doubt inculcated much self-denial, and Christianity, again, as popularly understood and practised, admitted of great relaxation from the ideal standard established by its founders. But we must insist strongly upon the scandal of the Cross of Christ, as a much more important element in the question than it has been generally considered in modern times. The ancients themselves, the primitive Christians especially, knew well the offence of the preaching of a crucified Founder. The doctrine was a special one, and was fundamental and absolutely necessary to the idea of the Christian faith, for the mortification of human pride, and the identification of the Divine Author with the character and the sufferings of humanity. But there can be no doubt that its repulsiveness to human prejudice, more especially to the prejudice of the Roman world, created an immense practical obstacle to the reception of Christianity; and so the contemporary literature of Christian and of Pagan equally testify. We do not say that it required a miraculous interference to counteract this injury and discouragement to the faith; but the falling in of

Christian preaching with the spirit of the age on the one point just mentioned would hardly, we think, have availed against it; and we must look, at least, to other human causes for the ultimate success of the gospel.

Of such causes there were doubtless many. We will point out the two which seem to us the most important:—

1. Doctrine of future life.

2. Formation of a strong character.

1. The great central doctrine of Christianity was the revelation of future life. This doctrine was placed in the head and front of all Christian preaching. The faith of the gospel was taught in public discourses weekly and daily; and every Christian sermon insisted upon this great doctrine as the cardinal point of all Christian instruction. Christianity had its mysteries, more or less, like other religions of the day; and there were various points of faith which its teachers unfolded gradually and with reserve; but upon this one point, at least, there was no reserve, and no hesitation. The future life was an exoteric doctrine, made known to every one from the first, held forth as a common boon for all mankind, maintained as the indefeasible right and possession of every son of Adam. In these respects the Christian doctrine of immortality differed essentially from the speculations of the philosophers, who, in the highest flights of their imagination, ventured only to regard it as the prize of a few superior spirits, as a reward extorted from nature by the little band of godlike men who had been endowed from their birth with a portion of the divine essence. Nor did the mysteries in their most popular interpretation go further. But, besides the universality of the Christian doctrine on this head, the unwavering confidence with which its certainty was proclaimed constituted an important element in the acceptance which it naturally met with. Undoubtedly, the hope of a future existence is one to which the human mind naturally clings, and with all the waverings and doubts and despondency so painfully apparent in the utterances of the wisest of the heathens about it, we are inclined to believe that this hope, blind and naked as it was, exercised no slight dominion over the thoughts and actions of great numbers of all classes among them. But none of the heathens ventured to assert it as a positive fact, susceptible of proof from actual experience, of which an instance could be drawn from veritable history. The resurrection of Jesus, and his subsequent residence among men in the body, professed to be the revelation of a great psychological fact, appealing to sensible proof in itself. This typical resurrec-



tion once admitted, upon what professed to be conclusive evidence, the universal resurrection of all men followed as a logical consequence, and admitted, in the breasts of the believers, of no dispute or hesitation. No limitation could henceforth be put upon the doctrine; no shade of doubt could fall upon it. Here was a standing point of certainty in metaphysical things amidst the shifting sands of mere human speculation, which could not fail to arrest the attention, attract the sympathy, and sustain the belief of all who were not repelled from it by unconquerable prejudices,—for into a critical examination of the facts alleged there was little disposition among the ancients to enter. It was by prejudices, not by logical or historical criticism, that the faith of the gospel was resisted; and of these prejudices none was so strong, none, we believe, so common, as the repugnance of the Greek and Roman mind to the notion of a crucified Master, of a Founder who had lived the life of a pauper, and died the death of a slave and criminal. And this prejudice was undoubtedly heightened by the eager acceptance of the faith by the paupers and the slaves of the Roman world, by the outcasts, of whatever class, from the luxuries and enjoyments of a voluptuous civilisation, by the blind and miserable, and poor and naked. Mr. Lecky observes, as so many have observed before him, on the almost total silence of Greek and Roman literature on the subject of the primitive Christians; but he will find that literature equally silent as to the inner life of all the Pariah classes of society; it is only of the upper ten thousand of the ancient world that any familiar knowledge has been vouchsafed to us by the philosophers and poets and historians of antiquity generally. Christianity has only shared, in this respect, the common lot of the masses throughout the Roman community.

And of this assured conviction of future life it is to be remarked that it was emphatically the aspiration and the despair of the age. The Paganism of Greece and Rome, utterly unable to satisfy itself on this head from its own resources, was looking intently towards the East for the light which seemed from time to time to dawn in that quarter. Faint and uncertain indeed were the rays of hope which reached it from Chaldea and India; yet the very general acceptance of the Mithraic cults and superstitions in the West during the second and third centuries seems to have been mainly owing to the sanction they seemed timidly to give to the yearning of the human mind for the greatest of spiritual consolations. The disenchantment of the world from the

promises of material civilisation, and from the charms of a degrading sensuality, turned men's minds in the direction of a spiritual futurity. As the miseries of mankind, and the degradation of class upon class increased, the vehement cry for a higher and more enduring blessing than any this life could offer rose more generally, and more constantly. Philosophers and hierophants answered it to the best of their power, and vied with one another in suggesting the possibility of that blessed immortality which all the world sighed for; but their efforts, in spite of every prepossession in their favour, were almost utterly frustrated, simply because they had no objective evidence to offer of the fact; they could do no more than affirm upon conjecture what the Christian preachers proposed to demonstrate by proof. It was not till every other means had been exhausted to satisfy the universal craving, that men accepted the consolations of Christianity; it was not till the pride of man was thoroughly abased by defeat and disappointment that he consented to throw his last prejudices to the winds, and embrace, as he believed, the certainty of the Christian doctrine, together with the dishonour of the Cross of Christ.

2. This decision was itself an act of vigour, and it was carried vigorously into effect. We are accustomed to regard the age of the declining Empire as one of wide-spread languor and decrepitude. In its virtues we see but a pale reflection of the masculine virtues of antiquity; we deride even its vices as poor and spiritless in comparison with those of the lusty young world before it. And that such was the general character of Pagan society in its decline, both in its best phases and its worst, we are far from questioning. Nevertheless a want of earnestness and vigour and healthy activity is by no means to be wholly denied to the spirit of the age under which the Empire was converted to Christianity. There is, as we think, one great defect in the view Mr. Lecky takes of the secondary causes of this conversion. He thinks that society as a whole was ripe for the revolution; that it had been trained, by the schools of the philosophers and by the circumstances of the times together, into harmony with the creed of the gospel; in fact, he would not, we suppose, hesitate to affirm that the gospel was no more than the spontaneous expression of the general want and aspiration of humanity at the period. But he does not take into account the conditions under which the acceptance of the gospel by the age was alone possible. He fails to appreciate the fact that if Christianity was the expression of the want of the age, it



was so only in the same sense as the creed of Stoicism and the cult of Mithraism were so likewise. But Stoicism and Mithraism utterly failed to convert the Empire. Why so? Because Christianity embraced in itself a principle of conversion to which they were entirely strangers; because Christianity could enlist on its side all the heart and soul and vigour that still remained in the world; because Christianity approved itself the religion of moral strength in an age of general decrepitude. The acceptance of the gospel merely as a spiritual theory required the sacrifice of a natural prejudice, as we have seen; and the sacrifice even of a prejudice implied some force of character in those who made it; but the acceptance of the gospel as a practical rule of life implied the undertaking of many active duties, subjection to many restraints, a profound self-devotion, a rigid self-denial, in the mortification of many worldly interests; and these constituted in themselves a moral training of the highest and the most active faculties. A history of the Morals of the primitive age of Christianity is very incomplete without a full discussion of a subject to which we can only thus cursorily advert. The fact is, that the gospel, with all its scandals and its dangers, offered a very strong attraction to the most vigorous minds of the declining Empire. It spoke as with the voice of a trumpet, to the brave, the generous, the active, and the vigorous. It called out from the decrepit society of the philosophers, and the popular moralists and religionists, just those spirits with whom self-sacrifice was a natural religion, and who only yearned to find a Divine sanction for it. It was those, and few but those, who could renounce the allurements of Pagan luxury, who could accept the obligations of the Christian family, who could endure hardships and poverty and persecution for an idea; who could renounce employments and means of living which they reputed sinful, and content themselves with the work of their hands in many meaner and more irksome occupations; it was those only who embraced the Christian faith during the long period of its struggles for general acceptance. Great pains have been taken by the historians to estimate the rate of progress of the new faith in the Roman world; and it is generally admitted that in the time of Constantine, at the moment of its recognition and establishment, and again even a century later, at the period of its highest exaltation, it numbered but a small minority of the population of the Empire. Opponents of the faith, such as Gibbon, have insisted the most warmly on this point, with a view, as it would seem, to disparage Christi-

anity. But what then? How, if so, are we to account for its establishment at all? Was Constantine so devout a believer that in his lifelong struggle to obtain and maintain his power, he deliberately took the side of the minority against the majority of his people? And if so, by what force did he achieve the triumph of himself and his adopted Church in the face of rebellious Paganism? The historians do not generally credit the first Christian Emperor with a strong and lively and unhesitating faith, and few of them, we suppose, will appeal to the cross he professed to have seen luminous in the heavens, and resort to miraculous interposition to account for the victory of the Milvian bridge. But the fact was, that if he had but one-fifth in number of the Roman world with him, he possessed full two-thirds of its moral strength; and this he was shrewd enough to discern at the turning moment of his fortunes. He discerned the real strength of Christianity, and he believed in Christianity because it was strong. If Constantine has acquired the title of "the Great" more easily perhaps than many of the conquerors or rulers to whom it has been popularly awarded, and if he has actually obtained it from grateful churchmen and courtiers, rather than from the voice of impartial history, it may seem nevertheless to be not unworthily bestowed upon the man who had the genius to divine the real spirit of political arithmetic, and discover that truth does not always lie with a multitude, nor strength with a numerical majority.

It is, then, in the attraction it presented to all the moral strength of men, and in the power of stimulating and animating that strength which it developed, that the real moral revolution effected by Christianity is to be traced. Now, this is what we think Mr. Lecky has almost entirely missed. He sets out in his Preface with the statement that "the questions with which a historian of Morals is chiefly concerned are the changes which have taken place in the moral standard, and in the moral type. By the first," he says, "I understand the degrees in which, in different ages, recognised virtues have been enjoined and practised. By the second, I understand the relative importance that in different ages has been attached to different virtues." And this distinction he illustrates from a consideration of the different way in which the recognised virtue of humanity could be understood by the Roman who practised the combats of the gladiators, and the Englishmen of the Tudor period who patronised the baiting of animals. Undoubtedly the general impression which the perusal of his History



leaves upon us is, that while Christian morals rose in some respects in a marked degree superior to those of Paganism, yet in others they fell almost as much beneath them; in others, again, the balance seems to incline sometimes one way, sometimes the other; in no particular, perhaps, did they attain so high a standard or so excellent a type as to challenge our acknowledgement of them as a manifest revelation from the Divine Being. We do not say that Mr. Lecky avers any such conclusion himself; he studiously abstains from any declaration of his own judgment on the general result of his inquiries, and maintains throughout the character of a judicial inquirer and registrar of facts only. Nor does it concern us to fix upon him conclusions which he does not himself avow; in the matter in hand these can be of no importance; but as no one can read a searching and comprehensive history of the progress of ideas and practice in the great department of Morality without instituting in his own mind a tacit comparison between the worth of Paganism and of Christianity in their development and diffusion, we cannot quit the volumes before us without throwing out some considerations upon the subject which seem to have escaped the attention of the author.

The progress of moral ideas and practice in the first ages of Christianity, as attested by history, is precisely, as it seems to us, such as might have been expected from the capacity of the Christian faith to attract the strongest characters within the sphere of its influence. The corruption to which they tended, and which became only too painfully marked in the annals of the Church, is due to the superabundant energy and extravagant enthusiasm which naturally spring from the too luxuriant development of the strongest and noblest natures. The self-devotion of the early Christians under disgrace and want and persecution attracted the sympathy of the brave and ardent among the Pagans; but when disgrace and want and persecution were no more to be encountered for the faith, the same spirit forced a vent for itself in the self-abandonment of the cloister and asceticism of the desert, in fastings and macerations and self-tortures. Mr. Lecky is very eloquent, and even touching, on the subject of the irrational mania of the hermits and the cenobites; he stigmatizes their extravagances as the immoral and degrading superstition which they really were; but he does not take care to show us that they were no more than the excess and superfetation, so to say, of the true spirit of Christian devotion, and attest by their very extravagance the vigour

of the seed from which they sprang. But, in fact, the real force of Christian principles of action is known to us in history almost entirely from its excesses and perversions. We read little or nothing, we can only form imperfect guesses from inference, of the strong but equable current of the manly virtues of the Christians; of the strength of principle which presided at the domestic hearth, and bound together the husband and the wife, the parent and the child, with a sense of mutual responsibilities such as the Pagan rarely recognised. In a society drawn together by a natural affinity of fortitude and resolution, it was impossible but that the homely virtues of temperance and chastity, the civic virtues of justice and energy, the spiritual virtues of faith and prayer, must have flourished in abundance, and often most where they were least patent to the casual observer. It is only when these graces were corrupted, under special circumstances, and after all in a comparatively small number of instances, into the rampant follies of Eremites and Stylites, that they assumed a place in social history, and have served to point so many shafts against the fair fame of Christianity.

From the consideration of Christian asceticism, the position of which in the history of Christian Morals we think he has materially mistaken, Mr. Lecky proceeds to charge against Christianity the discouragement of patriotism. This, we know, is a very common charge, but surely there is much misapprehension involved in it. "An important result to which asceticism largely contributed," says our author, "was the depression, and sometimes almost the extinction, of the civic virtues. A candid examination," he continues, "will show that the Christian civilisations have been as inferior to the Pagan ones in civic and intellectual virtues as they have been superior to them in the virtues of humanity and of chastity." And so in another place he glorifies Polytheism for at least "three great merits" among "many faults,"—that it was "eminently poetical, eminently patriotic, and eminently tolerant." The first and last of these characteristics we set aside for the present; but as regards the countenance which Polytheism gave to patriotism, as contrasted with the discouragement of that virtue imputed to Christianity, we apprehend that the popular judgment may require some further enlightenment.

The patriotism of the Greeks and Romans was no doubt intense; it was the spring of their political life; but in exactly the same proportion it was intolerant. It consisted in the assertion of the predominance of the



State over all subjects and opponents; the denial of all rights of thought and action opposed to those of the State. It held the same position in the scheme of Pagan society that the theory of persecution has held in the Christian. The same principle which has been justly reputed the shame and scandal of the latter, is identified with the glory of the former. The patriotism of Greek and Roman only lived in the suppression and extinction of every rival in its own field of moral influence. The great patriots of Athens were the men who subdued and dominated over their subject islands. The patriots of Sparta delivered Athens to her thirty tyrants, and demolished her fortifications. The patriots of Rome were the destroyers of Veii and Capua, and Corinth and Carthage; the slayers of eleven hundred thousand Gauls in the defence of their own country; the sacrificers of myriads of oppressed and revolting Jews. The history of Roman patriotism is the record of a systematic all-pervading oppression, founded in violence and maintained by terror, allowing no freedom of heart or hand from Gades to Alexandria, except its own license to live upon the fruits of plunder. It was not till the Romans surrendered their own freedom, and abandoned their own patriotic principles and so-called civic virtues, that the subject provinces breathed again under the acknowledged despotism of the Cæsars. It was not till Rome had ceased to be a country, and had become a mere "geographical expression" for a cosmopolitan association of a hundred tribes and nations, that the whole class of freemen, at least, throughout the Empire, acquired some sort of equality before the law, with the extinction of the exclusive claims and privileges on which Roman patriotism was founded. The gradual decadence of the "civic virtues" had preceded the moral movement of Christianity, and would assuredly have run its course not less rapidly and completely had there been no Christian movement at all. Christianity, it may be allowed, did nothing to retard it. It was not likely that the first disciples, the Greeks and Asiatics who enjoyed the mild provincial administration even of a Tiberius and a Nero, should lend a helping hand to the misguided enthusiasm of the conspirators in the metropolis, who sought to restore the days of Marius or Sulla in Rome, and of Gabinus, of Verres, of Antonius, and of Fimbria, in the provinces. Roman patriotism had had its day, and none but a few dreaming philosophers, with very imperfect sense of the history of their forefathers, with still more imperfect human sympathies, had the slightest wish to restore

the domination of the Republic, under which the civic virtues of Rome had so fatally flourished. But, in fact, when Christianity came into the world, and for ages afterwards, what room was there for the exercise of patriotism? The sense of country had perished with the extension of the limits of Rome to the furthest borders of civilisation. The only possible "city" was the city of God, the spiritual realm of one Hope, one Faith, and one Baptism; at once visible upon earth, and invisible in the heavens; and to that the Christians taught all men to look with an undivided interest, to make the realization and extension of that the one great object of their lives. For that city they lived, for that city they died, with an exalted enthusiasm not unallied with the patriotism of Greek and Roman, but as much more intense in feeling as it was nobler in its idea and conception. When, however, in the course of ages, society became again reduced to its elements in small and definitely constituted communities, there was found to be no lack of the strictly civic virtues among professing Christians. The little republics of mediæval Italy were the centres of a genuine political interest, instinct, it will not be denied, and hallowed, we would add, with a Christian principle over and above the political. The period of the Great Rebellion attests alike the Christian principles and the patriotic interests of Englishmen. "Church and State" has been the watchword of many patriotic movements among us since, in which it would be hard to say whether the religious or the civic interest has predominated. In our own day, what Greek or Roman patriotism has exceeded the devotion of the millions of Christian Russia during the French invasion and the war in the Crimea? or of the millions of the American States, both Northern and Southern, in their recent civil dissensions? The French in 1793, and the Italians in 1859, both fought with the spirit of Rome and Athens, and both were born and bred at least under the influence of Christian teaching, encouraged by the traditions of many Christian centuries, and supported by the sympathy of Christian moralists. As a matter of fact, we do not think that since the formation of Christian States there has been the slightest degeneracy in civic virtues among them from the ancient Pagan standard so loudly vaunted. Christians may have been illogical in their application of the principles of their purely spiritual faith, and carnal in the worldliness of their civic views, but "Our country, right or wrong," has been their cry quite as generally, and almost as openly, as it was that of a Scipio or an Alexander.



Once more, let us examine the assertion that Polytheism was eminently tolerant, in as far as a contrast is implied in it between the moral practice of the of the Pagans and the Christians. We must regard Polytheism as its action was exemplified in the civic polity of the ancient nations; and we must remark at once that the toleration of the Roman government has been much magnified only because it has been much misunderstood. The Roman government tolerated all forms of religion towards which it entertained no jealousy. The Romans in their earlier period had a peculiar uneasy sense of their own intellectual and spiritual deficiency as a nation. They were eager to embrace the ideas of every people with whom they came in contact. They felt themselves inferior in these respects to the tribes which shared with them the soil of Italy, the Etruscans and the Greeks. They were conscious that, as conquerors of these old and decrepit communities, they had entered into possession of a culture higher and nobler than their own, and they bowed down with awe before the spiritual revelations of more august and more æsthetic religions. They incorporated with their own almost the whole of the Etruscan, almost the whole of the Hellenic ritual, until the religious system of Rome became the medley of jarring incongruities so unconsciously displayed to us in the *Fasti* of Ovid.

But when they extended their conquests beyond Italy, and learnt to contemplate religious ideas and practices of a different, and, as they conceived, of an inferior type, the Romans were by no means disposed to regard them with the same favour. Perhaps, indeed, the imitative or receptive age of national childhood had then already passed with them. In Greece, beyond the sea, no doubt, they might find the same religion which they had already assimilated with their own at Neapolis and Tarentum; but with the ideas and practices of Carthage they felt no sympathy, nor allowed them for a moment to bear any part in the modification of their own. Neither in religion nor in polity, nor again in art, literature, or manners did the Romans accept or tolerate the ideas of their Punic foe. *Dolenda est Carthago* was their motto, and they carried it out morally as well as physically. They rooted out the whole civilisation of Carthage as thoroughly as they overthrew her walls and levelled her palaces. A few lines of gibberish in a single play of Plautus represent all the intellectual genius which once illustrated the rival, the equal, for a moment the superior of Rome. If we do not read of any proscription or persecution of the Punic re-

ligion, it is because not the religion merely, but the whole political constitution, of the national enemy was devoted to proscription and annihilation. If the Armada had been successful, it would not have been a mere persecution of heresy that would have followed; the persecution would have merged in the extinction of the English polity, and, as far as practicable, in the destruction of the English people. This was what the Romans undertook and effected in Carthage. Certainly not a vestige of the Punic religion has survived in history from that catastrophe.

Of the Asiatic nations whom they conquered at a later period the Romans had generally no such jealousy. They did not care to exterminate the polities of Asia Minor and Syria, and accordingly they suffered their rituals to exist and flourish. But even this toleration was broken from time to time by outbursts of sanguinary repression. The mysteries of Bacchus were denounced as fatal to Roman manners, and hateful to the Roman gods. It concerned the honour of the gods, and the safety of the State depending on their favour, to interdict and banish them. The rites of Jews and Egyptians were proscribed for the same reason. The Jews were more than once expelled from Rome, and their worship severely prohibited, because in the Roman view the religion of the Jews was hateful to the gods, and therefore pregnant with danger to the polity of Rome. For the same reason, again, the Druidical caste was subjected to persecution, and actually exterminated by the arm of power. The religious ideas of the Gauls were in some degree assimilated with those of their conquerors, but the political expounders of their creed were utterly destroyed with fire and sword.

When Tiberius hazarded his politic sentiment that injuries to the gods may be left to the care of the gods themselves, the Roman conscience was outraged just as the conscience of mediæval Christendom would have been outraged. The Romans of that declining age felt as sensibly as our simple forefathers, in the flush of triumphant Christianity, the religious duty of protecting from foreign insult the object of their personal veneration. They had the same feelings as the Christian; feelings which were ready at any time to break out in acts of sanguinary persecution. It was only the immediate object of their feeling that was different. The Roman believed that his patrons must be protected to insure the safety of the State. The mediæval Christian held that the favour of God secured not only protection to the State, but spiritual help and benediction to the individual worshipper also.



Hitherto we have seen the Romans conquering and triumphant. The gods have been manifestly on their side. They have fought the battles of their patrons, and their patrons have fought their battles in return. There has been little occasion as yet to deprecate divine wrath for the protection of the legions or the laws of Rome. The conquerors have been free to tolerate the gods of the conquered, the puny rivals of their own victorious divinities. They have sanctioned the worship of them in their own homes, have introduced them even within the conquering city herself, have installed them on the Capitol by the side of the Roman gods, and amused themselves, or flattered their subjects, by imagining analogy, connexion, and even identity, between the powers of the one nation and of the others. A rationalizing system has arisen, philosophy has joined hands with superstition, and the Romans of the triumphant Empire are content languidly to acknowledge that, after all, the divers mythologies are all akin together,—the Jupiter of the Capitol is one with the Jupiter of Athens or Corinth, with Melcarth in Syria, with Teutates in Gaul, with Serapis in Egypt, with Hammon in the deserts of Libya; that the gods indeed are not jealous gods, but very indulgent to all who worship them, under whatever name, in whatever clime, with full hands and a fervent heart. The philosopher now thinks every religion equally false, but the populace thinks every religion no less equally true. A reign of universal toleration has been inaugurated by universal indifference. Such is the euthanasia to which the religion of Greece and Rome has come, or has seemed to come, at the culmination of Greek and Roman civilisation; and this is what modern philosophers point to when they declare that Polytheism, as contrasted with Christianity, was eminently tolerant.

But mark how utterly fallacious this dream of amiable toleration is proved to be. Another phase of the Roman polity appears. Rome is no longer conquering and triumphant. Rome can no longer maintain her own frontiers; she has lost battle after battle; emperors with their legions have fallen before Barbarian brigands. Her moral ascendancy is shaken along with her material force. She has felt the weight of the enemy's hand from without, and she quails beneath the influence of the enemy's ideas from within. The religious ideas of her own subjects, alien from those to which she has been herself accustomed, hostile to them, incompatible with them,—these ideas acquire new force, and begin to assume an alarming significance. The Roman instinctively connects them with the political

dangers and calamities around him. The one and the other appear distinctly in his mind as cause and effect. Has the German assailed the frontiers? has Fuscus lost his legions? has the Dacian crossed the Danube? has pestilence clung like the shirt of Nessus to the camp of Aurelius? has the Tiber inundated Rome? has the Nile refused to inundate Egypt? The gods are angry; the gods must be appeased; for gods there certainly are, and they have revealed themselves to the eye of faith in these public calamities.—“The Christians to the lions!” Here is Pagan persecution following immediately upon political disasters. The Pagan is not alarmed for his soul's health; he has not learned to anticipate spiritual judgments for the neglect or offence of his deities; he does not persecute for the good of his own soul, still less for the salvation of the soul of the offending unbeliever; but he persecutes swiftly, strongly, cruelly, unrelentingly, to secure himself from the temporal penalties which he apprehends from the indignation of the gods. The Romans threw the Christians to the lions, on the same principle as that on which the Church burnt the heretics,—because they apprehended from them the greatest evils that came within the scope of their comprehension. The difference was that, in the view of Paganism, the greatest of calamities were temporal and political, in that of Christianity they were spiritual and eternal. Hence the main endeavours of the Christian apologists was to prove from history that the polity of Rome had actually suffered often and grievously, even when the gods of Rome seemed to stand most secure on the thrones of Olympus. Rome had been defeated by Etruscans, Gauls, and Carthaginians, long before the advent of Christ, and the intrusion of a new religion; Rome had suffered plagues and famines through all the centuries of her conquests: her present sufferings could not then be ascribed to the diffusion of the gospel faith. But both Pagans and Christians agreed that this was the real ground of the persecutions of the age; the belief, right or wrong, that the Roman deities were incensed against Rome on account of the impiety imputed to Christianity. The principle, then, of persecution, was a natural development of the Pagan system, quite as much as of the Christian: its motives and presumed sanctions were analogous, if not identical. It is an utter mistake to suppose that it was generated on the soil of Christianity. The perverse corruption of the human imagination discovered it in the purer faith just as it had before discovered it in the grosser, and intensified it perhaps,



though even this may be doubted, in proportion to its intenser sense of the Divine favour or disfavour.

We are conscious that we have not done justice to the method and arrangement of the book before us in the desultory remarks into which we have permitted ourselves to diverge. But the scope of the work is so comprehensive, the topics upon which it expatiates so numerous and varied, the salient points so many and so provocative of question and discussion, the work itself, we may add, with full respect for the author's marked abilities, so deficient in unity and breadth of view, that we have perhaps unconsciously treated it rather as a collection of essays on the general subject than as a history, still less as a philosophy. After all, as Mr. Lecky himself acknowledges, the true history of Christian Morals can hardly be deduced in full from histories and public records. This is what we have already hinted in the course of these remarks as an important consideration, and these are the weighty words in which Mr. Lecky signalizes the same conclusion:—

"However much," he says (vol. ii. p. 156), "an historian may desire to extend his researches to the private and domestic virtues of a people, civic virtues are always those which must appear most prominently in his pages. History is concerned only with large bodies of men. The systems of philosophy or religion which produce splendid results on the great theatre of public life, are fully and easily appreciated, and readers and writers are both liable to give them very undue advantages over those systems which do not favour civic virtues, but exercise their beneficial influence in the more obscure fields of individual self-culture, domestic morals, or private charity. If valued by the self-sacrifice they imply, or by their effects upon human happiness, these last rank very high, but they seldom appear in history, and they therefore seldom obtain their due weight in historical comparisons. Christianity has, I think, suffered peculiarly from this cause. Its moral action has always been much more powerful upon individuals than upon societies, and the spheres in which its superiority over other religions is most incontestable are precisely those which history is least capable of realizing."

Assuredly it is impossible for the historian to describe the full effect of Christian principle, as it worked in the various classes of society in their domestic life, at any period between Augustus and Charlemagne. Of such operation there could be no records, and its visible phases appeared and disappeared with each succeeding generation. The quiet unobtrusive action of faith, hope, and charity, the purifying of the affections, the chastening of the passions, the extension

of the family affections, the intensifying of trust and love of God, the constant contemplation of the highest moral ideal, the assurance of a future life, and view of this present world as a trial and preparation for another, the conviction of the presence of God and Christ for ever with us, the "*circumfuso conscius ire Deo*" in a sense still higher than that of the most enthusiastic of the Stoics,—such things as these, the common heritage of all Christian souls, might leave little tangible on the surface of human affairs, or recognisable on the written page of history, while they were none the less real and active, and pervasive of the whole sphere of Christian life. We can only guess of the interior working of the faith in those earlier ages from what we can discern, and that too is but vague and fragmentary, of its effects among ourselves, in the domestic life of Christians around us. If we want to examine the history of Christian Morals we must look into our own hearts, and ask whether we are living the kind of life which we should be living if we were merely Pagans, Pagans born and bred, with Paganism before us, and around us, and beyond us. Are our own personal standards the same as what we can discover of theirs? Do we make any attempt to realize the Christian rather than the Pagan rule? And so of our neighbours and associates, of the classes with whom we have our daily dealings: do we or do we not recognise in them a higher rule, and a more or less conscientious striving after it? Failures there may be in ourselves, in our neighbours, among whole communities, sins glossed over with salves, virtues exaggerated into vices, many personal, some national, defects and departures from the Christian standard; nevertheless it is the fact, and it would be weakness, not humility, it would be treason rather than loyalty to our Master to deny it, that we discover no indistinct traces of an energy communicated by the faith that is in us, if it be in us at all; and so, little as we can really know of the interior lives of the earlier Christians, and much as we may discover of weakness and corruption and natural Paganism of the heart among them, we cannot doubt but that they too, like ourselves, having the same foundation as ourselves, did in fact exemplify in their lives a fuller conception of the requirements of the Christian law than can be traced in the imperfect records of external history.

But further, whatever be the shortcomings of Christian life, now or heretofore, they are no more than what a true understanding of the Scriptures themselves must lead us to expect. The gospel nowhere un-



dertakes to convert the world unto righteousness. On the contrary, we are required, in the most plain and striking terms, to be always prepared for its failure as regards the great majority of mankind. "Strait is the gate, and narrow is the way, and few there be that find it,"—this is the motto inscribed on the portals of Christianity. With all its array of sanctions and incentives, with the Creator, the Redeemer, and the Sanctifier on our side, with objects no less awful than a heaven and a hell proposed for our choice, with a force and a solemnity to which no Pagan religion ever made pretension, we are never encouraged to expect that the most of men and women will choose the better way, or, choosing, will persist in it. On the whole, a candid review of the teaching of Scripture may assure us that Revelation is not given, and does not profess to be given, primarily for the promotion of morality upon earth. The advancement of morality is secondary with it, and incidental to it. The gospel claims to be a record of the means by which God is reconciled with man, with a view to man's final acceptance by Him hereafter. The Saviour is set before us as an object of faith. Faith in Him, a true and lively faith, will doubtless engender a moral life; but how many will embrace that faith, how many will persist in it, how many will apply it as a principle of moral purity? The gospel tells us very distinctly that the number of these will be few; and if so, it would be inconsistent in us to expect that true Christian morality should ever become general in the world, should ever so prevail as to overcome the common tendency to evil which Revelation asserts, and which the records of Pagan, and even of Christian, life so fearfully attest. Read with such a proviso as this, the history of European Morals, as detailed to us by Mr. Lecky, or by any other inquirer, even though it be more painful and mortifying to Christians than it is here on the whole represented, will serve, in the mind of the believer, to cast no impeachment whatever upon the claim of Christianity to be a revelation from God.

#### ART. IV.—GEOLOGICAL TIME.

1. *On the Secular Cooling of the Earth.* By Sir W. THOMSON. Trans. R.S.E., 1862, and Phil. Mag., 1863, ii.; Thomson and Tait's Natural Philosophy, vol. i. App. D.
2. *The Uniformitarian Theory of Geology briefly refuted.* By Sir W. THOMSON. Proc. R.S.E., 1865.

VOL. L.

N—15

3. *On Geological Time.* By Sir W. THOMSON. Trans. of the Geological Society of Glasgow, 1868.
4. *President's Address to the Geological Society of London, February 1869.* By Professor HUXLEY.
5. *Of Geological Dynamics.* Part I. *Reply to Professor Huxley's Address to the Geological Society of London.* Part II. *Origin and Total Amount of Plutonic Energy.* Part III. *Note on the Meteoric Theory of the Sun's Heat.* By Sir W. THOMSON. Trans. of the Geological Society of Glasgow, 1869.
6. *Mathematics versus Geology.* Pall Mall Gazette, May 8, 1869.
7. *The Origin of Species.* North British Review, 1867.
8. *Presidential Address to the British Association at Norwich, 1868.* By Dr. HOOKER.
9. *On the Age of the Sun's Heat.* By Sir W. THOMSON. Macmillan's Magazine, 1862.

THE papers above mentioned have a more or less direct bearing upon what is assuredly one of the most important as well as the most interesting scientific discussions of the present century. Well might it be said, considering not merely the importance of the questions at issue, but also the qualifications of the principal champion on either side—

"expectation stood

In horror: from each hand with speed retired,  
Where erst was thickest fight, the angelic throng,

And left large field, unsafe within the wind  
Of such commotion; such as, to set forth  
Great things by small, if, nature's concord broke,

Among the constellations war were sprung,  
Two planets rushing from aspect malign  
Of fiercest opposition, in mid-sky  
Should combat, and their jarring spheres confront."

Nothing short of such a classic extract can fitly describe the controversy carried on in the journals above named; the antagonists being undoubtedly each the foremost man in Britain in his subject—Sir William Thomson in Applied Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, Professor Huxley in Physiology and Natural History. Why and about what should such authorities differ? If they have anywhere common ground, can their methods give inconsistent results? Is not truth single? These and like questions rise before us with breath-taking rapidity. The answer is unfortunately but too easily given; we find it proclaimed without any attempt at disguise in the (spoken) words of a great living geologist. (We quote from memory, but believe we express the exact



sense of his remark.) "I should certainly not accept any mathematical result connected with Geology if it were inconsistent with the results obtained by our mode of treating our subject. I would not accept a thousand, or even a hundred thousand, millions of years, or any limit whatever imposed by physical science. I am just as incompetent to judge of the evidence on which you go as you are to judge of ours." Which is equivalent to telling mathematicians and natural philosophers, in common slang, to "mind their own business, and let other folk be."

Something there is, in this, very much resembling those most objectionable theories and practices of the Trades-Unionists which have recently been held up to public execration. The unfortunate "knobstick" is, relatively to his delicacy of feeling, which requires at least a brickbat to make an impression upon it, not treated worse than the mathematician who presumes to undertake a part, however small, of the work arrogated to himself by a non-mathematical savant. We may compare it also to the senseless outcry against machinery which has disgraced almost every age of the world. That educated scientific men should thus fall into the wretched fallacies of handloom-weavers, boot-closers, and (*pudet dicere*) even of Irish reapers, is surely a very singular psychological phenomenon, worthy the attention of sensational writers on obscure diseases of the mind and brain. Even Professor Huxley says, in his Address (above mentioned, the capitals are ours),—"We have exercised a wise discrimination in declining to meddle with our foundations at the bidding of the first PASSER-BY who fancies that our house is not so well built as it might be:"—which looks like an unintentional parody of one of Victor Hugo's latest ironical queries, "On en serait-on si le premier venu avait des droits?" In Sir W. Thomson's "Reply," this boast of Professor Huxley is met in the mildest and meekest spirit:—calculated, we think, as Geologists at present are, merely to produce fresh and more uncalled-for attacks upon him. For the *moment*, we fear he weakens, not his cause but, his chance of a hearing by not sufficiently showing his teeth:—

"I cannot pass from Professor Huxley's last sentence without asking, Who are the occupants of 'our house,' and who is the 'passer-by'? Is geology not a branch of physical science? Are investigations, experimental and mathematical, of underground temperature, not to be regarded as an integral part of geology? Are suggestions from astronomy and thermo-dynamics, when adverse to a tendency in geological speculation recently become extensively popular in England through the bril-

liancy and eloquence of its chief promoters, to be treated by geologists as an invitation to meddle with their foundations, which a 'wise discrimination' declines? For myself, I am anxious to be regarded by geologists, not as a mere passer-by, but as one constantly interested in their grand subject, and anxious, in any way, however slight, to assist them in their search for truth."

In connexion with Professor Huxley's metaphor, Dr. Hooker's remark about Lyell may be read with profit. The contrast is at least curious:—

"Well may he be proud of a superstructure raised on the foundations of an insecure doctrine when he finds that he can underpin it, substitute a new foundation, and after all is finished, survey his edifice, not only more secure, but more harmonious in its proportions than it was before."

This of course means that a *Geologist* is perfectly at liberty to retain his "superstructure" while entirely altering his foundations; but we shall see presently that even Dr. Hooker (who has allowed this much) is quite as indignant at the *Mathematician* who proffers assistance, as any geologist can be.

This sort of thing won't do in Science, and the sooner scientific men of every species recognise the fact the better. Although there is often something almost ludicrous and contemptible about the *mere* mathematician, whose *ratio existendi* it is difficult to conjecture, yet mathematics are indispensable to the complete development of every real science: and he who discourages their application simply repeats, in perhaps a more telling form, the bigoted blunder of the otherwise great astronomer, who persistently refused the aid of the telescope in his observations, and thus immeasurably diminished the usefulness of his long and important labours. The same foolish bigotry is even now-a-days not uncommon with a certain class of Physiologists and Anatomists, who cling to what they call "real old Anatomy," and look with scorn upon their brethren who avail themselves of the wonderful powers of the microscope.

Every scientific man ought to be, as far as he can, a mathematician: just as every literary man ought to be more or less of a classical scholar. In a certain, usually somewhat pedantic, sense this is the case in Germany and France; but certainly in no sense in Britain, for here few even of our Natural Philosophers, with a mere unit or two among our Chemists, and none of our Physiologists, can lay claim to more than the most beggarly elements of mathematical knowledge. Such a man as Helmholtz, Physiologist and yet Mathematician and Natural Philosopher



(and in the very front rank in all three), would be a *monster* in this country. It is mainly to this that we must ascribe the fact that there is little such hostility between different groups of genuine scientific men abroad as we find everywhere at home; few of those petty rivalries of subjects, which are the disgrace of all science. In saying this we are aware that even abroad the METAPHYSICIANS claim to have a word on every subject, as they have long done in this country; but there, as here, few really scientific men now-a-days pay much attention to them: mere soap-bubbles, they are uninjured by the keen thrust of the scientific rapier, but collapse into a drop of water before the blown bladder of the jester: and they are considerably left to form a sect *per se*, wherein complacent vanity and self-sufficiency are almost as rife as mutual recrimination.

According to Professor Huxley, "Mathematics may be compared to a mill of exquisite workmanship, which grinds you stuff of any degree of fineness; but, nevertheless, what you get out depends on what you put in; and as the grandest mill in the world will not extract wheat-flour from peascods, so pages of formulæ will not get a definite result out of loose data."

According to Common Sense (which, though it is not obvious in the preceding extract, Professor Huxley claims to wield as one of his most formidable weapons; and which we are therefore surprised to find taking the field against him), Mathematics cannot pretend to deduce from any data results not therein involved, nor can it pretend to improve observations which are known to have been loosely made, or in which good approximations were unattainable: but it has the special advantage (possessed by no other method) of being able to estimate numerically the *weight* or *value* of every conclusion it furnishes. And no mathematician, worthy of the name, would state, without indicating (as well as his information enabled him) the limits of error, a result derived from "loose data:" much less would he employ "pages of formulæ" for the purpose.

The fact is that, although many scientific men (in Britain) may attempt to ignore it, Mathematics is as essential an element of progress in every real science as language itself; but it cannot be usefully introduced until we have arrived at something a little beyond what may be called the mere "beetle-hunting" or "crab-catching" stage. If Professor Huxley is inclined to admit that Geology is still in this very imperfect state, all we can say is that, with Sir W. Thomson, we think otherwise, and so thinking feel that mathematical knowledge ought to be brought

to the aid of men of real merit and genius, who are now hopelessly floundering about for want of it.

It is the business of every real mathematician to make, as far as in him lies, useful applications of his grand instrument; if he do not, and yet is active, he too often works, not at improving his instrument (work which would of course be of value) but, at applying it to imaginary and in general ridiculous "Problems" in whose data the facts of physical science are ignored, or at quips and puzzles for the *Lady's and Gentleman's Diary*. Such a fate is worse than oblivion, it is a perennial self-gibbeting.

Let us then hear no more nonsense about the interference of mathematicians in matters with which they have no concern; rather let them be lauded for condescending from their proud pre-eminence to help out of a rut the too ponderous waggon of some scientific brother.

It is only within the last two or three years that a few logicians have been able so far to get over this abominably mis-called *esprit de corps* as to think the late Dr. Boole excusable for having published his magnificent work on *The Laws of Thought*; a work which, look at it from what side we may, is one of the grandest scientific monuments of the present century. But in Geology, as in Logic, Mathematics is now advancing to play the part of Henry VIII., and,

"We hear the sacrilegious cry,  
'Down with the nests and the rooks will fly.'"

We should not have associated, at the head of this article, with the acknowledged writings of men of such deserved reputation as Sir W. Thomson and Professor Huxley, the critical remarks of an anonymous journalist (we happen to know well the high qualifications of the former writer in this *Review*), were it not that these remarks have unfortunately obtained far more extensive publicity than the writings they refer to. This person may do considerable mischief by his assuming to speak with authority, and "not as the scribes." Who, where, or what, he is we have not the slightest notion; and we can therefore freely examine his production. It is one of a class which is now-a-days becoming far too common, and which every man of true scientific feeling ought to do his best to discourage, a critique (?) of the most one-sided character, made entirely without knowledge of the merits and defects of either side. Its tone, too, is throughout *studiedly* insolent and offensive to Sir W. Thomson, and such as justly to deprive the writer of all claim to be treated with the courtesy ever due to an honourable opponent. Per-



haps, before we have done with it, we may be able to show that its author has in this outburst effected nothing but a complete and humiliating demonstration of his own ignorance and prejudice. Though a Hercules or a Briareus is usually required for any effective intervention in a war of the gods, we have legendary authority for believing that commoner mortals may occasionally be of some service; but Thersites makes his appearance only to be ignominiously exposed and sent howling to the hulks:—

μηκέτ' ἔπειτ' Ὀδυσῆϊ κάρη ὤμοισιν ἐπείη,  
μηδ' ἔτι Τηλεμάχοιο πατὴρ κεκλημένος εἶην,  
εἰ μὴ ἐγὼ σε λαβὼν ἀπὸ μὲν φίλα εἴματα δύσω,  
χλαῖνάν τ' ἥδ' ἑτάωνα, τὰ τ' αἰδῶ ἀμφικαλύπτει,  
αὐτὸν δὲ κλαίοντα Ἰδῶς ἐπὶ νῆας, ἀφήσω  
πεπληγὸς ἀγορήθεν ἀεικίσσαι πλεγγῆσιν.

By far the grandest question in Geology proper, though one which Hutton expressly declines to deal with, is that of the original formation and early history of the Earth, for in its answer are included, to a great extent, the present and the future. For our present purpose it is not necessary to consider any of the theories, some of them very plausible, which have of late been propounded as to the origin of Suns and Planets by the falling together of discrete masses originally scattered about in space. What we wish to consider is how far observation of those strata with which alone the geologist can ever be acquainted, assisted by such astronomical and physical information as we can gather from the earth's figure, internal heat, rate of rotation, etc., is fitted to guide us in reckoning back to what must have occurred in earlier ages of the world. Have we any means of forming an opinion as to the state of our globe so much as one, ten, or one hundred, million years ago? Let us first consider what the geologists can fairly attempt by data derived from their own science. If we find their methods at best extremely inadequate to the solution of such grand questions, we must next inquire whether physical science has not other resources at least a little superior to theirs.

Geologists may argue the point from various sides, most easily from the important action of water in modifying the earth's surface. For instance, given the thickness of a bed of stratified rock, whose appearance at once proves that it has been deposited at the bottom of an ocean or of an immense lake, and assuming from what we see going on at present around us the most probable rate at which such deposits are formed, we can at once calculate the most probable requisite time. Or we may consider the disintegrating and wearing effects of water,

instead of its constructive effects, and seek how long time has been required for the erosion of portions which we see have been by its agency removed from a rock or deposit whose character is known from the fragments which remain. Still there is a possible fallacy, for deposition and denudation may have alternated many times during the formation or destruction of such beds of rock. All deductions of these kinds are therefore necessarily of extreme vagueness, and they can at best only supply an exceedingly rough approximation to an *inferior* limit of the time required, leaving the *superior* limit capable of any magnitude whatever. There are various other conceivable methods, open to the geologist as such, but they all have the same utterly unsatisfactory character, and yield an inferior limit only. Now what is wanted is a *superior* limit, and the veritable origin of the present discussion is the fact that, when methods capable of giving a superior limit of time have been applied, they are found to show that even the inferior limits usually assigned by geologists are of totally inadmissible duration. Such periods were really first introduced by the so-called *Uniformitarian* school of geologists, of whom Hutton and Playfair in former days, and Lyell in the present, may be taken as types. Their ruling notion is that all changes are essentially periodic, and thus that the earth has a sort of normal state, from which it can never differ more than a little, and about which it continually oscillates. To deny this, was, according to Playfair, virtually to assert that "the Author of nature has given laws to the universe, which, like the institutions of men, carry in themselves the elements of their own destruction." The whole passage from which this extract is taken is given by Sir W. Thomson, and he has summarily pointed out its outrageous fallacies. It has been quoted over and over again with approval by Teleologists and authors of Systems of Natural Religion, but it is simply a confusion of two perfectly distinct things, the *permanence of physical laws* (an idea whose correctness we have no reason to doubt), and the *permanence of the present state of things* on the globe (which no one acquainted with modern science can for a moment believe in). A better observer, though not a less pious or less orthodox man than any of the Teleologists, says

"Change and Decay in all around I see;"

yet in the eyes of many of the unenlightened a denial of Playfair's assumption is even now little better than atheism. But these gigantic periods, introduced by the Uniformi-



tarians without any physical proof of their admissibility, have been even farther extended by more recent theorists; such as Darwin, for instance, who requires them for his *Development of Species*.

As we have just seen, the ordinary geological methods are quite incapable of setting any superior limit to such periods: and, before proceeding farther, it may help us a little, as regards the strange revelations presently to come, if we look for a moment at the way in which even a President of the British Association speaks of a branch of science of which there can be no offence in saying he is certainly not a master. The attack is directed against conclusions of physical science, with regard to geology, which have been expressed in our pages, and its fallacies *must* therefore be at least noticed here.

A brief *résumé* of a few of Sir W. Thomson's views on Geological Time was given in this *Review* in 1837, in an article on *The Origin of Species*, and the only attempt at an answer to them, as there stated, which we have yet seen, was that made by Dr. Hooker in his Presidential Address to the British Association at Norwich. We cannot now enter into a complete examination of his reasoning, but we may take a single very curious specimen—

"While fully admitting that Astronomy is the most certain in its methods and results of all sciences, that she (*sic*) has called forth some of the highest efforts of the intellect, and that her results far transcend in grandeur those of any other science, I think we may hesitate before we admit her queenship, her perfection, or her sole claims to interpretation and prophecy. Her methods are mathematics, she may call geometry and algebra her handmaidens, but she is none the less their slave. No science is really perfect; certainly not that which lately erred 2,000,000 miles in so fundamental a datum as the earth's distance from the sun."

There is here a most unaccountable confusion between the results deduced *directly* from measurements of a quantity which requires some telescopic power to observe it at all, and those deduced from rigorous mathematical processes. That an *Observer* should make an error of a few *hundredths* of a second of arc (each corresponding to about a hundred thousand miles in the thence computed distance of the sun), in a quantity whose utmost value is some eight or nine seconds, surely need excite no surprise. Rather is it remarkable that such a close approximation has already been reached in a determination of such extreme delicacy. He who would deny this must have a very

singular idea of what a second of arc is, and what limit of accuracy is attainable in the most perfect of astronomical observations. The coming transits of Venus will show what amount of improvement instruments and modes of observation have received within the last century, but few astronomers will say that there may not still remain an uncertainty of some hundreds of thousands of miles in the sun's distance. It is well worthy of notice, however, that experimental determinations of the velocity of light demonstrated the inexactness of the former estimate of the sun's distance, and that such physical methods may possibly prove as efficient as more direct astronomical ones. The nature of the difficulty here considered has been well compared to that of determining the distance of a steeple some ten or twenty miles off; the observer being limited to the length of base-line afforded by an ordinary window-sill. But that unavoidable instrumental imperfections, and necessarily inadequate conditions of observing, should be regarded by *any* genuine scientific man as a defect in the *Science* of Physical Astronomy altogether passes belief.

To get a superior limit to the possible duration of something not very different from the present state of things on the earth other sciences than Geology must be appealed to; and here, because, and *only because*, our scientific men are usually mere specialists, the Natural Philosopher is required. What can a geologist, as such, tell about the nature, origin, and duration of the Sun's heat? Yet, suppose it could be shown that ten million years ago the sun was very much hotter than it now is, would not that fact have an important bearing on the length of time during which plants and animals have inhabited the earth? What can he tell us about the internal heat of the earth, and the rate at which it is at present being lost? Yet if it could be shown, on strict physical principles, that ten million years ago the underground temperature was at least that of red heat at a depth of one thousand feet below the surface, would not that materially influence his speculations? He may tell the mathematician to "mind his own business," but the mathematician must reply, "My business is in this case to save you from ignorantly committing egregious blunders, which not only retard the progress of your own science, but tend to render all science a laughing-stock to the uninitiated."

Having thus pointed out the nature of the questions involved in the present discussion, we shall examine, in order, the more



especially combative of the various articles enumerated above.

Sir W. Thomson's paper, *On Geological Time*, was read to the Glasgow Geological Society last year. The main point referred to in it is the tidal retardation of the earth's motion, but the questions of the loss of energy from the sun and earth by radiation are also considered. He takes as his text the oft-quoted passage from Playfair, already alluded to, in which it is asserted that, however far we look into the past or the future, with reference either to the solar system or to the animal and vegetable kingdoms, "we discover no mark either of the commencement or the termination of the present order." As regards the solar system, he founds his statement upon the celebrated result, then just obtained by Lagrange and Laplace, that the dimensions, inclinations, and eccentricities of the orbits of the planets could not be permanently altered by their mutual action, but must fluctuate in value between certain very narrow limits, though the periods of these fluctuations were shown to be in general very long. This was no doubt a most remarkable conclusion, one which still remains worthy of our highest admiration, but unfortunately *it is not true*; and with it falls the main prop of Playfair's statement. In obtaining the result, the French mathematicians used methods of approximation only (the solution of the problem in its generality appears even now to be hopeless), equivalent on the whole to omitting squares of the disturbing forces, i. e., they virtually assumed, in calculating the effect of one planet on another, that the position of the first had not been affected by the second, besides formally neglecting terms of the third and higher orders of small quantities such as the eccentricities and inclinations. No doubt the quantities thus left out of account are exceedingly small, and negligible with perfect propriety, so long as the result of a few thousand years', or even a few tens of thousands of years', perturbations are considered; but it remains to be shown that, small as they are, they do not involve as surely the destruction of the solar system as the infinitesimal effect of each passing foot-step renders in time new pavement necessary on a frequented street. In all probability this cannot be done; but even if it could, there is something more which at once decides the question. The investigations of Lagrange and Laplace took no account of the *resistance*, which physical science has shown is called into play by *every* motion of matter, and of which Newton was well aware, for he distinctly says,—“Majora au-

tem planetarum et cometarum corpora motus suos, et progressivos et circulares, in spatiis minus resistentibus factos, conservant diutius.” This implies that he knew that all motions of the planets and comets are resisted, but that in virtue of the masses of these bodies and the rarity of interplanetary matter, the effects of such forces of resistance would take a long time to accumulate sufficiently to become discoverable. But a “long time” is one thing, and “however far we look into the past or the future” is another and a very different thing (containing, in fact, the point originally at issue in this discussion.) Taking this into account, the proposition of Lagrange and Laplace retains merely its present mathematical and astronomical value; properly estimated, it turns *against* Playfair, and upsets his conclusion. To show how fixed was this notion of permanence in Playfair's mind, and to what astounding limits of extravagance he was prepared to go, in spite of his better reason, whenever it was by possibility involved, take the following extract from his critique on *Vince's Gravitation* in the *Edinburgh Review* (1808-9). He is speaking of a very ridiculous hypothesis, put forward by John Bernoulli (who was no physicist, and as inferior to his brother in mathematics as he was in temper and in honesty), as to the cause of gravitation:—

“One circumstance in the favour of a hypothesis which has so little in other respects to recommend it, we must not omit to mention. It is, that the formation of the particles issuing from the sun into little balls which return to the sun again, presents us with something like a circulation, by which light is made to return to the luminary from which it was originally emitted. That light does so return in reality, by some means or other, is extremely probable, and conformable to the maxim, that nature nowhere admits of unlimited and progressive change. Such change, however slow, must destroy the order of which it makes a part, and is therefore very unlike the economy observed in the other phenomena of the heavens. Bernoulli's theory, therefore, includes at least one particular, in which the wisdom and simplicity of nature appears to have been consulted.”

Sir W. Thomson proceeds to give an exceedingly clear and simple statement of the effects and *modus operandi* of one very interesting case of resistance—that offered by the tides to the earth's rotation. The celebrated Kant, who was a mathematician and a naturalist before he took up the study of metaphysics, and whose conclusions (like those of Sir W. R. Hamilton) are therefore usually of real value, or at least such as in general to merit serious consideration, long ago pointed out that the tidal wave, held back



as it were by the moon and sun while the earth revolves underneath it, must act as a sort of friction break, gradually diminishing the velocity of the earth's rotation. But Kant had no means of ascertaining, even roughly, what may be the amount of this effect; nor does he seem to have pointed out any other consequences of this action: such, for instance, as change of the moon's distance from the earth, or change of the earth's distance from the sun, and consequent change of length of the year. Now-a-days, with the principles of Energy to guide us, we know that in all friction heat is produced, and that this heat corresponds to so much energy of visible motion irrecoverably transformed, and therefore degraded. This degradation must last so long as there is relative motion of the earth and the tide-wave; and thus the final tendency (so far as the moon alone is concerned) is to diminish the earth's velocity of rotation until it shall turn always the same side to the moon, *i. e.*, to make the day of the same length as the lunar month and lunar day. What an admirable verification of this physical prediction is afforded by the moon herself! The present condition of her surface shows that at some former period her whole crust, if not her whole substance, must have been in a molten state. Thinking of the enormous tides which must have been produced by the earth in this viscous mass of molten rock, we can easily understand how quickly its rate of rotation, whether originally greater or less than that of its rate of revolution, must have been compelled by friction to become identical with it; as we know it to be (*pace* Jellinger Symmonds, and his followers) by the simple fact that only one side of the moon has ever, within historical time, been visible to us. The following extract from Thomson's paper gives some additional particulars, and is well worthy of note as a most luminous verbal explanation of a subject which one might be inclined to fancy could hardly be raised from the domain of symbolic calculation:—

"But we may go further, and say that tidal action on the earth disturbs, by re-action, the moon. The tidal deformation of the water exercises the same influence on the moon as if she were attracted, not precisely in the line towards the earth's centre, but, in a line slanting very slightly, relatively to her motion, in the direction forwards. The moon, then, continually experiences a force forward in her orbit by re-action from the waters of the sea. Now, it might be supposed for a moment that a force acting forwards would quicken the moon's motion; but, on the contrary, the action of that force is to retard her motion. It is a curious fact easily explained, that a force continually

acting forward with the moon's motion will tend, in the long run, to make the moon's motion slower, and increase her distance from the earth. On the other hand, the effect of a resisting force on, for instance, the earth would undoubtedly be, in the course of ages, to make the earth go faster and faster round the sun. The reason is, that the resistance allows the earth to fall in a spiral path towards the sun, whose attraction generates more velocity than frictional resistance destroys. The tidal deformation of the water on the earth tends, on the whole, therefore, to retard the moon's angular motion in her orbit; but (by the accompanying augmentation of her distance from the earth) to increase the *moment of her motion* round the earth's centre. And the ultimate tendency—so far as the earth's rotation is concerned—must be to make the earth keep always the same face to the moon.

"It may be remarked, in passing, that the corresponding tendency has probably already had effect on the moon itself. The moon always turns the same face to the earth. If the moon were now a liquid mass, there would be enormous tides in it. The friction in that fluid would cause the moon to tend to turn the same face towards the earth: and we find the moon turns the same face always to the earth. It seems almost inevitable to our minds, constituted as they are, to connect possible cause and real effect, and say that a possible cause is a real cause; and thus to believe the reason why the moon turns always the same side to us is because it was once a liquid mass which experienced tides and viscous resistance against the tidal motion. The only other view we can have—the only other hypothesis we can make—is, that the moon was created with such an angular velocity as to turn always the same face to the earth. But the course of speculative and physical science is absolutely irresistible as regards the relation between cause and effect. Whenever we can find a possible antecedent condition of matter, we cannot help inferring that that possible antecedent did really exist as a preceding condition—a condition, it may be, preceding any historical information we can have—but preceding and being a condition from which the present condition of things has originated by force acting according to laws controlling all matter."

But, it may be asked, how can even so beautiful a physical deduction as this be brought to bear upon the speculations of geologists? We answer, in many ways; but of these we need mention but one, our object at present being to show the nature rather than the extent of the argument. We again quote Thomson:—

"Now, if the earth is losing angular velocity at that great rate, at what rate might it have been rotating a thousand millions years ago? It must have been rotating faster by one-seventh part than at present, and the centrifugal force must have been greater in the ratio of the square of 8 to the square of 7, that is, in the ratio of 64 to 49. There must have then been



more centrifugal force at the equator due to rotation than now, in the proportion of 64 to 49. What does the theory of geologists say to that? There is just now at the equator one two-hundred-and-eighty-ninth part of the force of gravity relieved by centrifugal force. If the earth rotated seventeen times faster bodies would fly off at the equator. The present figure of the earth agrees closely with the supposition of its having been all fluid not many million years ago.

"The centrifugal force a hundred million years ago would be greater by about 8 per cent. than it is now, according to the preceding estimate of tidal retardation; and nothing we know regarding the figure of the earth, and the disposition of land and water, would justify us in saying that a body consolidated when there was more centrifugal force by 3 per cent. than now might not now be in all respects like the earth, so far as we know it at present. But if you go back to ten thousand million years ago—which, I believe, will not satisfy some geologists—the earth must have been rotating more than twice as fast as at present—and if it had been solid then, it must be (*sic*) now something totally different from what it is. Now, here is direct opposition between physical astronomy, and modern geology as represented by a very large, very influential, and, I may also add, in many respects, philosophical and sound body of geological investigators, constituting perhaps a majority of British geologists. It is quite certain that a great mistake has been made—that British popular geology at the present time is in direct opposition to the principles of natural philosophy. Without going into details, I may say it is no matter whether the earth's lost time is 22 seconds, or considerably more or less than 22 seconds, in a century, the principle is the same. There cannot be uniformity. The earth is filled with evidences that it has not been going on forever in the present state, and that there is a progress of events towards a state infinitely different from the present."

Surely the dullest of unprejudiced readers can hardly fail to see the gist of this passage; but, lest there should be any difficulty, we may summarize it thus: The figure of the earth, while still fluid, depended on its rate of rotation, being the more flattened the greater its velocity. The loss of velocity by tidal action is known well enough to show that had the earth become solid ten thousand million years ago, its shape could not have been that which it now presents. Why we have thus given again, in the roughest and coarsest form, one small part of the above extract, the reader will soon see.

As an amusing but painful contrast, let us turn to the remarks made on this in the *Pall Mall Gazette*. Here we find Thomson's reasoning about the *figure* of the earth transformed into something absolutely astounding:—"The first argument is based on the fact that the tides tend to retard the rate of the earth's rotation on its axis, and that,

therefore, there was a time when the earth ROTATED TOO SWIFTLY FOR THE EXISTENCE OF LIFE." (The capitals are ours.) "Call you that, backing of your friends? A plague upon such backing, give me them that will face me." We can well fancy Professor Huxley's disgust at the "backing" of the *Pall Mall Gazette*.

Thomson proceeds to consider, as irrefragable disproofs of the Uniformitarian hypothesis, the rates at which both Sun and Earth are even now cooling. A hot body, cooling, has just before been somewhat hotter, and was then in all probability cooling more rapidly. This argument may be extended backwards for any required amount of time, without the least risk of physical error, and it must finally lead us, and within a very moderate number of millions of years, to a period when the earth, in consequence partly of its internal heat and partly of solar radiation, had at its surface a temperature quite inconsistent with the existence of organic life. The details of the requisite calculation, so far as internal heat is concerned, are very simple, and will be found appended to the paper (above mentioned) in the *Proc. R.S.E.*, 1865, which we are tempted to quote in full:—

"The 'Doctrine of Uniformity' in Geology, as held by many of the most eminent of British geologists, assumes that the earth's surface and upper crust have been nearly as they are at present in temperature, and other physical qualities, during millions of millions of years. But the heat which we know, by observation, to be now conducted out of the earth yearly is so great, that if this action had been going on with any approach to uniformity for 20,000 million years, the amount of heat lost out of the earth would have been about as much as would heat, by 100° Cent., a quantity of ordinary surface rock of 100 times the earth's bulk. [The calculation is appended.] This would be more than enough to melt a mass of surface-rock equal in bulk to the whole earth. No hypothesis as to chemical action, internal fluidity, effects of pressure at great depth, or possible character of substances in the interior of the earth, possessing the smallest vestige of probability, can justify the supposition that the earth's upper crust has remained nearly as it is, while from the whole, or from any part, of the earth, so great a quantity of heat has been lost."

That the reader may feel the full force of this argument, it is only necessary to point out to him that Sir W. Thomson expressly gives uniformitarianism the best possible conditions—conditions in fact really inadmissible, though (even when allowed) found utterly inadequate to the defence of the theory. For nothing in physics can be more



certain than that the hotter a body is (*ceteris paribus*), the faster it loses its heat. Hence Thomson might have carried his argument (with perfect accuracy and propriety) a great deal farther than he has done in this paper. Here, however, he was dealing professedly with the geologists, and had to consult their exceeding weakness in matters pertaining, however slightly, to mathematics; while, three years before, in the first paper cited above, he had treated the question in a masterly way, and with the help of some of Fourier's beautiful formulæ, taking account of the greater rate of dissipation when the temperature of the globe was higher. This, of course, led him to results (as to the possible limit of time which can be allowed) considerably more restricted than those advanced in the paper we are now considering; and the geologists at once seize upon this *palpable inconsistency* (!) and declare that it shows that none of his results are worthy of acceptance. Their reasoning, if we can call it such, is not less absurd than would be that of a man who could say that there is *inconsistency* between such statements as the following—In order that two individuals who have been taxed, the one at ten per cent. on his capital, the other by an annual fine of £10, may now have each £100, twenty years ago the one must have had £822 and the other only £300:—neither being supposed to gain from any external source during the process. Or, from another point of view, if £300 be the greatest capital either could have had at starting—the process may have lasted *twenty* years with the annual fine of £10, while it could not have lasted so much as *eleven* years at the annual ten per cent. of simple interest.

This Uniformitarianism has received its death-blow, and the operation has been performed as a duty, cheerfully but considerably, without malignity or ostentation. No one, in fact, except our Theraites, who seems neither to have got up the case made for the side he advocates, nor even apparently to be capable of distinguishing between Don Quixote and his squire,\* has attempted a word in its defence. For, when we look to the Address of Professor Huxley, we find that, far from defending Uniformitarianism, he does his best to drop it entirely as an awkward witness, or rather as a discreditable acquaintance. In passing, for the time, from the consideration of Sir W. Thomson's

first paper, we would say of it that, while it brings forward a formidable array of well-put objections, completely subversive of Uniformitarianism, it is obviously not meant as a complete sketch of the subject, fitted to answer, by anticipation, ingenious criticisms which may be, and have (since it was published) been brought forward by men of the calibre and determination of Professor Huxley. And it is therefore very satisfactory that such a man, qualified not merely by knowledge, but by acuteness of intellect, should have done his best (as we presume he has done from the circumstances under which his Address was delivered) to point out a possible flaw here and there in the argument, if not entirely to upset it. We do not, of course, assume that Professor Huxley has condensed into this brief Address all that he could say in answer to Sir W. Thomson; for the rest we must probably wait a little; but we may take for granted that he has seized upon what appeared to him to be the most inadmissible of Sir W. Thomson's statements.

Also, we may be allowed to remark, that it is unfortunate for the cause of progress that these statements should have appeared in a journal as yet comparatively obscure: though that journal, if it often contain contributions of such value, will soon, as regards circulation, stand on a par with any of its now more favoured rivals. No matter should they be lightly treated for the present, such articles will be dug up and admired by another generation:—when geologists have at length been brought to see that there can be no incompatibility between genuine scientific methods; and when the really good work which Huxley has done is alone remembered—this phase of opposition to rigorous physics being mercifully forgotten.

Let us here record that the writer in the *Pall Mall Gazette* introduces Professor Huxley's Address as a "crushing refutation of Sir W. Thomson's conclusion." This will prepare the reader for the next scene of the tragedy.

The Address, which we now proceed to examine, is certainly clever, dashing, and plausible; but when perused with attention it is found to be seriously illogical. Professor Huxley several times changes front, and at least twice attacks Sir W. Thomson for saying what he has in effect himself conceded a page or two before.

He prefaces his Address by the following quotations from Sir W. Thomson's paper:—

"A great reform in geological speculation seems now to have become necessary." "It is quite certain that a great mistake has been

\* "We entirely agree with Sir W. Thomson, that 'it is quite certain that a great mistake has been made;' but it is one similar in kind to Sancho Panza's (*vic*) attack on the windmill, and it has not been made by the British popular geologists."—*Pall Mall Gazette*, ut supra.



made,—that British popular geology at the present time is in direct opposition to the principles of Natural Philosophy.”

The first of these is perhaps, if taken alone, rather vague, and therefore somewhat sensational. But the second completely explains the sense and bearing of the whole paper. What do we understand by British *popular geology*? Obviously not the views which may be held by a very few of the leading geologists, who are therefor in a sense looked on as heretics by the rest, but those views which are now being disseminated in all directions in Popular Lectures and Popular Text-books. It is mighty well for Professor Huxley to come forward and show that, so far as his own notions are concerned, a comparatively few millions of years will suffice for the observed development of organic life on the earth; but if in this respect he has by his own methods (possibly assisted by the conclusions of the first paper on our list, published about six years ago) arrived at nearly the same conclusions as Sir W. Thomson, why cry out against the Natural Philosopher? This is, to say the least, disingenuous, as is his oblivion of the very title of Thomson's second paper (above mentioned), which shows at once against which school the remarks were directed. But still more so is his affected ignorance of the patent fact that *popular geologists* (who in this country form the great majority of the geologists, and to whom Sir W. Thomson pointedly refers), with no less authorities than Lyell, Ramsay, Darwin, and Jukes at their head, still talk with the wildest looseness about thousands and tens of thousands of millions of years as the very least periods they can accept. Seeing that he is at one with Sir W. Thomson, inasmuch as the period which he considers to be required is nearly that which Thomson shows may be admitted, why does he not hail the coincidence as greatly strengthening his own independent conclusions? We fear the true answer must be what we indicated above: Sir W. Thomson is not a professional geologist, and therefore must perforce be snubbed—*comme quo comme*. As we have but too lately seen, when two Irish mobs are engaged in the sweet pastime of murdering one another, the interference of the police at once reconciles the hostile factions into one great brotherhood, which proceeds incontinently to sacrifice the police, as a votive offering on the altar of Peace.

The style of Professor Huxley's Address is well exhibited by the following extract from its opening sentences:—

“It surely is a matter of paramount importance for the British geologists (some of

them very popular geologists too), here in solemn annual session assembled, to inquire whether the severe judgment thus passed upon them by so high an authority as Sir W. Thomson is one to which they must plead guilty *sans phrase*, or whether they are prepared to say ‘not guilty,’ and appeal for a reversal of the sentence to that higher court of educated scientific opinion to which we are all amenable.”

“As your attorney-general for the time being, I thought I could not do better than get up the case with a view of (*sic*) advising you. It is true that the charges brought forward by the other side involve the consideration of matters quite foreign to the pursuits with which I am ordinarily occupied; but in that respect I am only in the position which is, nine times out of ten, occupied by counsel, who nevertheless contrive to gain their causes, mainly by force of mother-wit and common sense, aided by some training in other intellectual exercises.”

Three things are very noticeable here:—*First* and *least*, there is satiety of what we are usually inclined to look upon as mere exuberant superfluities of metaphor: “attorney-general,” “getting up the case,” “not guilty,” and so on—which have their climax, later in the Address, when Sir W. Thomson is “Hansardized,” final causes are called the “*hetaira* (*sic*) of philosophy,” “Uniformitarianism insisted upon a practically unlimited bank of time, ready to discount any quantity of hypothetical paper,” etc. etc. We are sorry to see that, in his reply, Sir W. Thomson has to a certain extent fallen in with this fooling, for we can give it no other name. Professor Huxley is far too acute and sensible a man to use such language except when it is required to mask defects in his case, and, it may be, to tickle the ears of some not particularly scientific audience. *Second*, “The higher court of educated scientific opinion” is certainly the true tribunal to decide on such a question,—but, unfortunately for Professor Huxley, there are many more educated scientific men who are mathematicians and natural philosophers, and to whom, in consequence, Sir W. Thomson's arguments bring the full force of intellectual conviction, than there are geologists of the same high scientific training. And *Third*, How can a counsel hope to gain his cause (before such a court) who produces mere “mother-wit and common-sense,” and an exercised intellect, if he has to discuss matters quite “foreign to his ordinary pursuits”? To humbug an every-day British jury, is not, except in some very special cases, by any means a difficult, or even a very creditable, undertaking,—for now-a-days a British jury is in many respects nearly as effete and laughable (and very often also as dangerous)



an institution as a British municipal corporation,—but the court of educated scientific opinion (understood as limited to those who are really scientific men) is, and always has been, quite capable of appreciating the merits of a case, and of detecting and exposing hollowness and unreality whenever they are present.

Professor Huxley begins with a most interesting semi-historical sketch and classification of the three systems of geological thought which have, in his opinion, alternately held sway. We cannot do better than quote some of his very clear descriptions:—[In all that follows the italics are ours, and the capitals are Professor Huxley's.]

"By CATASTROPHISM I mean any form of geological speculation which, in order to account for the phenomena of geology, supposes the operation of forces different in their nature, or immeasurably different in power, from those which we at present see in action in the universe."

"The Mosaic cosmogony is, in this sense, catastrophic, because it assumes the operation of extra-natural power. . . . *There was a time when catastrophism might pre-eminently have claimed the title of 'British popular geology';* and assuredly it has yet many adherents, and reckons among its supporters some of the most honoured members of this Society."

"By UNIFORMITARIANISM I mean pre-eminently the teaching of Hutton and of Lyell."

"No one can doubt that the influence of uniformitarian views has been enormous, and, in the main, most beneficial and favourable to the progress of sound geology."

"Nor can it be questioned that uniformitarianism has even a stronger title than catastrophism to call itself the geological speculation of Britain, or, if you will, British popular geology. For it is eminently a British doctrine, and has even now made comparatively little progress on the continent of Europe. Nevertheless it seems to me to be open to serious criticism upon one of its aspects."

"To my mind there appears to be no sort of necessary theoretical antagonism between Catastrophism and Uniformitarianism. On the contrary, it is very conceivable that catastrophes may be part and parcel of uniformity. Let me illustrate my case by analogy. The working of a clock is a model of uniform action; good time-keeping means uniformity of action. But the striking of the clock is essentially a catastrophe; the hammer might be made to blow up a barrel of gunpowder, or turn on a deluge of water; and, by proper arrangement, the clock, instead of marking the hours, might strike at all sorts of irregular intervals, never twice alike in the intervals, force, or number of its blows. Nevertheless, all these irregular and apparently lawless catastrophes would be the results of an absolutely uniformitarian action; and we might have two schools of clock-theorists, one study-

ing the hammer and the other the pendulum."

"Still less is there any necessary antagonism between either of these doctrines and that of EVOLUTION, which embraces all that is sound in both Catastrophism and Uniformitarianism, while it rejects the arbitrary assumptions of the one and the, as arbitrary, limitations of the other. Nor is the value of the doctrine of evolution to the philosophic thinker diminished by the fact that it applies the same method to the living and the not-living world, and embraces in one stupendous analogy the growth of a solar system from molecular chaos, the shaping of the earth from the nebulous enshrouding of its youth, through innumerable changes and immeasurable ages, to its present form, and the development of a living being from the shapeless mass of protoplasm we term a germ."

"I do not know whether Evolutionism can claim that amount of currency which would entitle it to be called *British popular geology*; but, more or less vaguely, it is assuredly present in the minds of most geologists."

We must have one more extract, but it is of a really astonishing character:—[Here, however, the capitals are ours, the italics Professor Huxley's.]

"I do not suppose that, at the present day, any geologist would (*sic*) be found to maintain absolute Uniformitarianism, to deny that the rapidity of the rotation of the earth *may* be diminishing, that the sun *may* be waxing dim, or that the earth itself *may* be cooling. Most of us, I expect, are Gallicos, 'who care for none of these things,' being of opinion that, true or fictitious, THEY HAVE MADE NO PRACTICAL DIFFERENCE TO THE EARTH, during the period of which a record is preserved in stratified deposits."

"The accusation that we have been running counter to the principles of natural philosophy, therefore, is devoid of foundation."

If the reader will take the trouble to look back again to these quotations, and especially to the portions which we have italicised in the earlier ones and put in capitals in the last, he will see that Professor Huxley says in effect: There *was* a time when Catastrophism was British popular geology, Evolutionism can but vaguely claim that amount of currency which would entitle it to be called British popular geology, but Uniformitarianism has the stronger title to call itself British popular geology. Let him remember that (as above quoted) Sir W. Thomson's remarks are directed entirely against British popular geology—and that he has distinctly pointed out that by this term he meant the Uniformitarianism of Hutton, Playfair, and Lyell:—and then let him read these further remarks of Professor Huxley:—



"I have said that the three schools of geological speculation which I have termed Catastrophism, Uniformitarianism, and Evolutionism, are commonly supposed to be antagonistic to one another; and I presume it will have become obvious that, in my belief, the last is destined to swallow up the other two."

That is, because Professor Huxley, with but a few geologists as yet to back him, sees that Uniformitarianism cannot be successfully maintained (although according to him it is the teaching of British popular geologists), therefore

"It is not obvious, on the face of the matter, that we shall have to alter, or reform, our ways in any appreciable degree."

The only comment which this quibble requires is the pointing out how convenient is the Presidential "we," which really means Professor Huxley and a few other enlightened men, but is put forth to the world as meaning the Geological Society of London and with it the British popular geologists.

But the same spirit of quibbling is evident throughout all the foregoing extracts. Take, for instance, the so-called "analogy" of the clock. If Professor Huxley would only condescend for a moment to look at the question from the point of view of common sense, he would see that there is no uniformitarianism whatever in a clock—not even in a British, as distinguished from a French, one. For the *running down* of a clock is essentially a catastrophe; and, whether it pass uniformly (as a clock with weights, or with a spring and fusee, does) to its final stoppage; or, like French spring-timepieces which have no fusee, approach that consummation with continually decreasing force; matters not to the question. A clock bears absolutely no analogy to the case of the uniformitarian theory of the earth, treat it from what side you please: the mere fact of more or less of chain being on the barrel than on the fusee, and the constant change of their proportions, is alone sufficient entirely to upset Professor Huxley's reasoning; this *want of uniformity* being essential to the uniformity of the clock's going. But there is more to be observed, there is the exceedingly insidious danger that (as Professor Huxley without hesitation assumes may occur) there can be two, or more, sets of scientific men, studying the same phenomenon, and yet regarding it from such different points of view as to render unlikely any agreement between them. This, we need scarcely say, is absolute nonsense: for, if it has any meaning, it is calculated to justify the most perfunctory performance of the duties of an observer, and to give credit to him who notes only those phases of a phenomenon

which particularly suit his own views of its cause and relations. We are bound to assume that it is so meant, though Professor Huxley is surely far too shrewd a man to say (even to a popular audience, much less) to the great "court of scientific opinion to which we are all amenable," that there can be any excuse for a scientific man who looks at a question from so limited a point of view as his "analogy" appears to indicate.

There are many other points of a similar character, about which we should much like to say a few words. But we must let Sir W. Thomson have his own way in the matter of upsetting them. From his "Reply" to Professor Huxley we quote the following passage, which, long as it is, we fancy the reader would not wish to have had shortened: in fact the obscurity of the Journal in which the Reply has appeared renders it more than usually necessary to furnish copious extracts:—

"I must, therefore, in the beginning, be permitted to say that the very root of the evil to which I object is that so many geologists are contented to regard the general principles of natural philosophy, and their application to terrestrial physics, as matters quite foreign to their ordinary pursuits. I must also say, that though a clever counsel may, by force of mother-wit and common sense, aided by his very peculiar intellectual training, readily carry a jury with him to either side, when a scientific question is before the court, or may even succeed in perplexing the mind of a judge; I do not think that the high court of educated scientific opinion will ever be satisfied by pleadings conducted on such precedents. But jury and judge may be somewhat perplexed as to what it is on which they are asked to give verdict and sentence, when they learn that Professor Huxley himself makes the gravest of the accusations which he repels as made by me. In the course of his address he describes Kant's Cosmogony; and, pointing out anticipations in it of some of the 'great principles' taught in the *Theory of the Earth*, somewhat later by Hutton, he says, 'on the other hand, Kant is true to science.' He knows no bounds to geological speculation, but those of intellect. He reasons back to a beginning of the present state of things; he admits the possibility of an end.' Professor Huxley does not use words without a meaning: and these mean that Hutton was *not* true to science, when he said, 'The result, therefore, of this physical inquiry is, that we find no vestige of a beginning, no prospect of an end.' The chief complaint on which I am now brought into court is, that I have extended the same accusation to modern followers of Hutton who have used this dictum as a fundamental maxim of their geology."

"In opening his case, Professor Huxley asks, 'What is it to which Sir W. Thomson refers when he speaks of "geological speculation" and "British Popular Geology?"' then enters on a highly interesting and instructive discus-



sion of various schools of geological philosophy, which constitutes the chief substance of his address, and recurs to the question, 'Which of these is it that Sir William Thomson calls upon us to reform?' But instead of answering this question he says, 'It is obviously Uniformitarianism' which Sir W. Thomson 'takes to be the representative of geological speculation in general.' I have given no ground for this statement. Not merely 'obviously,' but avowedly and explicitly, I attacked Uniformitarianism; but I did not attack geological speculation in general. On the contrary, I anxiously and carefully guarded every expression of my complaint from applicability to other speculations than those involving more or less fundamentally the particular fallacies against which my objections were directed; and the very phrases I used to limit my accusations showed that I had not taken Uniformitarianism to be the representative of geological speculation in general. The geology which I learned thirty years ago in the University of Glasgow embodied the fundamental theory now described and approved by Professor Huxley as Evolutionism. This I have always considered to be the substantial and irrefragable part of geological speculation; and I have looked on the ultra-uniformitarianism of the last twenty years as a temporary aberration worthy of being energetically protested against.

"In the course of his lecture, Professor Huxley says: 'I do not suppose that at the present day any geologist would be found to maintain absolute uniformitarianism, to deny that the rapidity of the rotation of the earth *may* be diminishing, that the sun *may* be waxing dim, or that the earth itself *may* be cooling. Most of us, I suspect, are Gallies, "who care for none of these things," being of opinion that, true or fictitious, they have made no practical difference to the earth, during the period of which a record is preserved in stratified deposits.'

"It is precisely because so many geologists 'have cared for none of these things,' which (though not matters of words merely) do certainly belong to the law of Nature, that they have brought so much of British popular geology into direct opposition to the principles of Natural Philosophy. Professor Huxley tells us that they have been of opinion that the secular cooling of the earth has made no practical difference to it during the period of which a record is preserved in stratified deposits. On what calculation is this opinion founded? One considerable part of the reform in geological speculation for which I ask is, that evidence adduced in favour of the opposite opinion should be thoroughly sifted, and not merely disposed of as matters of opinion, or of faith beyond the realm of reason.

"It was, however, in reference to the special subject of my paper, 'Geological Time,' that I chiefly urged the necessity of reform, and it is satisfactory now to see that in this respect considerable progress must have been made, when, on the 19th February 1869, Professor Huxley ventured before the Geological Society of London to suggest that 'the limitation of the

period during which living beings have inhabited this planet to one, two, or three hundred million years, may be admitted, without a complete revolution in geological speculation.' When he says that on me rests the *onus probandi* of my assertion in January 1868, 'that a great reform seemed to have become necessary,' as I had brought 'forward not a shadow of evidence' in support of that assertion, I cannot complain that he puts a heavy burden on me. No moderately well read or well instructed student of modern British popular geology wants evidence from me, in addition to that supplied by his reminiscences of books and lectures, that the admission of such a limit as even worthy of attention, is a sweeping reform. Here, however, is some of it, if desired."

We must refer to the original, or to the works, whether of Darwin and Jukes, or even of Houghton, Page, and others, for the unnecessarily elaborate proof of his accuracy given by Thomson. One of the extracts from Darwin is quite enough:—

"So\* that, in all probability, a far longer period than three hundred million years has elapsed *since the latter part of the secondary period.*"

Pages of extracts to the same purpose might easily be given. But if the reader will only carefully think of the bearings of this one, he will have as complete an idea of the circumstances as is required for our present argument.

In passing, however, let us once more cite the opinion of Thersites. He is actually presumptuous enough to say—

"One or two millions of years would be sufficient capital for the most extravagant disciple of Hutton and Lyell."

The reader, who may have thought, till now, that we were dealing too hardly with the *Pall Mall Gazette* critic, may well rub his eyes as he meets the above most astonishing display of ignorance on the part of a man who undertakes to criticise Sir W. Thomson.

A final quotation contains matter from Huxley and Darwin as well as from Thomson:—

"Professor Huxley, immediately after his statement . . . . 'If we accept the limitation of time placed before us by Sir William Thomson, it is not obvious on the face of the matter that we shall have to alter or reform our ways in any appreciable degree,' says, 'we may therefore proceed with much calmness, and, indeed, *much indifference to the result*, to inquire whether that limitation is justified by the arguments employed in its support.'

\* Darwin's *Origin of Species*. Edition 1859, p 287.



(The italics are mine.) This method of treating my 'case' is perfectly fair, according to the judicial precedents upon which Professor Huxley professedly founds his pleading. I make no comment or reply, but simply ask permission to put in the following evidence (the italics again are mine):—"He who can read Sir Charles Lyell's grand work on the Principles of Geology, which the future historian will recognise as having produced a revolution in natural science, yet does not admit how *incomprehensibly vast* have been the past periods of time, *may at once close this volume.*" (Darwin's *Origin of Species by means of Natural Selection*, Edition 1859, p. 282)."

In the preceding pages we have, first, shown in what a very peculiar spirit the Geologists have received the proffered assistance of Mathematicians and Natural Philosophers, and we have given some apt, but painful, analogies from very common life. There are, however, some notable exceptions deserving of all honour; among them we may mention especially Professor Phillips, whose language on the subject of Geological Time has always been exceedingly moderate and philosophical. Secondly, we have endeavoured to show how it is that the "intrusion" of mathematical and physical science must be endured by the Geologist—since his subject requires such assistance, and he is generally unable to provide it for himself. Thirdly, we have briefly glanced at a few of the more prominent parts of two papers by Thomson, and of the Address of Huxley, and we hope we have made it clear that the Geological "Attorney General," however ready and versatile, has by far the worst case: that his side, in fact, cannot fail to lose. We must now, in conclusion, make a general survey of the subject, pointing out as far as our space enables us the extent to which it has been developed, the amount of uncertainty at present necessarily attending it, how far the mathematician has as yet been successful in his raid, and what data he requires in order to push the war still more vigorously home.

There are three points of view raised by Thomson which are at present mainly to be considered, and these we will briefly examine.

*First. The argument from underground temperature of the earth.* In regions where bores have been made, or mines sunk, the temperature is almost invariably found to increase (after the first few fathoms) as we penetrate more deeply, the accepted average being an increase of about 1° Fahr. for every 50 feet of descent. Now, the fundamental principle of the Dissipation of Energy, as exhibited in Thermal Conduction, is that heat *always* tends to a uniform distribution of

temperature; and therefore always passes from places where the temperature is higher to those where it is lower. But it is certain that the upper strata are not, on the whole, becoming warmer year by year. Hence from mere observation of underground temperature, we *know* that there must be, even now, a constant flow of heat outward through the earth's crust. The problem then suggests itself:—How long has this outflow been going on, through a solid and habitable crust, and what was its rate at long distant epochs? The question is not easy to answer at once and definitely, for the difficulty consists not in the mathematical part of the solution, but mainly in the *want of experimental data*, such as, for instance, the temperature of fusion of average surface rock, the law of its thermal conductivity as depending on temperature, its laws of dilatation, and its specific heat. Hence, at present, our solutions can only be approximate, but for all that the Natural Philosopher is enabled to assign certain limits; which are far less vague than those of the "popular geologists," and which have at least a genuine physical foundation. We must, however, first inquire whence is supplied that internal heat which is even now being lost. Several hypotheses have to be considered. Poisson long ago suggested that the earth may have, at some early period, passed through a warmer region of space, and there acquired, from without, the heat which it is now dissipating. This hypothesis is not very difficult to dispose of. The data, regarding the conductivity and thermal capacity of the different surface rocks in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, furnished by the underground thermometers of the late Principal Forbes, have enabled Sir W. Thomson to show that if this supposed passage through a warmer region took place from 1250 to 5000 years ago, the temperature of that region must have been from 25° to 50° Fahr. above the present mean temperature of the earth's surface. If it took place 20,000 years ago, the excess must have been 100° F., being doubled when the period allowed is quadrupled. History proves the first to be untenable, and it is not likely that the geologists will admit the second. The hotter we assume this region of space to have been, the longer ago must the passage through it have been; and the longer must the temperature at the surface of the earth have been consistent with organic life. But, when we thus come to enormous periods, the actual *cause* of the earth's heating is comparatively of little consequence, so that this hypothesis becomes undistinguishable in results from the third below.



Next we have the supposition that the earth's internal heat is due to chemical action, in itself very improbable, except possibly in certain small detached regions of volcanic activity. It is scarcely necessary to make any farther remark on this than the very obvious one that, if it could be shown that such is really the cause, it is fatal to the Uniformitarian theory, for, in consequence of the steady loss above mentioned, the earth must now contain far less potential energy of chemical affinity than it did ages ago. Obvious as this may appear to the Natural Philosopher, it would seem that some geologists, with Lyell at their head, actually imagine that a species of uniformitarianism may be maintained in the interior by thermo-electric processes; the heat produced by chemical combination being supposed to produce thermo electric currents, and these in turn being employed in decomposing again the products formed, thus giving a perpetual cycle. As Sir W. Thomson remarks, this extraordinary notion "violates the principles of natural philosophy in exactly the same manner, and to the same degree, as to believe that a clock constructed with a self-winding movement may fulfil the expectations of its ingenious inventor by going for ever."

If we take the far more probable hypothesis that the internal heat of the earth, like that of the sun, is due mainly to the impacts of discrete masses falling together from great distances by mutual gravitation, and that now it is merely a hot body cooling according to ordinary laws; it is obvious that by making reasonable assumptions (in the present want of definite experimental data) as to the melting-point of ordinary rock masses, we may determine roughly a superior limit to the time which has elapsed since the superficial strata were in a molten state. This has been done by Thomson, and he finds that 200,000,000 years may have elapsed since the crust consolidated if the melting point of rock be about 10,000° F. (this being an extremely high estimate). If, however, the more reasonable estimate of 7000° F. be taken, this superior limit is reduced to 98,000,000 years. Thomson goes on to show that when once the surface is consolidated, if it do not break up and sink (it contracts, according to Bischoff, 20 per cent. in solidifying) in the lighter fluid below, not many years may have passed before the globe became habitable. In fact, after 10,000 years the rate of increase of temperature downwards would not be more than about 2° F. per foot, a quantity which would produce little effect except on deep rooted plants; and almost none as regards altera-

tion of the mean temperature at the surface. It is well to observe, in connexion with these speculations, that Sir W. Thomson seems to prefer to assume that the consolidation took place almost simultaneously *throughout* the globe; the inner strata tending to consolidate at a far higher temperature than those near the surface, in consequence of the enormous pressure to which they are subjected. This follows as a thermodynamic consequence from the result of Bischoff just quoted. Though the melting point may be raised considerably by pressure, it does not necessarily follow that solidification takes place nearly simultaneously at all depths; so that it is possible that the crust may have solidified long before the interior. What would probably happen in such a case has been graphically described by Thomson as follows:—

"It is probable that crust may thus form over wide extents of surface, and may be temporarily buoyed up by the vesicular character it may have retained from the ebullition of the liquid in some places, or, at all events, it may be held up by the viscosity of the liquid, until it has acquired some considerable thickness sufficient to allow gravity to manifest its claim, and sink the heavier solid below the lighter liquid. This process must go on until the sunk portions of crust build up from the bottom a sufficiently close-ribbed solid skeleton or frame, to allow fresh incrustations to remain bridging across the now small areas of lava pools or lakes."

"In the honeycombed solid and liquid mass thus formed, there must be a continual tendency for the liquid, in consequence of its less specific gravity, to work its way up, whether by masses of solid falling from the roofs of vesicles or tunnels, and causing earthquake shocks, or by the roof breaking quite through where very thin, so as to cause two such hollows to unite, or the liquid of any of them to flow out freely over the outer surface of the earth; or by gradual subsidence of the solid, owing to the thermodynamic melting, which portions of it, under intense stress, must experience, according to views recently published by Professor James Thomson. The results which must follow from this tendency seem sufficiently great and various to account for all that we see at present, and all that we learn from geological investigation, of earthquakes, of upheavals, and subsidences of solid, and eruptions of melted rock."

*Second. The argument from tidal retardation of the earth's rotation.* We have already considered this part of the subject, so far, at least, as to show its bearing upon the question of geological time. The discovery of this retardation, as something which really exists and can be measured, in contrast with Kant's pointing out that there is a *vera causa*, is very curious. The secular acceleration



of the moon's mean motion, proved by calculating back to the recorded eclipses of the 3d and 8th centuries B.C., was long a serious difficulty to physical astronomers, till Laplace first suggested a possible cause in the secular alteration of the eccentricity of the earth's orbit. His calculations gave almost exactly the observed result; and the question was supposed to be settled. Some years ago, however, Adams showed that Laplace's investigation was seriously defective, and that a correct analysis reduced his result by half; so that half of the acceleration of the moon's mean motion remained unaccounted for.

Then the hint given by Kant (which had been recently brought forward independently by Helmholtz, Mayer, J. Thomson, and others) was remembered, and applied to remove the remaining difficulty. It is obvious that, if the earth's rotation be really becoming slower, since it is employed fundamentally in our measurement of time, all other motions must appear relatively accelerated. With reference to this argument, Professor Huxley has committed a singular blunder, in meeting his adversary with a suggestion which is at once and with deadly effect turned against its author. In fact, as Sir W. Thomson says, "Professor Huxley's hypothesis, . . . if it were valid, would therefore prove retardation by the tides six times as much as that which we have ventured to estimate!" He proceeds to make another and still graver blunder, when he asks, "If tidal retardation can be thus checked and overthrown by other temporary conditions, what becomes of the confident assertion, based upon the assumed uniformity of tidal retardation, that ten thousand million years ago the earth must have been rotating more than twice as fast as at present?" Thomson at once shows that this really entitles him to *shorten* the period which he had before roughly assigned: and he appends a note which, from so quiet and gentle an antagonist, Professor Huxley must look upon as strangely sarcastic, as to the opinion implied in the above extract, that tidal retardation is a *temporary* condition. A very small amount of mathematical training would have sufficed to preserve so able a man from serious mistakes like these.

*Third. The argument from the Sun's Heat.* Here again we must quote Thomson, as he has put the argument into an exceedingly compact and comprehensive form:—

"But it is not only to the effect of the tides that we refer for such conclusions. Go to other bodies besides the earth and moon; consider the sun. We depend on the sun very much for the existing order of things. Life on this earth would not be possible without the sun, that is,

life under the present conditions—life such as we know and can reason about. When Playfair spoke of the planetary bodies as being perpetual in their motion, did it not occur to him to ask, What about the sun's heat? Is the sun a miraculous body ordered to give out heat and to shine for ever? Perhaps the sun was so created. He would be a rash man who would say it was not—all things are possible to Creative Power. But we know, also, that Creative Power has created in our minds a wish to investigate and a capacity for investigating; and there is nothing too rash, there is nothing audacious, in questioning human assumptions regarding Creative Power. Have we reason to believe Creative Power did order the sun to go on, and shine, and give out heat for ever? Are we to suppose that the sun is a perpetual miracle? I use the word *miracle* in the sense of a perpetual violation of those laws of action between matter and matter which we are allowed to investigate here at the surface of the earth, in our laboratories and mechanical workshops. The geologists who have uncompromisingly adopted Playfair's maxim have reasoned as if the sun were so created. I believe it was altogether thoughtlessness that led them ever to put themselves in that position; because these same geologists are very strenuous in insisting that we must consider the laws observable in the present state of things as perennial laws. I think we may even consider them as having gone too far in assuming that we must consider present laws—a very small part of which we have been able to observe—as sufficient samples of the perennial laws regulating the whole universe in all time. But I believe it has been altogether an oversight by which they have been led to neglect so greatly the fact of the sun's heat and light.

"The mutual actions and motions of the heavenly bodies have been regarded as if light had been seen and heat felt without any evolution of mechanical energy at all. Yet what an amount of mechanical energy is emitted from the sun every year! If we calculate the exact mechanical value of the heat he emits in 81 days, we find it equivalent to the whole motion of the earth in her orbit round the sun. The motion of the earth in her orbit round the sun has a certain mechanical value; a certain quantity of steam power would be required, acting for a certain time, to set a body as great as the earth into motion with the same velocity. The same amount of steam power employed for the same time in rubbing two stones together would generate an enormous quantity of heat, as much heat as the sun emits in 81 days. But suppose the earth's motion were destroyed, what would become of the earth? Suppose it were to be suddenly, by an obstacle, stopped in its motion round the sun! It would suddenly give out 81 times as much heat as the sun gives out in a day, and would begin falling towards the sun, and would acquire on the way such a velocity that, in the collision, a blaze of light and heat would be produced in the course of a few minutes equal to what the sun emits in 95 years. That is, indeed, a prodigious amount of heat; but just



consider the result if all the planetary bodies were to fall into the sun. Take Jupiter with its enormous mass, which, if falling into the sun, would in a few moments cause an evolution of 32,240 years' heat. Take them all together—suppose all the planets were falling into the sun—the whole emission of heat due to all the planets striking the sun, with the velocities they would acquire in falling from their present distances, would amount to something under 46,000 years' heat. We do not know these figures very well. They may be wrong by ten or twenty or thirty per cent., but that does not influence much the kind of inference we draw from them. Now, what a drop in the ocean is the amount of energy of the motion of the planets, and work to be done in them before they reach their haven of rest, the sun, compared with what the sun has emitted already! I suppose all geologists admit that the sun has shone more than 46,000 years? Indeed, all consider it well established, that the sun has already, in geological periods, emitted ten, twenty, a hundred, perhaps a thousand—I won't say a hundred thousand—but perhaps a thousand times as much heat as would be produced by all the planets falling together into the sun. And yet Playfair and his followers have totally disregarded this prodigious dissipation of energy. He speaks of the existing state of things as if it must or could have been perennial.

"Now, if the sun is not created a miraculous body, to shine on and give out heat for ever, we must suppose it to be a body subject to the laws of matter (I do not say there may not be laws which we have not discovered) but, at all events, not violating any laws we have discovered or believe we have discovered. We must deal with the sun as we should with any large mass of molten iron, or silicon, or sodium. We do not know whether there is most of the iron, or the silicon, or the sodium—certainly there is sodium; as I learned from Stokes before the end of the year 1851; and certainly, as Kirchhoff has splendidly proved, there is iron. But we must reason upon the sun as if it were some body having properties such as bodies we know have. And this is also worthy of attention:—naturalists affirm that every body the earth has ever met in its course through the universe, has, when examined, been proved to contain only known elements—chemical substances such as we know and have previously met on the earth's surface. If we could get from the sun a piece of its substance cooled, we should find it to consist of stone or slag, or metal, or crystallized rock, or something that would not astonish us. So we must reason on the sun according to properties of matter known to us here.

"In 1854, I advocated the hypothesis that the energy continually emitted as light (or radiant heat) might be replenished constantly by meteors falling into the sun from year to year; but very strong reasons have induced me to leave that part of the theory then advocated by me which asserted that the energy radiating out from year to year is supplied from year to year; and to adopt Helmholtz's theory, that the sun's

heat was generated in ancient times by the work of mutual gravity between masses falling together to form his body. The strongest reason which compelled me to give up the former hypothesis was, that the amount of bodies circulating round the sun within a short distance of his surface, which would be required to give even two or three thousand years of heat, must be so great, that a comet shooting in to near the sun's surface and coming away again, would inevitably show signs of resistance to a degree that no comet has shown. In fact, we have strong reason to believe that there is not circulating round the sun, at present, enough of meteors to constitute a few thousand years of future sun-heat. If, then, we are obliged to give up every source of supply from without—and I say it advisedly, because there is no submarine wire, no 'underground railway,' leading into the sun—we see all round the sun, and we know that there is no other access of energy into the sun than meteors,—if, then, we have strong reason to believe that there is no continual supply of energy to the sun, we are driven to the conclusion that it is losing energy. Now, let us take any reasonable view we can. Suppose it is a great burning mass, a great mass of material not yet combined, but ready to combine, a great mass of gun-cotton, a great mass of gunpowder, or nitro-glycerine, or some other body having in small compass the potential elements of a vast development of energy. We may imagine that to be the case, and that he (*sic*) is continually burning from the combustion of elements within himself; or we may imagine the sun to be merely a heated body cooling; but imagine it as we please, we cannot estimate more on any probable hypothesis, than a few million years of heat. When I say a few millions, I must say at the same time, that I consider one hundred millions as being a few, and I cannot see a *decided* reason against admitting that the sun may have had in it one hundred million years of heat, according to its present rate of emission, in the shape of energy. An article, by myself, published in *Macmillan's Magazine*, for March 1862, on the age of the sun's heat, explains results of investigation into various questions as to possibilities regarding the amount of the heat that the sun could have, dealing with it as you would with a stone, or a piece of matter, only taking into account the sun's dimensions, which showed it to be possible that the sun may have already illuminated the earth for as many as one hundred million years, but at the same time also rendered it almost certain that he had not illuminated the earth for five hundred millions of years. The estimates here are necessarily very vague, but yet, vague as they are, I do not know that it is possible, upon any reasonable estimate, founded on known properties of matter, to say that we can believe the sun has really illuminated the earth for five hundred million years."

Professor Huxley endeavours to answer this by attempting to show that Sir W. Thomson, fifteen years ago, "entertained a to-



tally different view of the origin of the sun's heat, and believed that the energy radiated from year to year was supplied from year to year, a doctrine which would have suited Hutton perfectly." Thomson shows that this assertion is incorrect, and that his view of the entire possible meteoric supply of solar heat, from masses nearer to the sun than is the earth, when properly stated, would give, at the utmost, material for 300,000 years only, at the present rate of dissipation. He carefully guarded himself, in his original paper, from any such charge as that brought by Huxley, for he expressly showed that a meteor supply, such as would annually make up for the sun's loss, if coming from space external to the earth's orbit, would involve such an augmentation of the sun's mass as would within the last 2000 years have dislocated the seasons by a month and a half:—the observed dislocation in 2600 years being but an hour and three-quarters. And he pointed out that the true test of how much of the sun's loss can be supplied by meteors at present circulating in orbits less than that of the earth is best to be determined by the perturbations of Mercury. These have been examined with great care by Leverrier; and the result is unfavourable to the existence of any supply worth taking into consideration in the study of the question before us, indicating, as it does, an amount of potential energy equivalent only to a few hundred years of solar heat. Hence, as it has been shown by Helmholtz, Thomson, and others, that if the sun's mass had been made up in the most effective manner of those chemical substances known to us, which would give the greatest possible result, the heat of combination of these could not have supplied so much as 5000 years' loss, even at the *present* rate of radiation; the only theory of solar heat left us is that developed by Helmholtz, which regards the sun as a hot body cooling; the heat having been produced during the falling together of its parts. The specific heat of such a mass, in consequence of the pressure to which it is subject in the interior, must be, according to Thomson's latest estimate, from 10 to 10,000 times as great as that of an equal mass of water under ordinary pressure. These limits are purposely left very wide; and they show that the sun loses by its radiation  $1^{\circ}$  F. in temperature in a period longer than four years, but less than 4000 years. Thomson ends his reply on this part of the subject with the very sensible remark: "A British jury could not, I think, be easily persuaded to disregard my present estimate by being told that I have learned something in fifteen years."

Now it is to be carefully observed, with regard to the three independent lines of argument just explained, that it is no answer to show that each is, from its very nature, somewhat vague in the results which it yields. The argument from the three is not, as Professor Huxley seems to think, only as strong as the weakest of the three; on the contrary, the reasoning is strictly cumulative, and Thomson's position cannot be successfully attacked except by a complete upsetting of at least two of his lines of argument, combined with a great enfeebling of the third. In truth, when we come to examine the question as a whole, giving its full weight to each of the separate details, we find that we may, with considerable probability, say that Natural Philosophy already points to a period of some *ten* or *fifteen* millions of years as all that can be allowed for the purposes of the geologist and palæontologist; and that it is not unlikely that, with better experimental data, this period may be still farther reduced. In fact, even Professor Huxley's enlightened concession that a limit of 100,000,000, 200,000,000 or 300,000,000 years requires no complete revolution in geological speculation (though it is matter of notoriety that to Lyell and Darwin, and to the great mass of British popular geologists, such periods would be of little use):—even this concession will soon not satisfy the Natural Philosophers; who, but with the important difference of having right on their side, will soon follow up their advantage in a manner somewhat resembling the recent behaviour of the great Yankee nation in the matter of the *Alabama Claims*. For, elaborate and suggestive as have been all of Thomson's articles, this great question can hardly yet be said to be more than opened; and its future progress rests quite as much with the physical experimenter as with the mathematician.

At the commencement of this article we borrowed from Milton an account of the concomitants of the preparations for a terrific combat: there we had to stop, as farther quotation might have been personal; we have seen the issue of the fight, and can now sum it up in the words of Horace, which we take to be descriptive of the triumph of *Scientific Truth* over all assailants, however numerous and powerful:—

"Sed quid Typhoeus et validus Mimas,  
aut quid minaci Porphyrio Latin,  
quid Rhœtas, evulsi-que truncis  
Enocladus jaculator audax,  
contra sonantem Palladis agida  
possent ruentes?"

In conclusion, as the assailants named by



Horace are unfortunately all of the gigantic order, we must supplement the passage by again recurring to our Thersites who writes anonymous nonsense for the *Pall Mall Gazette*, and who bitterly attacks, without understanding them, the conclusions of one of the greatest philosophers the world has ever seen. That a man should be more ignorant of Cervantes' great novel than is the merest schoolboy, implies no blame: no more does it imply blame that he should be so ignorant as to consider this question as one of "*Mathematics versus Geology*," instead of "*Reasoning versus Unreason*"; that he should fancy that any disciple of Hutton and Lyell could be content with one or two millions of years: nor even that he should imagine that Sir W. Thomson's arguments concerning an increase of 15 per cent. in the earth's angular velocity have something to do with the existence of life:—all this is his own misfortune; but why should he increase it by publishing his ignorance to the few readers of the *Pall Mall Gazette* who are able to distinguish between true science and venomous but absurd attempts at smartness? Such a writer does real harm, by preventing the popular extension of true scientific knowledge: and too often, as is the case with the present specimen, tries to hold up to ridicule lofty merit which he is utterly unable to appreciate. No true scientific man could have written as he has done about Sir W. Thomson, certainly not in such a tone, without appending at least his initials. And a genuine *littérateur* would never have made such an exhibition of himself; but would, in the shrewd words of Professor Huxley, have endeavoured "to gain his cause, mainly by force of mother-wit and common-sense, aided by training in other intellectual exercises."

7. *Bidrag til en Skildring af Holberg.* Af Prof. M. HAMMERICH. Kjöbenhavn, 1858.

Among the authors who appear at comparatively rare intervals in history, as the creators of literary epochs, may fairly be reckoned Ludvig Holberg. The name, "father of modern Danish literature," which is generally bestowed upon him, is a plain indication of the light in which his life and labours have been viewed by the vast majority of his countrymen; and all acquainted with the subject will cheerfully allow that the appellation is well deserved. Before his time, indeed, Denmark, in common with the two other Scandinavian countries, could vaunt her ancient literary treasures, among the noblest of their kind which the world has ever known,—the Sagas, and the songs that still charm posterity, that have so often anew inspired the popular heart, and reawakened the slumbering poetic impulse in times of intellectual and spiritual torpor. But long ere the birth of Holberg, or at least ere the period of his first literary activity, the Danish people, like their brethren of the Scandinavian peninsula, had learned to lose, all too readily, the recollection of "that large utterance of the early gods;" and the trumpet voices of the Eddas and the Sagas, which, wild and half-savage though they were, yet rang accordant with the true tones of Nature's poetry, were buried in profound, if temporary, oblivion. The second of the three great periods into which we may divide the history of Danish literature—the "Latin," that succeeded the previous "Icelandic,"—was now drawing to a close, and, during its protracted course, with the exception of some weak reverberations of the earlier ballad minstrelsy, it could boast of little to attract attention or deserve respect. The east wind of intellectual barrenness was blighting all in Denmark. Men, when they did write, wrote in Latin—hence the name assigned already to the period,—and, as a general rule, their lucubrations were of the driest, dreariest kind imaginable. In that special branch of literature which has mainly conferred immortality on Holberg—the department of the Comic Drama,—a beginning doubtless had been made; but what miserable abortions were the attempts of the first Danish Dramatist, Christen Hansen, the Odensee schoolmaster, and his successors, Ranch and Hegelund! Rudeness, vapidity, vulgarity, such were the literary characteristics of the time. Persons of rank repudiated their native language, and read exclusively French and German; the literati, such as they were, perused Latin, and wrote Latin solely;—here, as Holberg himself ex-

ART. V.—1. *Holberg's Comedior i eet Bind.* Udgivne ved J. LEVIN. Kjöbenhavn, 1861.

2. *Holberg's Peder Paars.* Udg. ved A. E. BOYE. Kjöb. 1844.

3. *Holberg's Niels Klim's underjordiske Reise.* Overs. af DORPH. Kjöbenhavn, 1841.

4. *Hundrede og tyve af Holberg's Epistler.* Udg. ved F. FABRICIUS. Kjöbenhavn, 1858.

5. *Holberg's Danne-mark's Riges Historie.* Deelt udi 8 tomer. Udg. af J. LEVIN. Kjöbenhavn, 1840.

6. *Holbergiana. Smaaskrifter af og om L. Holberg.* Udg. af A. E. BOYE. Kjöbenhavn, 1832-35.



claims, "is almost the only land on earth where people are found willing to make it a point of honour that they should be ignorant of their fathers' tongue." The literary pabulum of the middle classes, who gradually advanced in power and position after the establishment of regal autocracy in 1660, consisted simply of meagre sermons, and yet more meagre chronicles, or old ballads that were only a weak reflection of the sweet and noble songs of a preceding age; songs which, from their very sweetness and nobleness, failed to find admission into the hearts of the degenerate descendants of their original composers. Such was the state of literary affairs in Denmark when Holberg commenced his career. The times needed a reformer, and in him the reformer came—came with a power and energy that were equal to the cause for which he fought throughout a long life of severe and unrelenting toil. The result was the intellectual emancipation of his countrymen, and the laying, fast and firm, the basis on which, in due course, was erected the entire substantial edifice of modern Danish literature. Some slight account of Holberg's life and works may therefore be acceptable to those who take an interest in the development of the different national branches of later European literature, and who, although well aware of Holberg's renown as a comic dramatist, second alone to Plautus and Molière, may yet be ignorant of the immense services which he rendered, in many most important ways, not merely to the literature of his native country, but to that of the whole north of Europe.

Ludvig Holberg was born at Bergen, in Norway, on the 3d December, 1684. His father, an officer in the army, had risen from the ranks to the grade of Lieutenant Colonel, had seen foreign service, and at home distinguished himself against the Swedes, especially at the relief of Trondhjem in 1658. Ludvig, the youngest of twelve children, was as yet an infant when his father died. Shortly afterwards there occurred a disastrous fire, which in a single night reduced his surviving parent to poverty. She died when her son was ten years old, and the household was broken up. At this age he was, being an officer's son, enrolled as corporal in a regiment; but his desire for study was so great that his uncle by his mother's side, who felt an interest in the lad, took him to live in his own house, and sent him to the grammar-school of Bergen. When eighteen years old, Ludvig went to prosecute his studies at the University of Copenhagen, in the summer of 1702. Lacking, however, adequate means of support in the Danish capi-

tal, he soon accepted the situation of tutor and assistant to a clergyman in Norway, where, as he says, he spent a whole year in "flogging children and converting rustics," while, at the same time, he suffered severely from various kinds of illness, both bodily and mental. He then returned to Copenhagen to pass his "second examination;" thereafter studied theology, along with the modern languages, and next spring (1704) underwent his theological examination with much success. Necessity ere long obliged him to accept once more the post of tutor; this time in a family at Bergen. But in the house of his new employer he stumbled upon a book of travels, which to such an extent aroused within him the longing to visit foreign countries, that, in spite of the earnest advice of every one, he gave up his situation, sold the little he possessed, and set sail by the first ship that happened to leave the harbour. He never again beheld the place of his nativity.

Holland was, in the first instance, the goal of his travels. He had a capital of sixty Danish rix-dollars, and hoped to further himself as a teacher of languages; but he speedily discovered that in Amsterdam "the most learned professors were not respected so much as was a common sea-captain." On account of his slim figure and his girlish countenance, he became the object, sometimes of admiration, sometimes of impertinent questions, as for example, "*Hoor gij wel, mannetje! quando deseruisti studia tua?*"—questions which, in similar fashion, he was not slow to answer. An obstinate fever helped to exhaust his purse, and he was compelled to borrow money for the purpose of returning home. On arriving in Norway he took up his residence at Christiansand, where he soon acquired reputation as a language master, especially as a teacher of French. At first, notwithstanding, he nearly gave mortal offence to many of the citizens by his love of paradox, and, in particular, by his zeal in defending a newly published work, which endeavoured to prove, by no fewer than sixty arguments, that women were not human beings; yet he abjured ere long this most ungallant heresy, and continued during his subsequent career of authorship to maintain with much ardour the social equality of the female sex. His musical talents also contributed to his popularity; and for his linguistic acquirements he became, at least in Christiansand, "as renowned as King Mithridates, who spoke twenty-two tongues." But Holberg's restless spirit would not allow him to remain; and in 1706 he undertook a voyage to England, where he lived for two years at Oxford. There he spent his time



studying in the libraries, partly Church history, partly modern history, and the law of nations; he held familiar intercourse with the students, and became in many ways acquainted with the various aspects of English life. At first he and a fellow-countryman, who had been his travelling companion, were forced to live so parsimoniously that for a whole quarter of a year they only every fourth day tasted animal food—a mode of diet which was quite congenial to Holberg's constitution, but which brought his comrade to the verge of despair, so that Ludvig had to console him with the words of the sage Bion, "It is unreasonable to tear the hair for sorrow, as if sorrow could be cured by baldness." Ere long he managed to support himself as teacher of foreign languages and flute-playing; in musical society his presence was indispensable. He pursued his own quiet path, during a lengthened period, bearing the name of "Myn Heer," which title some persons had heard given to him by his barber, who believed him to be a German, and wished to show his own knowledge of the language. As there was no evil intention in such a misnomer, Holberg never heeded to correct it, and his real name would scarcely have been discovered if he had not by accident met an English student called Holber, with whom he forthwith formed acquaintance as a namesake, and perhaps a relative, through one of his ancestors who had sailed to England along with Canute the Great. By the Oxford students Holberg was greatly liked. When he was preparing to depart, one of them came to him as a deputy from Magdalen College, and offered him a considerable sum of money to defray the expenses of his journey; but with grateful thanks he declined their friendly proffer. From London he sailed in a Swedish ship to Elsinore, and thence walked on foot to Copenhagen, arriving there in the summer of 1708.

Here he thought of commencing as public lecturer, and actually began a series of discourses on what he had witnessed in foreign countries. Hearers he had in plenty, but when the time for paying their instructor came, they suddenly, to his mortification, vanished; his only recompense was a low bow when he chanced to meet any of them on the street. Most opportunely, however, at this crisis, he was offered, and accepted, the appointment of travelling-tutor to a young man about to visit Germany—a country which in general seems to have had less attraction for Holberg than some other lands. On his return he was fortunate enough to receive free residence in Borch's Collegium for five years, and, in addition, a small salary

therewith connected. Now, at last, he had more leisure for his studies. The duty which devolved upon him, of taking part in academical exercises, he discharged by composing Latin *declamationes*, all relating to subjects with which he was practically acquainted: scientific travels in foreign regions, history, music, and languages. He lived, both from choice and necessity, in a very frugal manner, and made frequent pedestrian excursions for the sake of his health, but otherwise dwelt entirely among his books. At the age of twenty-seven he published his first work, for which he had gathered materials in Oxford, *Introduction to the History of the European Kingdoms* (1711), and afterwards a statistical appendix to the same. A treatise, on the *Achievements of Christian the Fourth and Frederick the Third*, composed, like the former, "for the use of the Crown Prince," and sent in manuscript to King Frederick the Fourth, procured the nomination of its author as "Professor Extraordinarius" in 1714, to the chagrin of the learned pedants of the day, who refused to rank him with the rightful *Academici*. Shortly before he had been assigned a stipend of one hundred rix-dollars for four years, and on the strength of this meagre income he undertook, in the spring of 1714, his fourth and longest foreign journey. Having first proceeded to Holland, he walked all the way to Paris; and, although so long a teacher of languages, he had such difficulty in making himself understood, that he sometimes heard the people say, *Il parle Français comme un cheval Allemand*. By degrees he formed acquaintances as well with various Parisians as with some of his countrymen who resided in the capital. He was an assiduous frequenter of the libraries, and saw all that was to be seen in the city. Sometimes he attended the public tribunals to hear the pleadings, of the advocates, sometimes he was present at public discussions on the advantages of the Catholic religion, and about this latter point he had also many private disputations. After residing a year and a half in Paris he happened to be informed by a French student that one could travel to Rome for twenty rix-dollars, and Holberg was not able to resist the temptation of such a journey. He started forthwith for the Eternal City, provided with a passport, in which he was described as Mikkel Rög of Aix-la-Chapelle; and that was the name he bore during his Italian expedition. Arrived at Genoa, he was assailed by a dangerous fever, and believed himself to be dying. In his helpless state, and under the roof of an extortionate landlord, who, every time that "Signor Recoco" was prostrated by illness, reckoned *tanto*



*per la notte e tanto per il giorno*,—apprehensive of monkish visitation, longing for spiritual comfort and physical support, he would in all probability have succumbed to his disease, had it not been for the attention and kindness of a complete stranger, whom, however, he subsequently found out to be a countryman of his own. It was in the autumn of 1715, shortly after the decease of Louis the Fourteenth; and Holberg tells us that he used to draw patience from the thought, "What is thy life compared with that of such a man?" Sailing from Genoa, he and his fellow-passengers, a whole company of monks and females, were nearly captured by pirates. Amid the universal cries of terror, he stood on deck, worn out by illness, with his sword by his side, and, like the rest, invoked St. Antony, when, most fortunately, the pirate vessel left them, and attacked another ship. After this happy escape he reached Rome in safety, and the sight of St. Peter's made him forget all his past troubles and dangers. In Rome he lived according to the customs of the people, cooked his own food, and sat by the hearth, "with a book in one hand and a ladle in the other." He prosecuted his studies zealously in the public libraries, and also devoted much attention to the monuments of antiquity. After spending the winter in Rome, he made his way on foot back to Paris, "with fever," as he tells us, "the whole way, for his fellow-traveller." It was only when he reached Amsterdam, that he felt completely restored to health, not, strangely enough, by medicine, but by playing on the violin all night in the company of some kindred spirits. Fully reinvigorated in mind and body, he returned to Copenhagen in the summer of 1716.

There he lived a year and a half in comparative poverty, until the Chair of Metaphysics in the University became vacant, and, although far from being a friend of metaphysical studies, he agreed to accept it. A second vacancy shortly occurring, he was appointed Professor of Latin and Rhetoric, and also made a member of the Consistory (Assessor), by which his income was materially improved. And now, with so fortunate a change in his outward prospects, there came a corresponding change in his literary activity, a change which resulted in the production of that series of works which have mainly rendered him illustrious. At this period he was in the thirty-fifth year of his age. Since his boyhood he had never written verses, and "could not hear the finest piece of poetry read to him without a weary yawn." But after the lapse of long years he determined to try his hand once more at poetical composition of the didactic kind, to in-

culcate good morals, and refine the language as well as the manners of his countrymen. The determination bore fruit in the inimitable mock-heroic poem, *Peder Paars*, to which we shall afterwards at greater length refer. *Peder Paars* was published in 1719, and soon gained such popularity that it passed through a number of editions, and was also largely circulated in Sweden and in Germany, where people learned Danish for the sole purpose of being enabled to read the work. But the singular success of *Peder Paars* was a small matter compared with Holberg's subsequent literary triumphs. His genius had now discovered the secret of its true power, and hastened to achieve fresh victories. A troop of French actors, who had for some time been performing at the Palace, aroused a general desire for the establishment of a theatre in Copenhagen. It was opened in 1722, with the representation of Molière's *L'Avare*, translated into Danish; but, in order that they might have original Danish plays as well as French translations, the promoters of the theatre had naturally recourse to the author of *Peder Paars*, and he with small reluctance agreed to meet their wishes. Holberg used the same form of comedy which had been employed before him by Plautus and Molière, but, more than they, he kept his own time and his own land in view, inasmuch as his chief object was "to depict the national faults and follies which had not been castigated in other comedies," and his knowledge of mankind was so rich and varied, his lively fancy so inexhaustible, that in a very few years he penned in swift succession no fewer than between twenty and thirty comic dramas, replete with vivid typical delineations of the most dissimilar human characters, who, through some ridiculous habit, or the favourite follies either of certain individuals or certain social conditions, only all too easily became the butt of the author's telling satire. Already, in 1722, *The State Tinker* was performed to such a large audience that many were compelled to stand in the passages. The same year there followed *The Fickle-minded*, *Jean de France*, *Jeppo paa Bjergot*, and *Gert Westphaler*; in 1723 appeared *The Eleventh of June* and *The Lying-in Chamber*; in 1724 there were represented as many as eight new pieces, among them *The Christmas Party*—which could scarcely be played to the close for the laughter of the spectators, and at last of the actors themselves,—*Jacob Von Tybo*, *Ulysses of Ithacia*—a merciless parody on the productions of the German stage,—*Melampo*—a tragi-comedy, which evoked at once tears and smiles,—and *Henrich and Pernille*, where the chief figures are two servants, a valet and lady's-maid, who have



played subordinate parts in several of the preceding dramas. After a short interval, caused by the bankruptcy of the theatre, five additional pieces were performed, among which we may specially mention *The Man without a Moment's Leisure*; contemporary with these there were also three, which were not in the first instance represented, but of which at least two are among the choicest productions of the author's genius,—we mean *Don Ramudo* and *Erasmus Montanus*, the latter an almost perfect specimen of genuine comedy. Thus the period of Holberg's dramatic fruitfulness may be said to have been the brief time immediately before and immediately after the fortieth year of his age.

This unbroken intellectual exertion,—rarely paralleled in the history of literature,—began at last to tell on Holberg's physical frame; and, for the purpose of recruiting his strength, he once more went abroad, and spent the winter of 1725–26 in Paris. Reinvigorated by his residence in the French metropolis, and his intercourse there with theologians, antiquarians and other men of learning, he devoted himself, after his return to Copenhagen, with fresh zeal and assiduity to the pursuit of his favourite studies. These studies had been broken for a time by his brief but marvellously successful excursion into the territory of the comic Muse, and he now resumed them with characteristic ardour. Another circumstance may possibly have confirmed him in his resolution to stand aloof during the future from the field of dramatic authorship. In 1727 the theatre was closed on account of the lack of popular support; next year the great fire of Copenhagen occurred, and after 1730, when King Christian the Sixth ascended the throne of Denmark, a pietistic tendency predominated in the Court and among the people, and the stage was naturally discouraged as savouring altogether of the world. On Holberg's last return from foreign travels he had been appointed to the Chair of History and Geography, his two favourite branches of study; and these were the subjects which he now handled in a series of weighty and substantial works. In Danish historical literature there are few treatises more valuable than his *Dannemark's Riges Historie* (History of the Realm of Denmark), published originally in three quarto volumes. There followed from his unwearied pen a *Church History to the Time of the Reformation*, a *History of the Jews* in two quarto volumes, and, under the title of *Tales of Heroes and Heroines*, a collection of comparative biographies in the style of Plutarch. These scientific works, as well as his poetical compositions, made Holberg's name renowned

far beyond the limits of his native country. In Germany, for example, they were disseminated in the form of translations, and the very sustenance of the theatres there for many years was just the comedies of Holberg. Meanwhile he continued, in yet other directions, his course of authorship. Diverging into the regions of Moral Philosophy, he published a work entitled *Moral Thoughts*, or commentaries on some of the Latin epigrams—about a thousand in number,—into which, from time to time, he had compressed his favourite principles and ideas. Translations of the book ere long appeared in Sweden, Holland, France, and Germany. To this period also belongs one of Holberg's most memorable productions, *Niels Klim's Subterranean Journey*,—a work originally written in Latin, and which we shall describe more fully afterwards. Wonderfully replete with the true Holbergian humour, it soon gained vast popularity, and *Nicolai Klimii Iter Subterraneum* was speedily translated into most modern languages (even into Russian and Hungarian), and was edited, studied, and criticised throughout nearly the whole of Europe.

As Holberg was never married, and lived with great economy, he had by degrees amassed a considerable fortune, which he intended to devote, after his death, to some public object. He had bought an estate in the charming district of Sorø, where he generally spent the summer, returning in winter to the capital. At the age of sixty-three he was elevated by King Frederick the Fifth to the rank of Baron,—an exaltation which he himself says “was less paradoxical than that of various German literati, inasmuch as *their* baronies lay in the moon, while *his*, on the other hand, actually existed on the earth's surface, and lay in the province of Zealand.” In his new position he lived as frugally as when he was a simple Professor, and continued with unrelaxing zeal to prosecute his studies. His chief work after this period was his *Epistles*, a collection, in the form of letters, of brief essays on a multitude of themes,—historical, political, metaphysical, moral, philosophical, and humorous. Above five hundred of these *Epistles* were published, in five volumes, the last volume appearing after the author's death. That event was now not far distant. Having prepared for it by devising his property—a noble bequest—to the new Academy of Sorø, he calmly anticipated the hour of departure. After his return from the country in the summer of 1753 his bodily powers began rapidly to decay, and it soon became evident that the end was fast approaching. During his last illness he exhibited signs of



devotion, but declined to converse on any religious topic, as indeed might have been expected from his whole mental tone and tendency. He expired in his seventieth year, on the 28th January 1754, and was buried at Sorø, beside the grave of Archbishop Absalon.\*

What largely contributes to increase our astonishment at Holberg's marvellous literary fertility, is the fact, to which he himself so often alludes, that he was borne down by almost continual bodily suffering,—that, like Schiller, he scarcely ever passed a day without enduring pain. Doubtless this bodily suffering was alleviated by the simple and frugal mode of life to which he had been accustomed from his boyhood. He imagined, and rightly, that the peculiar nature of his ailments demanded the observance of strict rules, both with reference to exercise and diet. It was for such a reason that he made long pedestrian excursions, and only partook of the plainest kinds of food. His sole luxury, he tells us, was coffee; and wine he abhorred "worse than poison." For a time, he even went so far that, following Cornaro's advice, he partook of his meals in strict accordance with fixed weight and measure; but this "mathematical precision" began to tell injuriously on his system, and he was compelled to give it up ere long. Yet, although thus strenuously endeavouring to curb, if not to cure the maladies under which he laboured, he was hardly ever free from suffering throughout the whole period of his life. Excruciating headaches formed one of the chief diseases that afflicted him, so much so, that for two entire years he was obliged to give up everything in the shape of heavy literary labour. And, besides other severe bodily ailments, Holberg was liable to mental trouble in one of its worst forms,—we refer to deeply-rooted hypochondria. Strange that he who had contributed so much to the innocent mirth of his fellow-men, should himself have been the victim of this distressing malady; nay more, should have penned some of his most laughter-provoking words while specially under its baleful influence. It may be interesting, however, to mention that in Holberg's features and expression, as transmitted to posterity in his portrait by the contemporaneous Danish artist Roslin, there is scarcely the slightest trace of either bodily or mental anguish. Altogether it is a striking picture. From beneath the ponderous

Louis Quatorze peruke there looks out a calm, contemplative, high-browed countenance, as of one possessing world-wide experience, and breathing a serener air than that of the region inhabited by ordinary mortals: marked not by unrest, but rest,—the rest, as has been graphically said with regard to Goethe, of a giant after his completed toils. We have frequently compared it with the likeness of his great dramatic brother Molière, a face in many ways diametrically the reverse of Holberg's. The one is of the northern, the other of the southern type: and the features have assuredly not the shadow of a resemblance. Yet we hardly deem it a mere fancy of our own when we affirm that in the lines at the corners of the mouth, in both portraits, there may be discovered a certain similarity, suggestive of that keen sense of the humorous which alike distinguished the two, and shadowing forth the bond of brotherhood, which, by common consent, is believed to exist between them.

Although the works of Holberg are so numerous, and embrace such a great variety of different subjects,—forming, in fact, of themselves an entire literature,—there is little difficulty in defining the distinctive features of his genius. These, it appears to us, are three in number—breadth and clearness of observation, calmness of reflection, and vivid perception of the humorous. It may perhaps be said that, after all, such a combination has frequently existed in the case of individuals, without resulting in any transcendent intellectual ability, to say nothing of what is strictly styled genius; but the reader must remember that in Holberg the three qualities were, so to speak, potentized—that in him they attained, or at least approximated to, the maximum of their vigour, and that, moreover, in him also they were harmoniously blended in a way by no means usual. One of Holberg's inborn gifts was a broad and clear capacity of intellectual vision, which enabled him to take in at a glance objects the most dissimilar, to discern their true significance without at the same time confounding them together, and to assign to each its real name and nature, its proper place in the world and in life. And this innate power had been cultivated and intensified by the whole tenor of his existence from a very early period. In his youth he had to encounter difficulty and hardship, and was brought into contact with many scenes and persons of different, often quite opposite, kind and character; and, as soon as he could accomplish it, he visited foreign lands, made pedestrian excursions through Holland, France, and Italy, and spent his times of rest in the capitals of the most civilized na-

\* For much contained in the above summary of the life of Holberg we are indebted to the admirably comprehensive sketch by Professor M. Hammerich, in his *Danmarks og Norges Læstetæken*.



tions, the centres of learning and culture, where, however, he expressly tells us, "he studied yet more the people than the libraries." It was just this circumstance that at home gave so much offence to his stiff academic colleagues; they complained that he "listened to women's gossip more frequently than became a grave philosopher," and "derived greater pleasure from the rude talk of a peasant than from the most polished converse of the learned." He himself says that he regularly frequented houses of public entertainment, yet left them without wetting his lips, and that he was daily among players, yet never touched dice or cards. It was not Holberg's object to enjoy life, but to observe it. The latter, indeed, was with him a ruling passion, and he retained it to the last. Hence the singularly acute remarks,—the name of which is legion,—in so many of his writings, on all possible variety of subjects, which he seems to have contemplated alike broadly and clearly, and almost at a first glance to have intuitively comprehended. But, conjoined with this, there was the faculty of calm and equable reflection. Holberg, although not wholly devoid of prejudice, still shows little of it in his works. He knew how to separate—yet by no means always, and hence some of the defects of his writings—the accidental from the essential, the ephemeral from the eternal. His large and tolerant nature raised him above the paltry pursuits and objects, the fantastic whims and caprices, of the period in which he lived, and thus he remained unaffected by them, except in so far as—which, indeed, was very often—he discharged against them the keen shafts of his remorseless wit and irony. The immense amount of knowledge he had acquired by observation his power of reflection enabled him easily and perfectly to digest; and the width and clearness of his views, which tolerated everything but cant and folly, harmonising with the reflective element, set the broad impress of their conjunct seal on well-nigh all his works. Lastly, there falls to be mentioned Holberg's vivid perception of the humorous, and the power he possessed to give it such opulent outward life and shape. The deeper student, of course, cannot fail immediately to perceive the combination, in Holberg's nature, of the two elements to which we have just referred; but even the most superficial readers find the humour that so pre-eminently distinguished him, pervading every page of some of his more celebrated productions, as, for example, the *Comedies*, *Niels Klim*, and *Peder Paars*. What we might say with regard to this peculiar feature of Holberg's genius may perhaps better

find its place in our succeeding observations on the works just named, more especially the *Comedies*. We reserve it, therefore, until then. A chief object which Holberg contemplated in all his writings was the diffusion of culture through the whole mass of the people. His earnest desire was, as Holberg truly affirms, to create a self-subsistent Danish literature, or to make available for the mass of his countrymen what had before been the exclusive property of the learned, and to develop, that he might effect this, the capabilities of his mother tongue, and render it suitable for the propagation of views and ideas which had been previously communicated through the medium of the Latin language. "Nationality" is therefore the word which, perhaps, best expresses one great principle that influenced him, and the one great goal of his entire career of authorship. But it must not be forgotten that he also claimed to be an instructor in ethics,—to impart to the Danish people a purer and sounder system of morals than that which was unfortunately prevalent in his own day. We may almost affirm that he looked upon this as his supreme, peculiar work. He never viewed himself as a poet, but as a moralist; and, in his laudable zeal to fulfil the mission of the latter, he not unfrequently became so one-sided as to see in morals the sole thing worth striving after,—a one-sidedness which derogated from the beauty and value of some of his literary productions. Every work he penned,—*Peder Paars*, the *Satires*, *Metamorphoses*, the *Comedies*, the *Moral Thoughts*, the various historical treatises, the *Epistles*,—he contemplated more or less as ethic lessons embodied in diverse forms; and his intention was, just by the very difference of these forms, to render the imparted instruction agreeable as well as profitable, that it might find a ready entrance into the minds of men. Universal moral and literary education, in short, was the twofold object of his endeavours. And unquestionably there was infinite need of such a double education at that time in Denmark. Morality had sadly degenerated; it was divorced from religion in the practical life of the people, and exerted little influence on their conduct. Literature, again, as we have already indicated, was at an equally low ebb; all the learned were soulless pedants, and the vast majority of the people were destitute of intellectual culture. It was Holberg's work to shame the pedants into silence, and awaken to fresh life the love of art and letters among the bulk of his benighted countrymen. In both respects he proved the agent of a successful and salutary revival. Still, with regard to Holberg's moral teach-



ing, we must guard against a possible misconception on the part of our readers. The morality which Holberg inculcated was chiefly of a minor kind,—invaluable in its own way, yet not necessarily springing from the deep roots of religious thought and religious life. Dishonour has, indeed, been cast upon his name by insinuations that he was little better than a concealed sceptic, a confirmed rejecter of revelation. His large-hearted tolerance,—a virtue rare in those days,—may have lent colour to such a charge. The sworn foe of bigotry and barren orthodoxy, he incurred by his outspoken statements continual suspicion. We can easily fancy the hostility that would be evoked in many quarters by the author of an epigram like this, addressed *Ad Fabium, hæreticem maxime strenuum* :—

“Quæris præcipue, quam damno religionem,  
Quas sectas dignas judico suppliciis.  
Me nimium poscis: de re non judico tanta;  
Solos damnantes damno, aliosque fleo.”

But while we certainly cannot claim for Holberg the possession of aught resembling fervent faith, we see no basis for the accusation of utter indifference and unbelief which has been so often brought against him. In his writings he speaks of religious matters with the utmost caution; and vainly will the reader search them to find a single word that could be construed into ridicule of holy things. It is true that he attaches much more importance to practice than to theory; in his *Church History* he specially singles out the first three centuries, when doctrine and external service were plain and simple, and when to the doctrine the life responded, so “that this shows us the way to true Christianity, which consists in humility, love, contempt of the world, and walking in the Redeemer’s footsteps.” It is always in a similar spirit that in his other works he moralizes on the truths of the Christian religion. In his earlier years, he frankly confesses, he had cherished scruples about revelation; but he adds that he was fortunate enough to obtain deliverance from them in the end. While entertaining ideas the reverse of strict about Church creeds and catechisms, he still can speak of himself as follows :—“I willingly subscribe all the fundamental articles of faith embraced in our Confession, although I would rather curtail them than increase their number. For I hold that there are certain things which consist alone in theory and speculation, and which can without danger be either affirmed or denied, inasmuch as they should rather exercise the minds of metaphysicians than theologians.” It is very truly remarked by Hammerich,

that the excessive tolerance of Holberg “did not proceed from indifference to religious truth.” Perhaps it might seem paradoxical if we numbered him among Danish theological authors. But every one who knows his writings will feel the force of his own testimony when he asserts that he “always with great concern has investigated the matter of his own salvation.” “If we have gone astray,” he affirms in another passage, “it has cost me more to do so than it has cost many others to believe aright.” Our object in thus drawing attention to Holberg’s religious views is to disprove the charge of scepticism which has not unfrequently been adduced against him. At the same time, we must repeat what has been already stated, that the morals which he made it the great business of his life to inculcate were in so far defective that they were based on no profound religious principle, and therefore lacked the element of power which invariably exists where faith is the fountain-source, and morality the stream that flows from it. But the moral instructions communicated by Holberg to his countrymen were nevertheless of much value and importance. They were rife with sound, solid, practical sagacity, and greatly helped to elevate and civilize the mass of the Danish people.

There is yet another point on which we wish to touch, before proceeding to review the leading works of Holberg. Their author was not merely, the “father of modern Danish literature;” he was also, in a certain sense, the “father” of the modern Danish language. It was he who moulded that language into the shape which it has essentially retained until the present day; he rescued it from the influence of pedants,—who were men of learning and nothing more,—pedants who chiefly wrote in Latin, and when they *did* attempt a work in the mother tongue, deformed it by bastard Latinisms, and modes of expression foreign to the genius of the language. To civilize the people it was necessary that there should be a native literature, but to create a native literature it was necessary that there should be for it a worthy medium of communication; and so he labored simultaneously to supply the lack of both. His intense desire, as he tells his readers, was “to refine not merely the people but their speech,”\* and the good taste of which his own writings were such excellent models exerted an influence that proved powerful and enduring. He delighted to discover in ancient law-books, and the conversation of the peasants, good old Danish words and phrases that had lapsed

\* “For Folk ei ene, men for Sproget et polere.”



from common use, yet at the same time he did not depart in his writings from the plain and simple conversational style, of which there was hardly a single trace in the learned lucubrations of the period. He taught the Danes, as it is happily expressed in the lines of Christian Wilster, that they were born to speak in the tongue of their fathers, and that the "noble mead" that alone rightly refreshes the heart must be brewed at home and not in a foreign country.\* It may be objected that Holberg himself borrowed many French words, and used them frequently in his works, and this is no doubt true. But we should remember that in the first place his object was to stem the tide of Germanising innovations which were threatening altogether to break up the integrity of the Danish language, and that, therefore, when in want of a word or term which the latter at its present stage of progress could not supply, he preferred rather to draw on French than on German to remedy the lack; and, in the second place, that the French words which abound in his productions are so unmistakably foreign, that they could not perplex the reader, but rather tended to advance the development of the Danish tongue. Holberg's style is in general characterized by clearness and simplicity, and by an accompanying easy flow, which features have ever since his time been the distinctive marks of the genuine Danish form of speech, both conversational and literary. Heiberg, the great Danish critic of Denmark, unhesitatingly asserts that the entire Danish prose has been created by Holberg, and that its style in its now existing shape is only a modification of the Holbergian. All who know anything of the subject will cordially indorse this statement.

We proceed to the consideration of Holberg's three principal works,—*Peder Paars*, *Niels Klim*, and the *Comedies*; and, as it is mainly through the latter that he has acquired his European renown, we will devote the larger portion of our space to their consideration. The earlier work, *Peder Paars*, appeared at intervals,—the first of its cantos having been published in 1719, and the remaining cantos of the poem afterwards. It is a satirical production in the style of Butler's *Hudibras* and Boileau's *Lutrin*, but in some respects surpassing both of them in wit and humour. The hero, a shopkeeper at Callundborg, while proceeding to visit his betrothed at Aars, is wrecked on the island

of Anholt; by the assistance of Venus, however, he manages to save the vessel and the crew; thereafter he wages war with the islanders, and, when peace has been concluded, Nille, the bailiff's daughter, like a second Dido, becomes enamoured of the illustrious stranger,—upon which he sails privately away to new achievements and new dangers. This work, in which Holberg by degrees passes over from a parody on the bombastic heroic diction of contemporaneous poets to ironical delineations of the ideas and customs of his countrymen, was received by different persons very differently. Some were pleased with it, others were offended by its tone and spirit; some found in it personal allusions, others viewed it as the jest of an idle brain, and beneath the dignity of a professor. The proprietor of Anholt actually preferred a legal complaint against the writer for the improper and insulting way in which he had spoken of the island's inhabitants; nay more, for the language he had used concerning constituted authorities, the University and academical studies, bishops, clergymen, even religion itself; and, for such reasons, he demanded that the author should be punished, and his book burned by the public executioner. The matter assumed a serious aspect; it came before the Council of State. But Frederick the Fourth, who had read and been greatly amused by *Peder Paars*, quashed further proceedings in the case, and the complaint was rejected, inasmuch as the book "consisted of pure jesting fiction, which," it is added nevertheless, "might rather have been unwritten than written." Through *Peder Paars* there runs a vein of the keenest irony, and certain passages in it—as, for example, where Holberg satirizes the unworthy lives of the judges and clergy of his day, the superstition of the populace and the pedantry of the learned—are replete with the most caustic ridicule. Abiding though varying interest is kept alive in the reader's mind to the close, by the masterly caricature of the Homeric and Virgilian heroes and their exploits, by the ingenious plan and management of the whole poem, by the admirably drawn characters that figure in it, the ludicrous positions in which they are placed, and the comic power which suits their words so thoroughly to their actions. The earnest irony of the author remains undisturbed from the first line to the last. "With all possible seriousness of aspect," it has been truly said, "he accompanies his hero along his not peculiarly heroic path, employs the traditional mythological machinery to raise or depress his fortunes, is unwearied in laudation of his virtues, careful to expound the difficulties that environed

\* "Han lærte de Danske, at Dansken er født  
At tale med Fædrenes Tunge,  
Thi hjemmefødt var jo den herlige Mjød,  
Som styrkede Hjerte og Lunge."



him, to defend his procedure, and to beautify achievements which in themselves are far from being glorious. The continued and manifold contrast between the objects and their treatment is therefore the more piquant, in that it seems always self-originated, and without the consciousness of the author."\* The very form of verse, it may be added, which Holberg employs—the pompous Alexandrine—enhances the reader's enjoyment, by the parodic gravity with which it rolls along.

Holberg's profoundest work is, without question, the *Subterranean Journey of Niels Klim*, a strange half-philosophical, half-satirical romance. Suggested by Swift's masterpiece (for *Gulliver's Travels* was published in 1726, while the *Iter Subterraneum* did not appear until 1741), there is yet sufficient originality in *Niels Klim* to entitle it to a very high position of its own in literature. In it the sexton Klim, of Bergen, relates the marvellous story of his life. When a young man he was let down by a rope into a cave in the neighbourhood of that town, in order that he might investigate its character; but the rope unfortunately gave way, and he was precipitated into subterranean regions. First he came to a Planet, whose inhabitants were trees with heads and feet,—cypresses, limes, briars, etc.; and being, on account of his long legs and power of rapid locomotion, appointed courier to the Court, he travelled in many provinces, and learned to know the customs of the country. Afterwards, he was banished to the land of the apes, where, on account of his dulness of comprehension, as compared with the vivacity of the natives, he was made a sedan-bearer, but rose in the end to great power and dignity by his introduction of *perukes*. In a new land of wonders he became emperor, but, a revolt occurring, Klim took to flight, made a desperate plunge into an abyss, and found himself again in proximity to his native town, where at last an old friend recognised him, and procured for him the post of sexton, in which capacity he is represented by the author to have died in 1695. The work being a politico-moral allegory, especially intended for the educated classes, and referring to the general relations of European society both in Catholic and Protestant countries, Holberg wrote it in Latin, and had it published anonymously, not in Copenhagen, but in Leipzig. The first copies which reached the Danish capital set the whole city in commotion; and the clergy asked that they should be confiscated. By and by the storm was

lulled, and the book acquired much popularity. *Niels Klim* is a fiction wonderful for its fancy and humour, in which wellnigh all human relations—spiritual as well as temporal—are reviewed by the writer, stripped of the false veil which custom has drawn around them, and the most comprehensive wisdom is communicated in the most witty and attractive manner. It is a satire on a colossal scale, inasmuch as it exposes the entire life of cultivated Europe to unsparing ridicule, by laying bare its most deeply-rooted religious, moral, and political follies and delusions. Comparisons have often been drawn between *Niels Klim* and its prototype, Dean Swift's immortal fiction; but the two books are, in many respects, of an altogether different character, and cannot be set side by side appropriately. In originality and power *Gulliver's Travels* surpasses, without doubt, the work of Holberg, but the latter is a production of infinitely wider range, and its humour, although coarse in not a few passages, is generally more refined than that of *Gulliver*. The dissimilar nature, to a large extent, of the two works, is evident from the fact that while, as is well known, there are many allusions of *Gulliver's Travels* to the Court and politics of England, and the secret history of the period, there are, on the other hand, few personal references in *Niels Klim* to the mere State politics of his native country, and the book is therefore one, not of Danish, but of European significance. It may be interesting to note that several English translations of *Niels Klim* have appeared,—the first as early as 1742, the second, by Weber, in 1812, and the last, at least the last with which we are ourselves acquainted, in 1828. The earliest of these we have never seen, but from certain statements of Weber it is presumably the same translation which he has reprinted in his *Popular Romances*, and so is not a new work,—simply a new edition; while the last follows the edition of 1745 with the apologetic preface and appendix, and gives an English version of the Latin poetry with which the original is interspersed.

That Holberg had a certain aptitude for the tragic drama he was himself not indisposed to believe, and it was also the opinion of many of his contemporaries; but the latter drew their conclusion from the grandiloquent scenes in *Melampe*, which was a partial caricature of high-flown tragic utterances, and from the *Metamorphoses*, which produce a similar impression. We perceive here the boundary line of Holberg's intellectual endowments. He was able to attain a very exalted place as a comic dramatist,—second, we again repeat, alone to Plautus and Molière,—but to win even the lowest position

\* Thortsen's *Historisk Udsigt over den danske Litteratur*, p. 49.



in the realm of the tragic was completely beyond his power. For this he lacked the intensity of passion, the depth of agonizing wrath or sorrow, the opulence of those conflicting elements of emotion that create a temporary hell or a temporary heaven within the breast of the true tragic poet. He well knew history; but from its records he could not single out and array in robes of splendour or of terror the giant shapes with which the stage had been peopled by great tragedians, and which had thrilled hosts of spectators with admiration or with awe. Of Holberg it never could be said, as Goethe says of his own illustrious compeer, the author of *Wallenstein* and *Wilhelm Tell*, that—to supply fit subjects for his Muse—

“Ihm schwellen der Geschichte Fluth auf Fluthen,  
Verspülend, was getadelt, was gelobt,  
Der Erdbherrscher wilde Heere-gluthen,  
Die in der Welt sich grimmig ausgetobt,”—

and that he had seized them as they surged upon his soul, and employed them with the creative genius of a master. Holberg's strength lay in the region of the humorous, and he wisely abstained from any attempt at the introduction of the tragic element into the great majority of his dramatic works. It is this very feature that in reality prevents Holberg from rising to the supreme place attainable by humorists,—a throne beside Shakespeare, Cervantes, and Jean Paul. With all our respect for his extraordinary talents, we must still confess that the humour which formed one of his chief intellectual attributes was devoid of the foundation that supports the truest, purest humour—the foundation, namely, of solemn earnestness, of intense impassioned emotion. All humour of the highest kind, such humour as we find in the works of the above-named writers, rests upon this solid basis; and so the truly tragic and the truly comic are connected by the closest bonds, and are, in fact, just two phases of the same completest order of intellect—the intellect gifted at once with world-wide clearness of vision and world-wide power of sympathy. Hence, although for convenience' sake we use the word “humour” to denote a chief aspect of Holberg's genius, we are at the same time aware that such a term does not properly define the peculiar gift to which we thus apply it. *Erasmus Montanus* and *Jeppé paa Bjerget* are perhaps the only comedies of Holberg in which he can be said to rise to the region of the strictly humorous; and with difficulty, even in *their* case, do we arrive at this conclusion. Of jest and irony, especially the latter, Holberg is indeed a consummate master; but

these things, although springing from the humorous, are not properly the humorous itself. It is very desirable in any estimate of Holberg's writings to keep such a point steadily in view, as otherwise there may occur a serious mis-conception, both with regard to their general features and their individual distinctions. After this necessary explanation we turn now to the Comedies.

Heiberg has entered into an able and elaborate analysis\* of these productions, based on the system of Hegelian aesthetics which he so sedulously cultivated,—an analysis which contains much that is alike subtle and ingenious. Without reproducing here all its details, we may simply mention that the Danish critic divides Holberg's thirty-two dramas into four great classes,—burlesque comedies, comedies of character, comedies of situation (*Lystespil*), and ideal comedies. We believe this division to be on the whole a sound and satisfactory one. The majority of the Comedies appertain to the first two classes; and the class of ideal comedy includes fewer than all the rest—a circumstance naturally arising from the peculiar bent of the author's mind to which we have already referred. As regards the general tone and spirit of Holberg's dramas, it may be remarked that he adopted the form which comedy, under the influence of the later Attic and Roman species (along with the *Commedia dell' arte* of the Italians), had assumed in France, especially through the instrumentality of Molière. Not a few ideas, nay even passages, were borrowed from these foreign sources by the writer; and the usual typical characters that occur in all the plays were the legacy of the Italian comic stage. Holberg is notwithstanding one of the most original dramatists to be found in the history of literature. While the works of Molière bear the impress of that refinement which prevailed at the period of Louis the Fourteenth, Holberg's present to us a series of life-like, sharply-drawn, strongly-marked pictures of the manners of the middle and lower classes, both in town and country. The typical figures—Jeronimus, Magdalene, Leander, Leonora, Henrich, Pernille,—are by no means stereotyped; they are varied in marked manner in the different pieces; and, as has been truly said, they are fresh with the very breath of national life in Denmark. Other characters—the “Political Tinker,” the “Man without a Moment's Leisure,” “Peer Degn,” etc.,—are in the strictest sense original. Drawn with great psychologic skill, they are always true to themselves in action and in language. How-

\* J. L. Heiberg's *Prosaiske Skrifter*, vol. iii. p. 105.



ever much Holberg may love to enliven the dialogue by the introduction of pungent witticisms, he never does so at the expense of the dramatic consistency of his various characters, but every word that falls from them is in all respects appropriate to each allotted part. The plot in Holberg's comedies is, in the majority of cases, hardly designed to possess independent interest, or arrest notice by an artistic construction, or awaken wonder by the reciprocal play of external motions and relations; yet, on the other hand, the author knits it in such a masterly fashion to his characters, that it both obtains from these characters its own dramatic life, and places *them* before the mind's eye in clearest, fullest light. At the same time there is no lack of irresistibly comic scenes, caused by misunderstandings, blunders, or surprises,—scenes peculiarly effective on the stage. Holberg in this department possesses great inventive genius, and varies his ludicrous situations so frequently that one never experiences a sense of lassitude. To Plautus he bears considerable resemblance, as well in the plan of his plays and the portraiture of character as in the comic power of dialogue. Holberg himself assures us that he valued highly the Roman author; he set him much above Terence, and says that "his *Amphitryo*, *Aulularia*, and *Menachmi*, are the greatest plays which we have." With regard to Molière, Holberg stands behind him in correctness and elegance of diction, in regularity of plot, and perhaps also in delineation of character; but he may almost be said to surpass the French writer in comic strength and force. Holberg seems to have planned his plots far more hastily than Molière,—which often gives his plays, not to their advantage, somewhat of an improvised appearance; yet, for the same reason, there is sometimes a greater liveliness imparted to his dialogues than we find in those of Molière. In the erotic scenes Holberg is sure to fail, while the similar scenes of Molière are fraught with ease and grace. But why should we pursue the parallel? We may safely come to the conclusion that, if the Frenchman holds by common consent supreme place on the Parnassus of the comic drama, the Dane is entitled to take rank next to and not greatly lower than, his predecessor's throne at the summit of the sacred hill.

It is exceedingly difficult, by translated extracts, to convey to the reader any full and satisfactory idea of the true character of Holberg's comedies. Each play should be considered as a whole, and read, at a single perusal, from beginning to end. Nor

will our space permit us to give at present more than the analysis of a single drama. Perhaps, however, this course of procedure may serve to communicate a livelier impression of the comic genius of Holberg, than if we were to quote a series of disjointed scenes, selected from many of his different plays. We therefore fix upon *Erasmus Montanus*, as one of his most striking works, and proceed to offer some account of it, accompanied by a few translations. Holberg's clear, forcible, idiomatic Danish prose loses not a little by its appearance in an English dress; but we will faithfully preserve all the meaning, and strive after an approximation to the spirit, of the vigorous original.

In *Erasmus Montanus*, the author pours a flood of ridicule on the pedantry which was, in his day, so prevalent, in Denmark; and he at the same time holds up to scorn the superstition and ignorance that existed among the peasant classes. The contrast between the two things is brought out in strong relief, and forms the special burthen of the whole drama. Its hero is the son of a yeoman, who has been sent by his father to the University of Copenhagen, in the natural paternal hope that he may advance himself in the world by his devotion to learned studies. At the time that the play opens his parents are expecting his return, and his betrothed, Lisbed, the daughter of Jeronimus, is also looking forward to it with happy anticipation. The first act is of a prefatory character, and Rasmus Berg, old Jeppe Berg's son (who had changed his name to the Latin form, Erasmus Montanus), does not make his appearance until the commencement of the second act. But in the first act there are some admirable scenes, especially the fourth and fifth, where Peer Degn, Peter the parish clerk,—who is a ludicrous compound of crass ignorance and intolerable self-conceit,—plays the fool to perfection, unintentionally, in the presence of the youthful student's relations. The second act opens thus:—

*Montanus (with his stockings down about his ankles).* I have only been a single day out of Copenhagen, and I am wearying already. If I had not brought with me my precious books, I could not have existed in the country. *Studia secundas res ornant, adversis solatium præbent.* It seems as if I lacked something, since I have had no disputation for whole three days. I know not if there are any learned persons in the village here; if there are, I will give them enough of work, for I cannot live without disputation. To my poor parents I cannot say much; for they are simple folks, who know hardly aught but what they learned in childhood, and so I have small consolation in their society. The clerk and the schoolmaster, it is



reported, have studied; but I know not to what extent. I will try, however, what they can do. My father and mother were alarmed when they saw me so early, for they had not expected that I would travel from Copenhagen in the night-time. (*He strikes a light, applies it to his pipe, and puts the pipe's head through a hole which he has in his hat.*) This I call smoking tobacco *Studentikos*. It is a good enough invention for one who would write and smoke simultaneously.—(*Sits down to read.*)

An amusing scene with his uncultivated brother Jacob terminates in Montanus hurling the book at his head in a rage, whereupon the old mother and father appear:—

*Jeppé.* What is this noise?

*Jacob.* My brother Rasmus was beating me.

*Nille.* What does that matter? He has not beaten thee without reason.

*Mont.* No, mother; it is true. He comes hither and uses language to me as if I were his equal.

*Nille.* What a devil's imp! dost thou not know better how to respect such a learned man? dost thou not know that he is an honour to our whole house? My darling Herr Son! \* Do not take it ill of him; he is only an ignorant blockhead.

*Mont.* I am sitting here and speculating on weighty matters, when this *importunissimus* and *audacissimus juvenis* comes in and disturbs me; to have to do with those *Transcendentalibus* is no child's play. I would not for two merks that it had taken place.

*Jeppé.* Ah, be not angry, my dear son! It shall never again happen. I am afraid that the Herr Son has got into a passion; learned folk bear not many interruptions. I know that Peer Clerk was in such a passion once, he could not get the better of it for three days.

*Mont.* Peer Clerk,—is he learned?

*Jeppé.* Yes, truly, so long as I can remember we have had no clerk here in the village that could sing so well as he.

*Mont.* He may be very unlearned for all that.

*Jeppé.* He preaches also most beautifully.

*Mont.* He may be very unlearned for all that likewise.

*Nille.* Ah, no, Herr Son! how can he be unlearned, when he preaches well?

*Mont.* True enough, little mother,† all unlearned folk preach well; for, as they cannot out of their own heads write anything, they use borrowed sermons and learn by heart brave men's homilies, which sometimes they don't themselves understand, while, on the other hand, a learned man would not employ such, but out of his own head would write his sermon. Believe me, it is a general fault in the country here, to judge of the learning of the students far too much by their preaching. But let the fellows dispute as I do; *that* is the touchstone of learn-

ing! I can dispute in good Latin on whatever subject you please. If any one were to say this table is a candlestick, I would maintain it, and I have done so many a time. Hear, little father! will you believe that he who drinks well is happy?

*Jeppé.* I believe rather that he is miserable, for he may drink away both his understanding and his money.

*Mont.* I will prove to you that he is happy. *Quicumque bene bibit, bene dormit.* But it is true, you do not understand Latin. I must say it in Danish: He who drinks well sleeps well, is that not true?

*Jeppé.* True enough; for when I am half-fuddled I sleep like a horse.

*Mont.* He who sleeps well sins not. Is not that true?

*Jeppé.* True enough; we don't sin so long as we are asleep.

*Mont.* He who sins not, is happy.

*Jeppé.* True likewise.

*Mont.* *Ergo*, he who drinks well is happy. Little mother! I will change you into a stone.

*Nille.* Nonsense! that would be worse to do.

*Mont.* Now you will hear it done. A stone cannot fly.

*Nille.* Well, that is quite true, except it be thrown by somebody.

*Mont.* You cannot fly.

*Nille.* True also.

*Mont.* *Ergo*, little mother is a stone (*Nille weeps*). Why does little mother weep?

*Nille.* Ah! I am so afraid that I become a stone; my legs are getting cold already.

*Mont.* Make yourself easy, little mother, I will change you into a woman again. A stone can neither think nor talk.

*Nille.* It is true. I know not if it can think, but talk it cannot.

*Mont.* Little mother can talk.

*Nille.* Yes, God be praised, and can talk like any poor peasant's wife.

*Mont.* Good. *Ergo*, little mother is not a stone.

*Nille.* Ah, that has done it; I have come to myself again. My faith, it requires strong heads for studying. I know not how their brains can stand it.

In the second scene of act third, Jesper the bailiff, and therefore a man of considerable importance among the simple country folk, comes to visit Montanus.

*Jesper. Serviteur, Monsieur!* Congratulations on your arrival!

*Mont.* Thanks, Mr. Bailiff.

*Jesp.* I am very glad that we have now got such a learned man in our village. It must have cost much brain-racking before he could advance so far in his studies. I wish you also luck of your son, Jeppe Berg. Now you have joy in your old age.

*Jeppé.* Yes, doubtless.

*Jesp.* But listen, my dear Monsieur Rasmus, I want to ask you about something.

*Mont.* My name is Montanus.

*Jesp. (aside to Jeppé.)* Montanus is Rasmus in Latin.

\* The fond parents generally give Montanus the title of "Herr," in token of their respect for his extraordinary learning.

† There is no single English word equivalent to the expressive "Morille" of the Danes.



*Jepp.* Maybe so.

*Jesp.* Listen, my dear Monsieur Montanus Berg! I have heard that learned folk have the strangest notions. Is it true that they maintain in Copenhagen that the earth is round? Here, in the country, nobody will believe it; for how can such a thing be, seeing that the earth seems evidently flat?

*Mont.* The reason of that is, that the earth is so large that we cannot mark its rotundity.

*Jesp.* Yes, that is quite true: the earth is big; it is almost half the size of the world. But listen, Monsieur, how many stars does it take to make a moon?

*Mont.* A moon! The moon is like Pøblinge lake compared with the whole of New Zealand.

*Jesp.* Ha, ha, ha, ha! The learned folk are never right in their heads. I have heard, my faith, of some who say that the earth moves, and the sun stands still. Monsieur, I suppose, believes that also?

*Mont.* No rational man doubts it any longer.

*Jesp.* Ha, ha, ha! if the earth moves, we must sometimes fall and break our necks, then.

*Mont.* Cannot a ship move with you, and still you need not fall and break your neck on it, surely?

*Jesp.* But you say that the earth runs round; now, if the ship were to turn upside down, would not the people fall into the sea?

*Mont.* Nay; I will explain it to you more clearly, if you will only have patience.

*Jesp.* My faith, I will hear nothing more about it! I would be mad if I believed such nonsense. So the earth may turn upside down, and still we may not tumble headlong into the devil's clutch below! Ha, ha, ha! But, my dear Monsieur Berg, how comes it that the moon is sometimes so little, and sometimes so large?

*Mont.* If I were to tell you, you would not believe it.

*Jesp.* No, pray, let me know.

*Mont.* It comes of this, that when the moon has grown to its full size, they clip slices out of it to make into stars.

*Jesp.* My faith, that is curious. I never knew such a thing before. If they did not clip slices out it would grow as broad as the whole of Zealand. Nature most wisely governs all things. But how comes it that the moon does not warm us like the sun, when it is every whit as big?

*Mont.* It comes of this, that the moon has no light, but is made of the same dark material as the earth, and borrows its radiance and lustre from the sun.

*Jesp.* Ha, ha, ha, ha, ha! let us speak about something else; it is such ridiculous nonsense that one would get mad with thinking of it.

### THIRD SCENE.

*Jepp.* Nilla, Montanus, Jesper, Peer Clerk.

*Jepp.* Welcome, Peer! where good folk already are, thither will good folk come. There you see my son, who has newly returned home.

*Peer.* Welcome, Monsieur Rasmus Berg!

*Mont.* In Copenhagen I am accustomed to be called Montanus; I pray you to address me thus.

*Peer.* Yea, truly; to me it is all one. How goes it in Copenhagen? Did many students pass examination this year?

*Mont.* The usual number.

*Peer.* Were there any rejected?

*Mont.* Two or three conditionally.

*Peer.* Who is *Imprimatur* this year?

*Mont.* What is the meaning of that?

*Peer.* I mean who is *Imprimatur* for the verses and books that are sent to press?

*Mont.* Is that Latin?

*Peer.* Yes, in my time it was good Latin.

*Mont.* If it was once good Latin it must be good Latin still. But it has never been Latin in the sense that you attach to it.

*Peer.* Yes, by my faith, it is good Latin.

*Mont.* Is it then a *nomen* or a *verbum*?

*Peer.* It is a *nomen*.

*Jesp.* Right, Peer! Speak up bravely.

*Mont.* *Cujus declinationis is imprimatur*, then?

*Peer.* All the words we can name may be referred to seven things, which are *Nomen*, *Pronomen*, *Verbum*, *Principium*, *Conjugatio*, *Declinatio*, *Interjectio*.

*Jesp.* Hear, hear! Only listen to Peer when he speaks off-hand! That's right, Peer, grip him hard!

*Mont.* He answers not a syllable to the question I asked him. What has *imprimatur* in *Genitico*?

*Peer.* *Nominativus Ala*, *Genitivus Alas*, *Dativus Alo*, *Vocativus Alo*, *Ablativus Ala*.

*Jesp.* Hear, hear, Monsieur Montanus! We too have learned folk in the country.

*Peer.* I should think so. There passed examination, my faith, different fellows in my time from those that pass examination now.—fellows that had themselves shaved twice a week and could *scanders* all kinds of verse.

*Mont.* That is a mighty thing forsooth; any one in the second class can do it. Fellows now pass examination at Copenhagen University who can make Hebrew and Chaldean verses.

*Peer.* But they won't know much Latin then?

*Mont.* Latin! If you went to study there you would not rise higher than the lowest form.

*Jesp.* Speak not so, Montanus! Peer is, by my faith, a truly learned man; I have heard both the revenue-officer and justice say it.

*Mont.* Perhaps they understood as little Latin as he does.

*Jesp.* I hear, though, that he answers bravely for himself.

*Mont.* But he answers nothing to the questions put to him. *E qua Schola dimissus es, mi Domine?*

*Peer.* *Adjectivum et Substantivum, genera, numero, et caso conveniunt.*

*Jesp.* He measures out to him, by my life, the half-bushful. Right, Peer! we shall, good faith, have a pot of brandy on the top of it.

*Mont.* If Mr. Bailiff knew how he was replying to me, he would burst his sides with laughter. I asked him in what College Le



passed examination, and he answers with something else at random.

*Peer.* *Tunc tua res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet.*

*Jesp.* Hear, hear! Now he's going ahead! Answer that, come?

*Mont.* I cannot answer,—it is sheer balderdash. Let us speak in our own language, which the others can understand, and they will soon get to know what sort of a fellow he is.

*Jesp.* Why do you weep, grandame? (*Nille weeps.*)

*Nille.* I feel so grieved that my son should be beaten at his Latin.

*Jesp.* Peace, grandame! There is no wonder that he should. Besides, Peer is much older than he, and so there is no wonder. Let them now speak Danish, which we all understand.

*Peer.* Yes, yes! I am ready for whatever language he may choose. We will ask each other some questions; for example, Who was it that cried so loud that they could hear him over the whole world?

*Mont.* I know none that cry louder than donkeys and country parish-clerks.

*Peer.* Fudge! Can they be heard over the whole world? It was the ass in Noah's ark, for the whole world was in the ark.

*Jesp.* Ha, ha, ha! By my faith, that is true. Ha, ha, ha! There sits a clever head on Peer Clerk's shoulders.

*Peer.* Who smote to death the fourth part of mankind?

*Mont.* I do not reply to such vulgar questions.

*Peer.* It was Cain, who slew his brother Abel.

*Mont.* Prove that there were only four persons then living.

*Peer.* Prove you that there were more.

*Mont.* No need of that, for *affirmanti incumbit probatio*. Do you understand this?

*Peer.* To be sure. *Omnia conando docilis solertia vincit*. Do you understand this?

*Mont.* I am as great a simpleton myself, to stand here and argue with a blockhead. You pretend to dispute, and you neither know Danish nor Latin,—far less what *Logica* is. Let me just ask; *Quid est Logica?*

*Peer.* *Post molestant senectutem, post molestant senectutem nos habebit humus.*

*Mont.* Rascal! will you trifle with me? (*Seizes him by the hair; they come to blows.*)

*Peer.* (*Escapes crying*) Blockhead! Blockhead!

(*Exeunt all, except the Bailiff.*)

In the fifth scene of the same act we find Montanus, Jesper, and Jeronimus, the intended father-in-law of the former, engaged in conversation:—

*Mont.* Welcome, my dear father-in-law! I am delighted to see you in good health.

*Jer.* Health can never be very good in people of my age.

*Mont.* You look wonderfully well, however. *Jer.* Do you think so?

*Mont.* How is Miss Lisbed?

*Jer.* Well enough.

VOL. L.

*Mont.* But what is the matter? I think, my dear father-in-law, that you answer me coldly.

*Jer.* I have no reason to act otherwise.

*Mont.* Why, what evil have I done?

*Jer.* I am told that you hold such strange opinions; folk think that you must have gone crazy; for how can a rational creature fall into the folly of saying that the earth is round?

*Mont.* Yes, truly, it is round; I must affirm that which I believe to be the fact.

*Jer.* It is no fact, in the devil's name! Such a thing must come from Satan, the father of lies. I am certain that there is not a person in the village who does not condemn such an idea; ask only the bailiff, who is a reasonable man, if he is not of the same opinion with myself?

*Jesp.* It is all one in the end to me, whether the earth be round or flat; but I must believe in my own eyes, which show me that it is as flat as a pancake.

*Mont.* It is also all one to me what thoughts the bailiff or any other person in the village may have about the matter; but this do I know, that the earth is round.

*Jer.* It is not round, in the devil's name. I trow you are clean crazy. Have you not eyes in your head like the rest of mortals?

*Mont.* It is quite well known, my dear father-in-law, that there are people dwelling right under us who turn their feet against ours.

*Jesp.* Ha, ha, ha, hi, hi, hi, ha, ha, ha!

*Jer.* Yes, the bailiff may well laugh; for there is in reality a screw loose in your head. Just try now to walk under the roof here, and turn your head down, and see what will happen!

*Mont.* That is quite another thing, father-in-law, for . . .

*Jer.* Never will I be your father-in-law. I love my daughter too well to give her to one like you.

*Mont.* Your daughter is as dear to me as my own soul, that is certain; but that I should, for her sake, subvert philosophy, and drive my reason into exile, is more than you can possibly require.

*Jer.* Ha, ha! I perceive that you have some other sweetheart in your mind. Keep your Sophy or your Lucy then, and welcome! By my troth, I will not force on you my daughter.

*Mont.* You do not rightly understand me. Philosophy is nothing but a science, which has opened my eyes, as well in this respect as in other matters.

*Jer.* It has rather both blinded your eyes and your understanding. How can you make good such an opinion?

*Mont.* It is something which it is unnecessary to prove. No man of learning doubts it any longer.

*Jesp.* My faith, Peer Clerk will never confess that he believes it.

*Mont.* Peer Clerk! Yes, that is a stupid animal, and I am a fool that I stand here and talk to you of philosophy. But to oblige Monsieur Jeronimus, I will adduce a couple of proofs; first, the testimony of travellers, who, when they go some thousand miles from home,



have day when we have night, and see another heaven and other stars.

*Jer.* Are you a lunatic? Is there more than one heaven and one earth?

*Jesp.* Yes, Monsieur Jeronimus! there are twelve heavens, the one higher than the other, until you get at last to the crystal heaven; there, so far he is right.

*Mont.* Alas, *quanta tenebra!*

*Jer.* Why, in my youth I was sixteen times at the fair of Kiel, but as sure as I am an honest man I never saw any other heaven than the one we have at home.

*Mont.* You must travel sixteen times as far, *Domine Jeronime!* before you can observe such a thing; for . . .

*Jer.* Have done with this nonsense; it is nothing to the purpose! let us hear the second proof.

*Mont.* The second proof is taken from eclipses of the sun and moon.

*Jesp.* Only listen to him now! He has gone fairly mad.

*Mont.* What do you think that eclipses are?

*Jesp.* Eclipses are certain signs placed in the sun and the moon when any mishap is to occur on the earth, which I can prove from my own experience; for example, when my wife took ill three years ago, and when my daughter Gertrude died, there were eclipses both times previously.

*Mont.* It will drive me frantic to hear such drivel.

*Jer.* The bailiff is right; for an eclipse never happens except it has something to portend. When the last eclipse took place everything seemed to be well, but this did not last long; because a fortnight afterwards we got tidings from Copenhagen that there were whole six candidates rejected at graduation—all men of quality, and among them two deans' sons. If we do not hear of something bad in some place after such an eclipse, we are sure to hear of something bad in another.

*Mont.* That is doubtless true; for there never passes a single day without some mishap occurring in some part of the world. But as regards these students, they did not need to lay the blame on the eclipse, for if they had studied more closely they would not have been rejected at last.

*Jer.* What, then, is an eclipse of the moon?

*Mont.* It is nothing else than the shadow of the earth, which deprives the moon of the light of the sun; and as the shadow is round, it is thereby plain that the earth is round likewise. All this occurs in the course of nature—for we can calculate eclipses; and it is foolery to say that such things are prognostic of evil.

*Jer.* Ugh, Mr. Bailiff! I am ready to expire. It was in an unhappy hour that your parents sent you to your studies.

*Jesp.* Yes; he is nearly becoming an atheist. I must have Peer Clerk to tackle him again. That is a man, now, who speaks with emphasis. He shall sufficiently convince you—in Latin or in Greek, as you please—that the earth (God be praised!) is as flat as my hand. But here come Madame Jeronimus and her daughter.

There follows an affecting interview between Montanus and his betrothed, when she earnestly entreats him to surrender his opinion, and for her sake agree to believe in the flatness of the earth; but he lends a deaf ear to her repeated request. In the fourth act Montanus receives a letter from her, upbraiding him with his cruelty, and informing him that if he does not hold the same faith held by all other persons in the neighbourhood, not merely will her father never bestow on him her hand, but that she herself will pine away and die. Montanus has a hard struggle; but at last decides for philosophy instead of love. In the fifth act we have a new character introduced, a lieutenant in the army, who, knowing the whole circumstances of the case, undertakes to set all matters right by a sharp correction administered to Montanus. This operation is described as follows:—

#### SCENE SECOND.

##### *The Lieutenant, Montanus.*

*Lieut.* I congratulate you on your arrival in the village.

*Mont.* I heartily thank you.

*Lieut.* I take the liberty of visiting you, as there are not many learned men here with whom one can converse.

*Mont.* I am glad to hear that you have studied. When did Mr. Lieutenant pass his final examination, may I ask?

*Lieut.* Ten years ago.

*Mont.* So then Mr. Lieutenant is an old *academicus*. What was Mr. Lieutenant's chief study when he was a student?

*Lieut.* I read for the most part ancient Latin authors, and studied the law of nature and of morals, as I still continue to do.

*Mont.* Nay, that is trumpery, it is not *academicum*. Did you never apply yourself to *Philosophiam instrumentalem*?

*Lieut.* Not particularly.

*Mont.* Then you have never disputed?

*Lieut.* No.

*Mont.* What? is that to study? *Philosophia instrumentalis* is the only solid *studium*. The rest may be pretty enough, but it is not learning. One who is well versed in *Logica* and *Metaphysica* can extricate himself from everything, and can argue on all subjects, although he is a stranger to them. There is no point which I might not undertake to defend, and where I would not be successful. There was never any disputation at the university, where I did not step forth as the opponent. A *Philosophus instrumentalis* can pass for a *Polyhistor*.

*Lieut.* Who is the greatest disputant at the present time?

*Mont.* It is a student called Peer Iversen. When he has refuted his antagonist, so that he has not a word more to answer, he says, "Support now my thesis, and I, again, will defend yours." For all this he is helped wonderfully by his *Philosophia instrumentalis*. It is a pity



the fellow has not become a barrister; he would soon have a first-rate income. Next to him I am the chief disputant; for the last time I disputed he whispered in my ear, *Jam sumus ergo pares*. Yet to him I will always yield.

*Lieut.* But I have heard it said that Monsieur can prove it to be the duty of children to beat their parents. That seems to me unreasonable.

*Mont.* If I have affirmed it, I am the one to defend it.

*Lieut.* I will wager with you a ducat that you are incapable of doing so.

*Mont.* I wager a ducat that I can.

*Lieut.* Done! It is settled. Let us hear now.

*Mont.* Those we love most we beat most. We should love none more than our parents; ergo, we should beat none more than them. Yet in another *sylogismo*: What I have received, I should, according to my ability, return; I have in my childhood received blows from my parents; ergo, I should give them blows again.

*Lieut.* Enough, enough! I have lost. You shall, by my faith, have your ducat.

*Mont.* Nay, you cannot be in earnest; I will, *profecto*, have no money.

*Lieut.* You must take the money; I swear you must.

*Mont.* Well, then, I will take it, that the Lieutenant may not perjure himself.

*Lieut.* But may not I likewise try to make of you something else? For example, I will make you a soldier.

*Mont.* Oh, that is very easy; all students are spiritual soldiers.

*Lieut.* Nay, I will prove that you are a bodily soldier too. He who has taken money in his hand is an enlisted soldier: you have done so; ergo . . .

*Mont.* *Nego minorem.*

*Lieut.* *Et ego probo minorem*, by the two rix-dollars you have got in your hand.

*Mont.* *Distinguendum est inter nummos.*

*Lieut.* No distinction! You are a soldier.

*Mont.* *Distinguendum est inter rō simpliciter et rō relative accipere.*

*Lieut.* No jargon! The contract is closed, and you have got the money.

*Mont.* *Distinguendum est inter contractum verum et apparentem.*

*Lieut.* Can you deny that you have got from me a ducat?

*Mont.* *Distinguendum est inter rem et modum rei.*

*Lieut.* Come, follow me quickly, comrade! Now you will get on your regimentals.

*Mont.* There are your two rix-dollars again. Besides, you have no witnesses that I took the money.

### SCENE THIRD.

*Jesper. Niels Corporal, Montanus, the Lieutenant.*

*Jesp.* I can testify that I saw the Lieutenant give him money in his hand.

*Niels.* And I likewise.

*Mont.* But wherefore did I take the money? *Distinguendum est inter . . .*

*Lieut.* Come, we will listen to no nonsense. Niels! wait you here, while I fetch the regimentals.

*Mont.* Hey! murder!

*Niels.* Silence, you hound! or I will drive my bayonet into your body. Is not he enlisted, Mr. Bailiff?

*Jes.* That he is, truly.

*Lieut.* Come! Off with the black coat, and on with the red instead! (*Montanus weeps while they dress him in the regimentals.*) What? It ill becomes a soldier to weep; you are far better now than you were before. Drill him briskly, Niels Corporal; he is a learned fellow, but raw yet at the exercise. (*Niels Corporal takes him away in his new dress, and drills and cudgels him.*)

The remedy proves efficacious. Montanus confesses his besetting sins of pedantry and self-conceit, is set at liberty again, effects a reconciliation with his intended father-in-law, and on at last repudiating, still after some reluctance, his belief in the earth's rotundity, receives the hand of his betrothed bride, and all things end in peace. We give the conclusion of the final scene:—

*Lieut.* Good! I will set you free again, when you have made promises of amendment to your own parents, and your future parents-in-law, and craved from them forgiveness.

*Mont.* I ask most humbly, and with tears, your pardon, and promise to lead a new life hereafter; and I condemn my former conduct, from which I have been weaned, not merely by the condition in which I now find myself, but by this brave man's sound words of counsel, and for whom therefore, next to my parents, I shall always have the highest respect.

*Jes.* So, then, you no longer believe, my dear son-in-law, that the earth is round,—for it is that matter which lies most on my heart.

*Mont.* My dear father-in-law, I will not dispute further concerning it. But I only say this, that all learned men are now of the opinion that the earth is round.

*Jes.* Ah! . . . Mr. Lieutenant! Let him become a soldier again, till the earth grows flat.

*Mont.* My dear father-in-law! the earth is as flat as a pancake. Are you now satisfied?

*Jes.* Yes; we are good friends once more, and you will get my daughter. Come in, all of you, and drink to our reconciliation; Mr. Lieutenant will also give us the honour of his company. (*They enter the house.*)

There are two objections which have been not unfrequently urged to Holberg's comedies, the one of a general, the other of a special character. They are, it is said, overcharged with caricature. Now, to this it may be replied, that as Holberg's *forts* was irony, and as he seldom rose to the region of pure and perfect humour, it would be wonderful if we did not find in his plays, as in his other works, strong indications of a desire on the part of the writer to lay on his



colours with a heavy brush, and to bring out into unduly bold relief the faults and imperfections of his leading characters. Moreover, it should be remembered that the same charge, although perhaps in lesser degree, might be adduced against some of the greatest masters of the comic drama that ever lived. There is caricature in the plays of Molière beyond all question; and if we pass to a name eminent in Italian dramatic literature,—we mean Goldoni,—we easily discover in his compositions caricature more extravagant than that which doubtless forms no small element in the works of the Danish dramatist. The truth is, Holberg *intentionally* caricatured; his object was, as we have already endeavoured to show, instruction and not amusement; and in order to carry home sound and useful truths to the bosoms of his countrymen, it was almost necessary that he should exaggerate the follies and absurdities which he wished them to avoid. A second objection is the frequent coarseness of his dramas. Now, we have no undue desire to defend Holberg against this second charge; it is one which cannot be denied; and we are aware that in any English translation of his dramatic works considerable portions of the original would have to undergo excision, in deference to the better taste of the present day. But in extenuation of the charge we must remind the reader that, compared for instance with the writings of our own Elizabethan dramatists, Holberg's plays are in this respect white as the driven snow; that the coarseness, of which many complain, was the fault of the age and not of the author in particular; and finally, that it is alone to be found in some of the expressions, and by no means in the spirit of his works. Holberg uses plain language to denote plain facts; but his comedies have in general a high moral tone, and there is little in the leading thoughts which pervade them that could offend the most delicately-minded individual. How could it be otherwise, when the very purpose for which they were penned was just to refine the customs and elevate the morals of the people among whom he sojourned?

We can only refer to the last great work of Holberg,—his *Epistles*,—in a very few sentences. Of these *Epistles* Heiberg truly remarks that "they are to be contemplated as the final extract of his thoughtfulness, wit, and learning. All that we find scattered through his other many and various writings is here, as it were, gathered together in a single focus." Not only are the *Epistles* replete with sound, sagacious information on a vast variety of subjects,—a species of social, moral, political, and historical *cado-*

*mecum*,—but they also give us numerous interesting particulars concerning Holberg's own previous life, and throw fresh light on the views he held and the principles by which he was actuated. Yet in themselves they possess great value. Each important question of his period is discussed by the author in simple yet exhaustive fashion, while, at the same time, he draws from former ages copious materials for reflection and comparison,—and out of all this educes plain, practical lessons of universal bearing and significance, which must have appealed to his contemporaries,—as they still appeal to ourselves,—in a singularly convincing and attractive manner. The *Epistles* contain many admirable historical comparisons, as, for example, between Alexander the Great and Charles the Twelfth, Peter the Great and Christian the Fourth, the former of these two and Gustavus Adolphus, Marlborough and Eugene, Corfitz Ulfeld and Griffenfeld, Kort Adeler and Tordenakiold, and Kings Charles the Tenth and Twelfth of Sweden. The author's liberality of view is displayed in the brief essay on *Pietism*, his historical clear-sightedness and impartiality in the *Contribution to a Character of Cromwell*, his biting irony in *How scandalously Greek and Roman authors have corrupted the Northern Names*, and his humour in the *Necessity for a Shoemaker being a Polyhistor*, and the half-solemn, half-jesting *Apology for the Devil*. While the short, yet most suggestive, historical fragments in the *Epistles* are worthy of all serious study, the same may be affirmed of Holberg's larger historical treatises,—to only one of which, his *History of Denmark*, we can now allude. This work may with justice be called classic in Danish literature. A living conception of the truly historical, and an equally living delineation of it, are the chief characteristics of the book,—which has enjoyed great and well-merited popularity from the date of its publication down to the present day. As regards the older legendary historic period the narrative is no doubt defective; but the nearer it approximates to modern times, the more solid, trustworthy, and interesting it becomes.

If Holberg's numerous productions may be still perused by ourselves with benefit and pleasure, we can easily fancy that they must have wrought with double power upon the minds of his contemporaries. To them the blessings of modern culture were comparatively unknown; they lacked a previous intellectual spring-time to enliven their perceptions and improve their taste; and thus the entire cyclis of the Holbergian literature, so wonderfully rich and varied, must have put forth a mighty influence in



the awakening of dormant spiritual energies, and the bestowment of sound intellectual instruction on the mass of the Danish people. That such *was* the case is a patent fact of history; and hence it is that Holberg has been so often styled the father of modern Danish literature. Danish *belles-lettres* was created by his *Comedies, Satires, Peder Paars*, and *Niels Klim*; Danish historical literature was created by his *History of Denmark, Tales of Heroes and Heroines*, and certain portions of his *Epistles*; and Danish philosophical literature was created,—especially in the direction of ethics,—by his *Moral Thoughts*, a large number of the *Epistles*, and some other similar productions of his pen. Yet this work of literary creation was rather indirect than direct in itself and in its consequences. Holberg left no distinct school of authorship to follow in his footsteps; on the contrary, the immediate result of his literary labours was rather to prevent the origin of such,—a happy circumstance for the Danes, because that school might, by its servile imitation of the departed master, have produced a succession of mere copyists devoid of originality, and thus checked for a hundred years the development of an independent literature in Denmark. But he deposited the precious and varied intellectual seed in the bosoms of his countrymen; he laboriously cleared away all obstructions to its future growth; and in due season the period of germination came, and was followed by a ripe, rich harvest. Nor let it be forgotten that, while Holberg has been thus, on the one hand, the creator, at least indirectly, of his country's literature, he has, on the other hand, left behind him, in *Niels Klim* and in the *Comedies*, a true *monumentum ære perennius*, to adorn the literature of modern Europe.

---

ART. VI.—*Memoir of Sir William Hamilton, Bart., Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of Edinburgh.* By JOHN VEITCH, M. A., Professor of Logic and Rhetoric in the University of Glasgow. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1869.

THE lives of men who have devoted themselves to abstract studies seldom furnish much material for the kind of biography most interesting to mankind in general. They are usually devoid of incident, and the pursuits which they chronicle are removed from the sympathies of the work-a-day world. The conquests and discoveries they

record are in realms beyond the common ken, and however great and beneficial, they make no such appeal to the common imagination as the deeds of the soldier, the adventures of the voyager, or the struggles of the artist. This is especially true of those who claim *par excellence* the name of Philosophers, the explorers in Mental Science, a study for which but few of mankind have either aptitude or inclination, and pre-eminence in which implies a certain special abstraction of attention from the world without to the world within. We are apt, indeed, to regard such men as impersonations of mere Reason, calm and passionless voices, addressing us out of some far region of space,

“Above the smoke and stir of this dim spot  
Which men call earth.”

This very fact, however, gives a peculiar interest to the lives of such men, as revelations of character. The mere proof of their being truly creatures of flesh and blood, capable of laughter, of tears, and of anger, is a pleasant discovery, if we have been accustomed to think of them as bodiless phantoms, who never had any existence out of their printed books. How interesting, for example, to know that Aristotle, which to many minds is the name of a book, and not of a man, was something of a “swell” in the matter of dress and cosmetics. How pleasant that incident in the life of Descartes, when lying apparently asleep on ship-board, in the midst of a ruffianly crew who were plotting to rob and murder him, the plucky philosopher sprang up and drew his sword, looking so fierce and determined that the cowardly knaves fairly knocked under. How much we are indebted to the man who has given us that vivid picture of the last days of Immanuel Kant, “the meagre, arid, and parched anatomy of a man,” who could not swallow his tea because one friendly human being was sitting opposite to him; but when he lay speechless, and that friend asked him if he knew him, “turned his face towards me, and made signs that I should kiss him.” To many minds that dying kiss,—reminding of Nelson and Hardy,—that last confession from stoical lips of the supreme necessity of human love, is worth the whole *Kritik of Pure Reason*. It is well, therefore, that the lives of philosophers should be written, and that the world should know what manner of men they have been, whose thoughts, unintelligible to the crowd, have yet exercised a mighty influence on the progress of the human race.

There have been few men of modern times



of equal influence in the world of thought with Sir William Hamilton, of whose personal life the world has known so little. Even that common form of recognition, which makes the features of public characters of every class, from premiers down to prize-fighters, familiar to us all, has not yet exhibited to the popular eye, in any shop-window, the noble physiognomy of him who in Britain was entitled to be called "the most learned of the philosophers, the most philosophical of the learned." Now at last, and in good time, that lack of knowledge is supplied. A graphic and admirable paper by Mr. Spencer Baynes, published in the *Edinburgh Essays*, in 1856, contained a sketch of his life and labours, giving the outer world for the first time a glimpse, full of interest, into Sir William's class-room, and illustrating eloquently the manner and the effect of his teaching. But it was reserved for another distinguished pupil of that class, Professor Veitch, to present, in the form of elaborate biography, the portraiture of "the man, as he lived, thought, taught, and wrote." It has come, as we have said, in good time, for the interest in Sir William's name has rather increased than diminished since his death, and Mr. Mill's *Examination*, though to some impressive minds it seemed to inflict a mortal wound on Hamilton's reputation, will probably be found in the end to have rather promoted it. Considering the comparative scantiness of biographic resources, in the shape of anecdote or correspondence, and the more than usually secluded and quiet tenor of the philosopher's life, it is but justice to his biographer to say that he has achieved a decided success. He has apparently made the best use of his materials, without falling into the common error of making too much of them. The style is clear and dignified, slightly wanting in flow and vivacity, but never heavy or ungraceful, and in some passages showing considerable felicity of expression as well as of thought. The great aim of biography—the production of a faithful and, as far as possible, vivid representation of the subject, as he appeared to the eyes of those who knew him best—is in this book distinctly realized. Even those who care nothing for Logic or Metaphysics, and perhaps shudder at the names, will find it an interesting life, the life of a man great in his domestic simplicity and worth, not less than in learning and power of mind, full of generous devotion to truth and duty, in a true sense one of the "Martyrs of Science," whose reward in this life was chiefly in that which cannot be seen nor handled. To those, on the other hand, who are students of

Philosophy, this book will have a special value; and it may be said of it, on the whole, that no better piece of philosophical biography has hitherto been produced in this country.

Professor Veitch has not considered it any part of his task to attempt a critical estimate of Sir William's philosophy, though he has devoted some space in an appendix, besides one or two passages in the body of the work, to a vindication of Hamilton from some of the charges of Mr. Mill. In this he has shown the sound judgment which is one of the characteristics of his performance, and we shall probably best show our appreciation of that quality by following his example. Of the portion of the work above mentioned, we feel bound to say that it seems to us an able fulfilment of what Hamilton's biographer might well consider a duty to his memory, and to the interests of philosophical truth. The charge of "inability to enter into the mind of another philosopher" is rebutted on the assailant with signal success, and, as we think, with no undue asperity. All things considered, plain speaking in defence of Hamilton is not a thing of which Mr. Mill or his followers have any right to complain. Had Sir William only been alive to speak for himself!

Sir William Hamilton was born on the 8th of March 1788, within the College of Glasgow, where his granduncle, grandfather, and father, held, in succession, the Chair of Anatomy and Botany. His grandfather, Dr. Thomas Hamilton, was, along with Cullen, one of the founders of the Medical School of Glasgow, a man of liberal accomplishments, and eminently distinguished by geniality and humour. Sir William's father, Dr. William Hamilton, died in 1790, in his thirty-second year, leaving behind him the reputation of great scientific attainments, and a singularly lovable character. His mother, Elizabeth Sterling, daughter of a Glasgow merchant of old and good family, was, as the mothers of remarkable men usually are, a remarkable woman. She was of stately and handsome presence, and her own and her husband's good looks were inherited by their children. The relations between her and William, her eldest son, as exhibited in a few relics of their correspondence, were peculiarly characteristic and interesting, showing on the part of both great force of character and will, combined with perfect mutual confidence and affection. The only other surviving child of the family was Thomas, two years younger than William, but earlier known to the world, as the author of *Cyril Thornton*, and other works of a kind very different from the productions



of his brother, and, though certainly not so important, more generally read and enjoyed.

The year of Sir William's birth was that in which Dr. Thomas Reid published his *Essays on the Active Powers*. The old man, now in his seventy-eighth year, but still fresh and hale, inhabited an official residence in the College, and for a few years longer went out and in there, while the future corrector and editor of his Philosophy grew up under his eyes, a bright-eyed and playful child. After attending the Glasgow Grammar School for some years, William, at the early age of twelve, entered the junior Latin and Greek classes of the University, then taught by Richardson and Young. Both were men of fine scholarship, and Young, in particular, so invested his subject with the fascination of genius, that his teaching became memorable to his pupils in after life. In 1801 Hamilton was sent to school in England, first, for a short time, to Dr. Horne of Chiswick, afterwards to Dr. Dean of Bromley. Already he expresses himself with Hamiltonian emphasis: he "hates and execrates" speaking at "public nights" in the school; he even hates England generally, and earnestly desires to know where he is to spend the Christmas holidays. His mother sternly rebukes his impatience, and hopes to have the satisfaction of hearing that he will attend to what she has lately said, that he will weigh its importance, and strive more than ever to do his duty and *submit cheerfully* to what she requires, in which case she will perhaps think of seeing him soon in the spring. In 1803 he was recalled home, to re-enter the University. The intervening months were spent by him and Thomas in the manse of Mid-Calder, under the kind and careful superintendence of the Rev. Dr. Sommers. William, though already marked by sedateness and power of application, as contrasted with his more dashing and volatile brother, was as fond of sport as a manly boy should be, and the acknowledged leader of his companions in all feats of strength and dexterity. As a vaulter and swimmer he was particularly distinguished, both there, and afterwards at Oxford. In after years he generally spent part of the long vacation at Mid-Calder, where his presence was always hailed with enthusiasm by the boys. As a specimen of the prodigies of strength with which he was wont to delight them, one of them has recorded that Hamilton allowed him to stand on his outstretched palm, and so held him in the air. Writing to his mother from Mid-Calder for the first time, he informs her, "Mother, you have lost your wager, for I asked Mr. Sommers and Mr. Cruickshanks

both, who both were astonished at me asking such a question, as any child of ten years old knows that the sun is nearer us in winter than in summer." These authorities he fortifies, as was his manner afterwards in graver discussions, by an additional "testimony" in the shape of an extract from a French geography.

In the winter of 1803 he attended the senior Latin and Greek classes, and also those of Logic and Moral Philosophy, taught respectively by Jardine and Mylne. In both of the latter he carried off the first prize. During the ensuing vacation, Dr. Sommers writes to his mother: "William, I see, is very anxious to become his own master, which has rendered it necessary for me to be excessively pointed and strict in everything I require of them all. He, in particular, is very much inclined to be idle, although more studious than at first." The inclination to idleness in vacation time may be forgiven, when it is known that the youths were daily occupied from seven in the morning to one, and from six to eight in the evening. Another youthful weakness the good Doctor finds in need of frequent correction,—"their extravagance in clothes, and needless absurd expenses." The two following winters were spent in Glasgow, where, besides the usual literary classes, Hamilton attended Chemistry, Botany, and Anatomy, with a view to the study of Medicine, which naturally had attractions for him. The winter of 1806 was spent in Edinburgh, and seems to have been devoted exclusively to medical studies. The extravagance of which Dr. Sommers complained was now getting concentrated on one luxury,—books, of which the young philosopher had already begun to be a "hunter," in Mr. Burton's best sense of the term. Apologizing to his mother on this head, he assures her that the bank-notes have only changed their shape, and suffered "the glorious metamorphosis of being converted into historians, and philosophers, and poets, and orators, and, though last not least, into physicians."

In 1807 Hamilton entered Balliol College, Oxford, as an Exhibitioner on that Snell Foundation which has sent so many distinguished Scotchmen from Glasgow to Oxford. Here he prosecuted his studies with extraordinary vigour, and at the final examination for his degree acquitted himself with unparalleled distinction. The course of instruction then pursued there was little calculated to call forth independent thought or effort, "the tutors," to use words of his own, "whistling to their pupils the old tune, which, as pupils, had been piped to them." Hamilton was in fact his own tutor, and pre-



sents one of the most singular instances of a great scholar and thinker who owed little or nothing to any living man, in the way either of direct instruction or of moulding influence. The great subject of study was, of course, Aristotle; but though Hamilton acquired a perfect knowledge of his works, and a veneration for his genius, which rather increased than diminished with years, the monotony of the course of study was intolerable to him. "I am so plagued," he says to his mother, "by these foolish lectures of the College tutors, that I have little time to do anything else: Aristotle to-day, ditto to-morrow; and I believe that if the ideas furnished by Aristotle to these numskulls were taken away, it would be doubtful whether there remained a single notion. I am quite tired of such uniformity of study." It argued wonderful vigour of mind in a youth under twenty, not merely to resist the deadening influence of such a servile system, but to pursue, unaided, in the midst of it, a course of study far transcending the ordinary bounds of Oxford reading, and embracing authors whose very names are familiar only to the learned. In addition to his philosophical and literary studies he still devoted some of his time to anatomy, and dissected with Sir Christopher Pegge. So little also was he of a mere book-worm, that a stranger meeting him at this time would probably have set him down as a thoroughly "good fellow," without pretension or pedantry, ready to join in any manly fun, and whose athletic qualifications were of a kind that might be called "topping." His letters to his mother are full of simple and confident, but undemonstrative affection. He occasionally reports his purchases of books, especially when he has got a bargain. In an old shop near St. Giles's, in London, he lighted on a treasure, which he thus announces, "I paid £0, 4s. 0d. for—oh, incredible!—a ms. volume, which, on my examining it at home, I found to be most beautiful illuminated mss. of the Rhetoric and the book on Invention of Cicero, and another ms., at the end of the volume, of Macrobius. The man was completely ignorant of the treasure he possessed. They are at least six centuries old."

Among his most intimate friends were J. G. Lockhart, J. H. Christie, barrister, and James Traill, now a magistrate in London. With Lockhart his intimacy was peculiarly close and affectionate, both at this time and during their early years at the Bar. It unhappily terminated some time about 1818, through some cause probably connected with the bitter political feuds of the time. Whatever the cause, the breach was so painful to

both that they never could bear to tell the story, and though they did not meet again, their mutual kindly interest in each other still continued warm in spite of outward estrangement. Mr. Christie and Mr. Traill have contributed to this biography some reminiscences of Hamilton, which are not only highly interesting, but very remarkable, at once in their vividness and their harmony of impression, considering that they go back to a period nearly sixty years ago. The following extracts are from Mr. Christie's sketch:—

"Hamilton's intellectual eminence has been acknowledged by the world, but I do not happen to have met with any adequate appreciation of the qualities of the man. He was, as I knew him, the most noble-minded, the most generous, and the most tender-hearted of men. . . . I wish I were able to convey a just notion of the singular beauty and nobleness of his most intellectual countenance. His oval face, perfectly-formed features, deep-set black eyes, olive complexion, his waving black hair, which did not conceal his noble forehead, combined as happily to give the result of perfect manly beauty as it is possible to imagine.

"The studies which Hamilton pursued were perfectly in harmony with the Oxford studies of those days; but it so happened that he owed little to the actual teaching of Oxford. He was the only pupil of a Fellow of the College, who was himself a singular, if not a remarkable, character. (Mr. Powell, the Daniel Barton of Lockhart's *Reginald Dalton*.) This gentleman lived in rooms in the tower over the gateway of the College, and led the life of a hermit. He never attended hall or chapel, nor held any intercourse with any of the authorities of the College. He was a powerfully made man, with rather a striking countenance, who appeared to have totally sequestered himself from his fellow-creatures. No one but his servant ever entered his rooms. He walked out frequently, but always alone. He was never seen to speak to any one. It seems, however, that he had accepted Hamilton as a pupil, but the pupil and tutor soon discovered that they were by no means necessary to each other, and in fact, before I came to the College, had ceased to have any intercourse. He must, however, have been a man of some mark, for he had inspired Hamilton (who was not given to overrate men) with respect. It thus happened that Hamilton had no teacher, and was strictly a solitary student; for though it was not unusual for us to join in our readings, Hamilton had no companion in his studies.

. . . Though, as I have said, Hamilton was a solitary student, he was far from an unsocial man. When he joined in the festivities and amusements of the place, he did so with buoyant spirits and thorough enjoyment. His manners, though without the slightest taint of coarseness or vulgarity, were brusque, but thoroughly agreeable. I wish I could convey an adequate notion of those qualities, which made a deeper impression on others as well as



myself than any of the characteristics I have noticed. . . . I have never known a heart so open to the claims of distress, and with him misery was a sufficient claim when his help was asked. The turn he gave the matter was that he was the party obliged, not the asker of the favour. If any one was depressed by fortune below those who would have otherwise been his equal, Hamilton was sure, by the most delicate means, to make him as far as possible forget what was painful in his position. Hamilton, as far as I can recollect, was not wanting in the performance of any of the duties which society expects from all its members, but he did not rest there. On many occasions he seemed to me to love his neighbour better than himself."

Mr. Traill's reminiscences contain some interesting additional particulars. He says :—

"At the period of my entrance at Balliol, Hamilton was in the second year of his residence. His habits of study were then confirmed, though somewhat irregular. His manner of reading was characteristic. He had his table, chairs, and generally his floor, strewn with books; and you might find him in the midst of this confusion studying with his foot on a chair, posing one great folio on his knee, with another open in his hand. His mode of 'tearing out the entrails' of a book, as he termed it, was remarkable. A perusal of the preface, table of contents, and index, and a glance at those parts which were new to him (which were few), were all that was necessary. It was by this facility in acquiring knowledge, and his great faculty in retaining it, that he was able, in the short period of his undergraduate-ship, to become the most learned Aristotelian in Oxford. In addition to the usual Oxford course of the Ethics, Rhetoric, and Poetics, and the Politics and Economics, he had studied the analytical, physical, and metaphysical treatises, and the History of Animals, and had consulted all the principal commentators. His reputation as an Aristotelian collected a large audience in the schools at his examination. Few of them were capable of estimating the amount of his learning; and, to judge from their style of examination, the examining masters themselves seemed to feel his superiority. Still his examination, in the Oxford sense of the word, was not a brilliant one. Though a sound and even learned scholar, his was not the kind of scholarship that told in an Oxford examination. His early education in Scotland had not been fashioned after the model of an English public school. He wrote Latin prose with ease and correctness, but he was not in the practice of verse-writing—not that he was without a thorough knowledge of metres and of the niceties of the languages. Taken altogether, his examination, both for scholarship and science, has never been surpassed. His reading was not confined to the ordinary College course; it embraced also the learning of the period of the Reformation, and of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. His attention was at this period turned to medicine as a profession, and the early writers on this branch of science formed part of his study. We may well be surprised when we

consider this amount of labour, and remember that it was the spontaneous and unassisted effort of his own mind. . . . It was a dangerous affair accompanying Hamilton to an old book-shop. He was sure to persuade you to buy some favourite folio, and as soon as you had got it he would comfort you with the assurance that you would not understand a word of it. His own collection was of the most miscellaneous nature. In addition to every commentator upon Aristotle, it included the learned squabbles of the Scaligers, Scioppius, and the authors of the *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*. He was fond of controversial writings, and enjoyed the learned railings of the Scioppian style.

"Any account of Hamilton's Oxford life would be defective that did not notice him in his hours of relaxation, which were equally characteristic of the man. Whatever he did, whether work or play, was done with his whole heart and soul. He had no turn for hunting, shooting, or boating, the usual outdoor studies of Oxford; nor would they have furnished the sort of relaxation he required. Gymnastics, as now scientifically practised, would have been exactly the thing for him, and he would have excelled as a gymnast. We were obliged to content ourselves with the simple feats of leaping, vaulting, and the use of the pole. In these our proficiency was by no means contemptible. When tired with work, we started off, pole in hand, to Port Meadow or Bagley Wood, or took a round of the fields and lanes (our home preserves), clearing the gates and fences as we went. On these occasions, to relieve the severity of his study, Hamilton was in the habit of reciting, in his *ore rotundo* manner, passages from favourite authors. The last lines of the Prometheus of Æschylus, the beginning of the second book of Lucretius, and the concluding sentences of Tacitus's Life of Agricola, were amongst his favourites. Sometimes he would repeat the same line over and over again, when it was sonorous and filled the ear. One of these lines I remember, and mention it as now so applicable to himself. It was from Cowley's lines to Hobbes, in which he addresses him as—

"Thou great Columbus of the golden lands of new philosophy."

Mr. Traill gives some amusing illustrations of Hamilton's love of fun, and adds, to his honour, that he never knew him to be troubled by a dun, or to have been intoxicated, all the time he was at Oxford,—in those days a rare exhibition of virtue. He concludes by saying that he never knew a man who had "less of the dross of mere human nature." There was probably some exaggeration, in the course of tradition, of the number of books "professed" by Hamilton at his final examination for his degree, but the evidence of Mr. Villers of Balliol, who was present on the occasion, may be regarded as unexceptionably authentic. In his testimonial to Sir William, when a candidate for the Moral Philosophy Chair, he stated :—



"In the department of science, his examination stood, and, I believe, still stands, alone; and it certainly argued no common enthusiasm and ability for philosophical pursuits, that in a university like Oxford, where the ancient philosophers are the peculiar objects of study and admiration, and the surest passports to academical distinction, his examination should not only remain unequalled for the number, but likewise for the difficulty, of the authors. Besides other subjects less immediately connected with a professorship of morals, it contained every original work of antiquity, difficult or important, on logic, on the philosophy of the human mind, on ethics, politics, and other branches of practical philosophy, on rhetoric and poetical criticism; and after a trial of many hours, besides the honours of the University, he received the thanks and the public acknowledgment of the examiners, that he had never been surpassed either in the minute or the comprehensive knowledge of the systems on which he had been examined."

Mr. Villers added, that in fourteen of his books on the abstruser subjects of Greek philosophy he was not examined, "the greater part of these being declared by the masters to be too purely metaphysical for public examination." Hamilton was at this time in his twenty-second year. How he felt himself on the occasion we gather from a letter of Lockhart's to his father, in which he says, "Hamilton is going up for his examination to-morrow. I daresay he will make a fine figure; but in the meantime he is sadly 'funcked' as they all call it." The examination extended over two days, occupying twelve hours, and at the close Hamilton wrote to his mother, "This morning I received your pleasing letter, which gave me the happiness to hear that Tom was well. I was just going to the schools when I received it, and am not plucked."

It now became necessary for him to determine his future career. His thoughts had apparently been gradually diverted from Medicine to Law. He had found anatomy sufficiently interesting as a scientific pursuit, but so far as the practice of medicine was concerned, he had probably already come to the conclusion, which he expressed with a freedom so offensive to the profession, in one of his *Edinburgh Review* papers (1832), that it had not made "a single step since Hippocrates," and that the precept of Hoffmann embodied true wisdom, "*Fuge medicos, et eorum medicamenta, si vis esse salvus.*" The advice of Mr. Scott of Benholme, whose son Alexander was his dearest friend, appears to have had considerable influence in deciding him to study for the Scottish Bar. Having speedily fixed his choice, he returned to Scotland, and in July 1813 passed as advocate.

His time for the first three years after

passing was occupied to a large extent in researches connected with his family history, in which he had the assistance of the learned antiquarian Mr. John Riddell. The result was that in 1816 he was duly adjudged heir-male in general to Sir Robert Hamilton of Preston, the head of that house, who died in 1701, and declared entitled henceforth to bear the name and style of "Baronet of Preston and Fingalton." Of these nominal possessions the only fragment that came into his hands was acquired by purchase in 1819. It consists of a small plot of ground, now occupied as an orchard, in the midst of which, visible to the traveller as he passes the village of Prestonpans, there rises, with some dignity, in spite of decay, a square and massy tower, whose roofless walls and ruined battlements are redeemed from austerity by a kindly growth of long grass, clasping shrubs, and fragrant wallflower. This is all that remains of territorial estate to the house of Preston, the eldest of the junior branches of the line of Hamilton. Mr. Veitch gives an interesting sketch of the family history and its more eminent representatives, from the time of Robert the Bruce to that of Sir Robert aforesaid. They were a stout race, and played no unworthy part in the history of Scotland. In the cause of civil and religious liberty, and equally in devotion to the Crown, they distinguished themselves, in successive generations, by indomitable firmness and generous self-sacrifice, ending in the total waste of their once wide possessions. One, Sir David, a leader of the Scottish Reformation, suffered attainder for his loyalty to Queen Mary, whose banner he followed at Langside. Another, Sir John, one of the Lords of the Articles, maintained an uncompromising opposition to the aggressions of the Crown in the reigns of the first James and Charles. His son, Sir Thomas, at once a Covenanter and a Cavalier, fought against Cromwell at Dunbar and Worcester. With his son, Sir Robert; the title and the historical fame of the house passed away together, till both were revived in the person of Sir William. As the recognised and trusted head of the Covenanters, Sir Robert led them to victory at Drumlog and defeat at Bothwell Bridge. He appears to have embodied in excess the unyielding firmness of his race and the intense religious convictions and fervour of his party. His intolerant zeal and want of wisdom may, however, be now forgiven, in remembrance of the sufferings which drove him and his followers into revolt against a wicked government, of his unflinching valour, and his stern though unenlightened honesty.



The natural impulses that led Sir William to connect himself, "by a species of formal service," with a family history so full of stirring and congenial associations, are well touched upon by his biographer. With all his independence and love of freedom, he had an intense reverence for the past, and, both in the sphere of intellectual and of political history, turned with an eye of sympathy and admiration to the mighty men of other days. Nor is it mere fancy that traces in his own character the same boldly marked lineaments that figure in the history of his ancestors, and recognises in his trenchant polemics the swing of "the sword-arm that charged at Drumclog."

Soon after coming to the Bar Sir William writes to his mother: "I have had my time sadly consumed in pacing those vile Parliament House boards—nothing to do—which I am not sorry at in the present state of my legal acquirements." This experience did not undergo much variation for some time. He took due pains, indeed, after passing, to increase his legal knowledge, and in that respect, not less than in mental capacity, it cannot be doubted that his qualifications as an advocate, especially in times when written pleadings were largely used, were greatly above the average. In Civil Law, the foundation of Scottish jurisprudence, he might probably, in comparison with the common standard, be considered learned. Neither was he by any means briefless. He spoke himself of his practice as having been in 1820, for his standing, "highly prosperous." Some of his written arguments still survive to attest the care, ingenuity, and force which he could bring to bear on a question of law. It cannot be denied, however, that he lacked some of the qualities which are essential to success at the Bar. He was never a fluent speaker; as a boy he hated public display of the art of speech. His fondness for minute distinction, and his severe accuracy, were qualities which might be considered valuable to an advocate. But they are not always so, especially when joined, as in him, to excessive fastidiousness and elaboration in the working up of his materials, resulting in inconvenient delay. The successful making up of "records" and "pleas in law" does not necessarily imply high artistic talent, and rough expedition is generally more valued than more perfect but tardy work. Nor was it even to be expected that the recondite scholar and silent thinker, however fit for conducting a high legal argument, should ever have become proficient in the valuable art of contending before a Lord Ordinary about a small question of expenses, or the inter-

pretation of an Act of Sederunt regulating the lodging of papers, with as much fire and vehemence as if the most sacred interests were at stake. Apart from these constitutional obstacles to his success, it must not be lost sight of that the very things for which he was most distinguished were rather deterrent than attractive to the general run of those on whose favour an advocate has to depend for employment. The average "agent," like the average of mankind, has a natural distrust in business matters of anything approaching to genius, and there can scarcely be a more dangerous reputation with which to come to the Bar than that of literary tendencies, and devotion to any books or studies, except those which instruct a man how to prevail against his adversary *in foro contentioso*. This seems an absurd and even cruel prejudice. But Themis is a stern and jealous goddess; those at least who minister at her gates require exclusive devotion of the postulants for the honour of serving at her altars. Lord Jeffrey is almost the only example of a literary man who succeeded in obtaining a large practice at the Scottish Bar. Though, therefore, Sir William possessed all the capacity necessary for becoming a great lawyer, and might, with adventitious circumstances to favour him, have risen high in his profession, it is no matter of wonder that his career at the Bar, though by no means quite a failure, was far from being a great success.

Next to the possession of the practical qualities which secure success in that profession, political connexion has always been a valuable aid to advancement; in some cases, indeed, it has been found to compensate for the absence of any other special claim to recognition. But in this respect also Sir William was doomed to comparative neglect. Politically he was a Whig, a staunch and honest one, and though not a demonstrative politician, and in his earlier years at the Bar associated most intimately with men of the opposite party, he did not hesitate to profess that faith during the long years when such profession implied absolute exclusion from any public appointment within the sphere of Government influence. But the gradual progress and triumph of the opinions with which he had identified himself brought him little advantage; the only recognition he ever received from his political friends being the appointment to the poor office of Solicitor of Teinds in 1832. The cause of this is as easily explained as his want of success at the Bar. Though a firm and faithful adherent, and the representative of a family which had suffered the



loss of all but honour in the cause of liberty, he was not an available partisan; he was, in fact, practically useless. He was not a man to spout at public meetings, to write telling articles and letters in newspapers, to busy himself in canvassing or committee work, or indeed to do anything for party purposes, of the kind which is usually regarded as constituting a claim to solid recognition. It may seem unreasonable to complain when such a man suffers neglect. For has he not deliberately chosen another path than that which leads to worldly success? Has he not turned his steps from the vulgar highway to the steep and secluded ascent which leads upwards to the habitations of the gods? Is it reasonable to demand that such a man should secure the double treasure of a life of high endeavour in the search for truth, and with it the material rewards that are the appanage of devotion to pursuits more practical? Perhaps not. Looked at from a point of view beyond that of a world of tradesmen's bills and taxes, looked at especially after the lapse of a century or two, when the name of Hamilton will still be remembered and revered, while no mortal can tell, without looking in an almanac, who were the Prime Ministers or Lord Presidents of his day, it may seem of small consequence whether he received much or little of this world's goods; it may even seem fitter that his fees were few and his fortune small. But looked at from the point of view of the time when he lived and moved among men who had it in their power to recognise his merits, we must still say that it was not well done, and perhaps, also, that in no other country would it have been so but in Britain. But we are anticipating.

It might have been expected that in these circumstances Sir William would have devoted himself to literary composition, as an outlet for energy, and a means of increasing his income. But, rich as he was in stores of various knowledge, and gifted with no common power of clear and forcible expression, he was provokingly free from the *caecoethes scribendi*. He had in fact an extreme reluctance to begin the work of formal composition, and, as already mentioned, was severely fastidious in his choice of words. It seems, indeed, very probable that, but for the instigation of others, he would never have become known as an author during his lifetime; he had already reached the age of forty-two before he produced the first of those remarkable criticisms which spread his fame throughout Europe. It is somewhat surprising to find that, during the whole time of Jeffrey's editorship of the *Edinburgh Review*, there seems to have been no over-

ture made that he should contribute to its pages. But during Sir William's early years at the Bar their acquaintance was slight. "Lord Jeffrey," says Mr. George Moir, "while admitting Sir William's vast erudition, seemed to know little or nothing of him besides, and used to call him an impractical person; in other words, that he kept extremely aloof from party demonstrations of any kind." This is perhaps not quite the correct interpretation of Jeffrey's words; he may have considered Hamilton impractical from the editorial point of view, and there can be no doubt that he was so, as Jeffrey's successor, Mr. Maclay Napier, afterwards found. Still, it is to be regretted that the more catholic and philosophical sympathies of the latter, which led to his enlisting Sir William as a contributor, did not operate with his more brilliant predecessor, otherwise Sir William might have had at least a dozen years' earlier start as a writer known to the world.

His mother took up her residence with him in 1815, and lived with him till her death in 1827. Not long after, a niece of hers, Miss Janet Marshall, became an inmate in the house, who afterwards became Sir William's wife. In 1817 he paid a short visit to Germany, in company with two of his professional brethren, Lockhart and Hyndman, for the purpose of inspecting a library at Leipzig, which he had recommended the Faculty to purchase. He again visited Germany in 1820, spending some time in Berlin and Dresden. About this time he secured for the Advocates' Library a valuable collection of tracts and pamphlets, chiefly in law and theology, known as the "Dieterichs Collection." With the exception of these events, there is nothing further on record of his life during the period from 1813 to 1820. We only know that he lived a retired and meditative life, sounding his solitary way in regions of research where few could follow him, but mingling cheerfully in society, and even at that early period occasionally sought out by visitors from foreign countries, attracted by the report of his learning. Among his principal friends were Wilson, Lockhart, and De Quincey, and at his own house and that of his brother, who had now retired from the army, and settled in Edinburgh, there was many a pleasant gathering of these and other friends. His intimacy with the *Blackwood* set of men was probably not approved of by some of his political friends. It has been even said, though with little probability, that he assisted at the concoction of the famous "Chaldee ms." The exceptionally respectful description of him in it as "the great black



eagle of the desert, whose cry is as the sound of an unknown tongue, and whose dwelling is in the tombs of the wise men," was doubtless the work of Lockhart. With Dugald Stewart he was but slightly acquainted, and Dr. Thomas Brown he does not appear to have known at all. That Hamilton had already arrived at conclusions in Philosophy hostile to the views of Brown is probable enough, but that they should have lived for some years in the same city without becoming acquainted is somewhat remarkable. The only anecdote on record relating to this period of his life is given by Professor Baynes. Dr. Parr, when on a visit to Edinburgh, met Sir William at the house of Professor John Thomson, the distinguished pathologist. The omniscient doctor was so astonished to find that the young advocate, whom he had never heard of, was not only able to accompany him in his discursive expatriation in the fields of Greek philosophy, but to keep pace with him in the least frequented tracks of classical, and mediæval, and modern Latin literature, capping his quotations, and even correcting his references, that at length he broke out with the inquiry, "Why, *who are you, sir?*"

On Dr. Brown's death in 1820, followed by the resignation of Mr. Stewart, the Moral Philosophy Chair in Edinburgh became vacant. There were several candidates, but it soon became apparent that the contest lay between Wilson and Hamilton. Of the superiority of Hamilton's claims, on the special ground of philosophical attainments, there can be no doubt. But as he happened to be a Whig, and Wilson a Tory, that, according to the usual rule in those days, settled the matter. The contest was a bitter one on both sides, but only on the part of the candidates' supporters. It caused no interruption whatever of the kindly relations between themselves, a fact equally creditable to both. Hamilton was represented by the Tory partisans as a man of dangerous views in politics and theology, while Wilson was even more heartily denounced by the Whigs, as the very incarnation of all the evil that showed its face so unblushingly in the pages of *Blackwood*. We learn from Hamilton's own testimony that he was informed, from an influential quarter, that if he would "allow it simply to be said that he was not a Whig—not a political opponent of the then dominant party,—the election would be allowed to take its natural course." He refused to do so, and thereby sacrificed any chance he had, which, politics apart, was considerable, of obtaining the Chair. It has to be noted also, that the mere fact of his can-

didature must have seriously injured his further progress at the Bar.

As some little compensation for this disappointment, he was in the following year elected to the Chair of Civil History, vacated by Mr. Fraser Tytler. The appointment was virtually in the hands of the Faculty of Advocates, who, though for the most part Tories, showed an honourable disregard for political considerations, by unanimously nominating their most learned member to the office. The salary was only £100 a year, and attendance on the class being optional, none of Sir William's predecessors had ever succeeded in forming a regular class. Sir William, however, not only prepared a course of lectures, but attracted for some years an average of from thirty to fifty students. The subject he chose was the history of Modern Europe, from the close of the fifteenth century to the year 1789. He also delivered some lectures on ancient politics, on European literature, including that of the Middle Ages, the Feudal System, the Papal Supremacy, etc. Of the character of these lectures we learn, on the authority of Professor Wilson, that the most distinguished students of the University spoke with enthusiasm of their sagacity, learning, eloquence, and philosophical spirit. Latterly Sir William lectured only in alternate years, and when the salary ceased to be paid, in consequence of the bankruptcy of the city, he ceased to lecture altogether.

The next important landmark in Sir William's life was his marriage, in 1829, to his cousin, Miss Marshall. His mother's death was a heavy blow to him, and the two years that followed it were the only period of his life that could be called unhappy. For though in one sense a solitary thinker, his social sympathies and affections were so strong that even in his most abstruse studies he found aid rather than distraction in the companionship of those he loved. There is no aspect of his character more interesting than that in which he appears in his latter life, at work in the family parlour, surrounded by his wife and children, whose presence and ministry afforded him never-failing happiness and help. During that dreary interval between his mother's death and his marriage, the proof of its being "not good that the man should be alone" was in his case somewhat ludicrously illustrated. Though naturally of very methodical and orderly habits, his sitting-room became gradually littered with books, which he had no heart to keep in order, till it became necessary to escape from the chaos by taking refuge in another room. There the same process followed, till at length, having passed



from room to room, he finally established himself in the upper flat. Here he found life a little more tolerable, having a cheerful view of the northern suburbs, the Firth of Forth, and the distant hills. The influence of his marriage on the character and subsequent career of Sir William was of the best and happiest kind; and it may be said, without any reserve, that no man ever was more indebted to the devotion, good sense, and practical ability of his wife. How, without any pretension to be versed in the subjects of her husband's labours, she identified herself so thoroughly with all he did; how, after he entered on his professional work, she sat up with him till the winter dawning, three nights a week, copying his lectures as he composed them; how, with her own hand, she wrote out for the press every fragment of his composition; how she kept her husband up to his work by the inspiration of cheerfulness and resolution, wisely contending, as Mr. Veitch happily expresses it, "against a sort of energetic indolence which characterized him;" above all, how she upheld and ministered to him during the years of his bodily infirmity;—all this it was necessary, to a true delineation of Sir William Hamilton's life, that the world should know. His biographer has told it well, and the example it presents may be said to form one of the most instructive and interesting features of the biography.

Among the chief things to be noted regarding the period between 1820 and 1829, are Sir William's researches on the subject of Phrenology, which at that time was attracting much attention, its principal expounder in this country being Mr. George Combe. Sir William opposed no doctrine on the ground of novelty alone, and, as might be expected, took the deepest interest in any new development of the science of mind. In the phenomena of Mesmerism, for example, he recognised a scientific reality, deserving of the most careful investigation, and the subject continued to interest him to the latest period of his life. In Phrenology he was a total disbeliever, but on no merely theoretical grounds. His conclusions were the result of minute and extensive personal experiment and observation, including, as regarded the functions of the cerebellum, the dissection and weighing of "above a thousand brains, of above fifty species of animals." On this subject he read two papers before the Royal Society, and delivered two lectures in the University in 1826 and 1827. He afterwards contributed papers on the brain to some scientific journals, which are now to be found collected in the appendix to his lectures on Me-

taphysics. Dr. Spurzheim, on the occasion of his visit to Edinburgh in 1828, wished to have a public discussion with him on Phrenology, and to have the decision of the question referred to the vote of the audience, but Sir William wisely declined the proposal. The effect of one of his papers on Phrenology, on a hearer of more than ordinary capacity, is characteristically described by Mr. Carlyle, in his interesting contribution to this biography, which has been so abundantly quoted that we shall extract only a few passages. The first part refers to a period in 1819 or 1820, when the writer was a student at the University of Edinburgh. He has made an unimportant mistake in regard to Sir William's residence, which was then in Howe Street:—

"Somewhere in Gabriel's Road, there looked out on me, from the Princes Street or St. David Street side, a back window on the ground-floor of a handsome enough house—window which had no curtains—and visible on the sill of it were a quantity of books lying about, in quartos and conspicuous volumes, several of them—evidently the sitting room and work-room of a studious man, whose lot, in this seclusion, I viewed with a certain loyal respect. 'Has a fine, silent neighbourhood,' thought I, 'a fine north light, and wishes to save it.' Inhabitant within I never noticed by any outward symptom; but from my comrades soon learned whose house and place of study this was."

"The name of Sir William Hamilton I had before heard; but this was the first time he appeared definitely before my memory of imagination; in which his place was permanent thenceforth. A man of good birth, I was told, though of small fortune, who had deep faculties and an insatiable appetite for wise knowledge; was titularly an advocate here, but had no practice, nor sought any; had gathered his modest means thriftily together, and sat down here, with his mother and sister (cousin, I believe, it really was), and his ample store of books, frankly renouncing all lower ambitions, and, indeed, all ambitions together, except what I well recognised to be the highest and one real ambition in this dark ambiguous world. A man honourable to me, a man lovingly enviable; to whom, in silence, I heartily bade good speed. It was also an interesting circumstance, which did not fail of mention, that his ancestor Hamilton of Preston, was leader of the Cameronians at Bothwell Brig, and had stood by the Covenant and Cause of Scotland in that old time and form. 'This baronetcy, if carried forward on those principles, may well enough be poor,' thought I; 'and beautifully well may it issue in such a Hamilton as this one aims to be, still piously bearing aloft, on the new terms, his God's-Banner intrepidly against the World and the Devil!'

"It was years after this—perhaps four or five—before I had the honour of any personal acquaintance with Sir William; his figure on the street had become familiar, but I forgot



too, when this was first pointed out to me; and cannot recollect even when I first came to speech with him, which must have been by accident and his own voluntary favour, on some slight occasion, probably at the Advocates' Library, which was my principal or almost sole literary resource (lasting thanks to it, alone of Scottish institutions!) in those obstructed, neglectful, and grimly-forbidding years. Perhaps it was in 1824 or 1825. I recollect right well the bright, affable manners of Sir William, radiant with frank kindliness, honest humanity, and intelligence ready to help; and how completely prepossessing they were. A fine, firm figure of middle height; one of the finest cheerfully-serious human faces, of square, solid, and yet rather *aquiline* type, and a pair of the beautifullest kindly-beaming hazel eyes, well open, and every now and then with a lambency of smiling fire in them, which I always remember as if with trust and gratitude. . . . I recollect hearing much more of him in 1826 and onward, than formerly: to what depths he had gone in study and philosophy; of his simple, independent, meditative habits, ruggedly athletic modes of exercise, fondness for his big dog, etc. etc.: everybody seemed to speak of him with favour, those of his immediate acquaintance uniformly with affectionate respect. I did not witness, much less share in, any of the swimming or other athletic prowesses. I have once or twice been on long walks with him in the Edinburgh environs, oftenest with some other companion, or, perhaps, even two, whom he had found vigorous and worthy; pleasant walks, and abundantly enlivened with speech from Sir William. He was willing to talk of any humanly-interesting subject; and threw out sound observations upon any topic started: if left to his own choice, he circled and gravitated, naturally, into subjects that were his own, and were habitually occupying him—of which I can still remember animal magnetism and the German revival of it, not yet known of in England, was one that frequently turned up. . . . On German bibliography and authors, especially of the learned kind—Erasmus, Ruhnken, Ulrich von Hutten—he could descant copiously, and liked to be inquired of. On Kant, Reid, and the metaphysicians, German and other, though there was such abundance to have said, he did not often speak; but politely abstained rather, when not expressly called on.

"He was finely social and human, in these walks or interviews. Honesty, frankness, friendly veracity, courageous trust in humanity, and in you, were charmingly visible. His talk was forcible, copious, discursive, careless rather than otherwise; and, on abstruse topics, I observed, was apt to become embroiled and revelly, much less perspicuous and elucidative than with a little deliberation he could have made it. 'The fact is,' he would often say; and then plunging into new circuitous depths and distinctions, again on a new grand, 'The fact is,' and still again—till what the essential 'fact' might be was not a little obscure to you. He evidently had not been engaged in *speaking* these things, but only in thinking them, for his

own behoof, not yours. By lucid questioning you could get lucidity from him on any topic. Nowhere did he give you the least notion of his not understanding the thing himself; but it lay like an unwinnowed threshing-floor, the corn-grains, the natural chaff, and somewhat even of the straw, still unseparated there. This sometimes would befall, not only when the meaning itself was delicate or abstruse, but also if several were listening, and he doubted whether they could understand. On solid realistic points he was abundantly luminous; promptitude, solid sense, free-flowing intelligibility always the characteristics. The tones of his voice were themselves attractive, physiognomic of the man: a strong, carelessly-melodious, tenor voice, the sound of it betokening seriousness and cheerfulness; occasionally something of slightly remonstrative was in the undertones, indicating, well in the background, possibilities of virtuous wrath and fire; seldom anything of laughter, of levity never anything: thoroughly a serious, cheerful, sincere, and kindly voice, with looks corresponding. In dialogue, face to face, with one he trusted, his speech, both voice and words, was still more engaging; lucid, free, persuasive, with a bell-like harmony, and from time to time, in the bright eyes, a beaming smile, which was the crown and seal of all to you.

"In the winter 1832-33, Captain Hamilton, Sir William's brother, was likewise resident in Edinburgh; a pleasant, very courteous, and intelligently talking man, enduring, in a cheery military humour, his old Peninsular hurts, and printing his *Peninsular* and other books. At his house I have been of literary parties—of one, at least, which I still remember in an indistinct but agreeable way. Of a similar party at Sir William's I have a still brighter recollection, and of his fine nobly simple ways there; especially of one little radiancy (his look and his smile the now memorable part of it) privately addressed to myself on the mode of supping I had selected; supper of one excellent and excellently-boiled potato, of fair size, with salt for seasoning—at an epoch when excellent potatoes yet were."

After his marriage Sir William removed to Manor Place, where he resided till 1839, when he went back to his former house, 16 Great King Street, in which he spent the remainder of his life. The time had come at last for him to justify to the world, in the form of published writing, his reputation among a limited circle as a thinker and scholar. The editorship of the *Edinburgh Review* came, in 1829, into the hands of Mr. Macvey Napier, who was a great friend of Sir William's, and took much interest in metaphysical studies. He was determined to have a philosophical contribution from his friend in his first number, and the subject he proposed was the recently published Introduction to Cousin's *Cours de Philosophie*, which was then making a sensation in the



intellectual world of Paris. Sir William was very reluctant to undertake the task, for two reasons. He felt assured that a thorough discussion of the subject could not be made intelligible to British readers, and he had the highest admiration for M. Cousin, of whose philosophy it would be necessary for him to demonstrate the radical unsoundness. The editor's persistency, however, fortunately prevailed, and the criticism, hastily written, made its appearance in October 1829, under the title "On the philosophy of the Unconditioned, in reference to Cousin's Infinite-Absolute." Mr. Veitch correctly says, that, with the exception of the fragmentary utterances of Coleridge, this famous review was the first indication that any one in Britain had become aware of the true import of the highest philosophical thought of this century. It formed a new landmark in the history of speculation, and though in this country at first considered incomprehensible, it was the beginning of that strong revival of interest in the higher questions of philosophy, which Hamilton's subsequent writings and teaching contributed so powerfully to stimulate. On the Continent its merits were at once recognised, and by no one with such chivalrous enthusiasm as by the philosopher whose fundamental doctrine it so vigorously attacked. M. Cousin pronounced it "a masterpiece," so excellent that he thought "there could not be fifty persons in England competent to understand it." He naturally considered his critic wrong in his objections, but added, "I must do him the justice to say that he has profoundly studied and perfectly understood me." A warm friendship between the two philosophers was the result of this criticism, and though they never met, they kept up a pretty regular correspondence, and took the deepest mutual interest in each other's labours and personal welfare. M. Cousin's letters to his "*très cher confrère*" are very interesting, and full of the kindest sympathy. One winds up with this naïve little outburst *apropos* of Brown's Lectures:—

"Je reçois en ce moment la 7<sup>ème</sup> édition de Brown. Mon Dieu! Luttons, mon cher Monsieur, luttons sans cesse contre cette funeste popularité. En vous sont toutes mes espérances pour la philosophie en Angleterre. Dieu donc vous soit en aide, et vous donne ce que je souhaite à tous mes amis et à moi-même: courage et constance. C'est mon perpétuel refrain."

Sir William was now fairly enlisted as a contributor to the *Review*, and during the next seven years contributed fourteen articles, all full of the most solid thought and pro-

found learning. His last contribution was in 1839. These were collected in a volume in 1852, with large appendices, and speedily reached a second edition. The most important of the philosophical articles, after the first, were those on Perception and on Logic. The former was the natural sequel and complement of his first article, expounding the positive side of the philosophy which he professed, of which the basis was the authority of Consciousness, as the other had presented its negative aspect, in a denial of the possibility of any knowledge beyond that of phenomenal reality. The article on Logic may be called the first really scientific exposition of the province and principles of that science in this country, and displayed an extraordinary range and minuteness of knowledge of the subject and its literature. It contained a somewhat severe criticism of Whately's work, and as a specimen of the author's powers in that line may be read with enjoyment by persons ignorant of Logic. Speaking of these three articles as related, though apparently isolated, contributions to Philosophy, and embodying in a real unity the author's fundamental doctrines, his biographer well remarks:—

"Yet impressive as is the suggestion which they give of power and learning, it is melancholy to think that those accomplishments appeared so late in the lifetime of their possessor—appeared, too, almost by accident; and that even after they were revealed, they were kept by him in a reserve, which stayed his hand from completing the edifice designed—one so rare in conception, so grand in its ideal proportions, that even the tracings of its first lines stir the soul which ponders them with emotions akin to those inspired by the fragments of the stateliest architecture, or by the partly-shrouded form of a far-reaching, undefined, mountain height."

His articles on University Reform, especially with reference to Oxford, excited much attention, and also much hostility, which they were eminently calculated to provoke. For, with a knowledge of the subject probably beyond that of any other man in Britain, they combined a somewhat old-fashioned strength and outspokenness of language in denouncing what he considered to be abuses. They produced a powerful effect, and bore fruit after many days, both in England and in Scotland. Of his other articles the most notable are the one on the *Epistola Obscurorum Virorum*, which displayed prodigious learning and research, and for the first time settled conclusively the authorship of that famous satire, and that on the study of Mathematics, which, among other results, called forth an irrepressible protest from the



much-trying editor, on the score of its extravagant length, and the writer's intolerable disregard of the ordinary necessities of periodical publication. The spirit which animated all his discussions is expressed in the favourite motto which he put on the title-page, "Truth, like a torch, the more it's shook, it shines."

In 1884, Professor Mylne, who had for thirty-seven years held the Chair of Moral Philosophy in Glasgow, proposed to Sir William that he should become his assistant, with the assurance, so far as the Professor's influence could go, of being appointed his successor. The appointment lay with the *Senatus Academicus*, and Sir William declined the proposal. A more congenial prospect was within his view. The Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in Edinburgh, Dr. David Ritchie, was now a very old man. He resigned his chair in April, 1886, and the usual struggle for the office began. The candidates were Sir William Hamilton, Mr. Isaac Taylor, Mr. George Combe, and Mr. P. C. Macdougall (afterwards Professor Wilson's successor), besides some others whose names are forgotten. To intelligent spectators at a distance it seemed that the author of the articles which were recognised in France and Germany as the one proof existing that Britain had a philosopher, required only to announce that he was a candidate, in order to secure the appointment. The electors, however, consisted of those thirty-three persons composing the Town Council of Edinburgh, of whom Sir William, in his article on University Patronage, had said that it was "only in a country far behind in all that regards the theory and practice of education, that the notion of intrusting a body like a municipal magistracy with such a trust would not be treated with derision." It may be supposed that his chances were not improved by his indignant refusal to canvass the electors, a proceeding which he considered equally insulting to them and humiliating to the candidate. It is unnecessary to go minutely into the history of the contest,—suffice it, that Sir William was appointed, by a small majority over Mr. Isaac Taylor, the final numbers being 18 to 14. The principal ground on which the minority supported their favourite was not his eminence as a philosopher, his sole title to recognition in that respect consisting of a little manual called *Elements of Thought*, explaining the meanings of certain philosophical terms. But he was considered, truly enough, to be a man of great religious earnestness, and his recently published *Natural History of Enthusiasm*, though in some respects rather beyond the reach of ordinary municipal intelligence, was

incomparably better calculated to secure their favour than those wonderful discussions on the Absolute and the theory of Perception, which M. Cousin had said there were not fifty persons in Britain capable of understanding. One of his supporters laid great stress on the assurance they had, that, in electing him, "the interests of pure and undefiled religion" would be advanced. Sir William, on the other hand, produced no certificates of religious character, and in the absence of any such evidence of his personal piety, the opposite conclusion, if it could not be openly asserted, was at least strongly insinuated. If nobody testified to his being a good Christian, was it not natural to infer that he was "little better than one of the wicked"? He was not only a valued contributor to the *Edinburgh Review*, which was the next thing to being an "infidel" publication, but he was known to be profoundly, dangerously intimate with German Philosophy, and did not every one know that Germany was the hotbed of all heresy, and its philosophers generally mere Pagans? —*Q. E. D.* This is no caricature. We have heard something similar over and over again in Edinburgh, in analogous cases, and though the *Teutophobia*, in particular, is happily much on the decline, any one who occasionally attends to the utterances of certain theologians, clerical and lay, on the subject, must be aware that it is by no means to be reckoned among extinct maladies. In the case of Sir William Hamilton the suspicion was peculiarly unfounded, and showed a hopeless ignorance of the scope and meaning of his writings, it being obvious to the meanest capacity that, so far as there was anything distinctive in his philosophy, it was characteristically Scottish in its character, and antagonistic to the doctrines most peculiarly identified with German speculation. This was very forcibly stated by M. Cousin in a letter to Professor Pillans, in which he expressed himself in regard to Sir William's claims with an emphasis which, combined with the similar testimony of other high authorities, had considerable influence in determining the result of the contest. After referring to Sir William's antagonism to his own views, he said:—

"Now on this question Sir W. Hamilton is the man who, before all Europe, has, in the *Edinburgh Review*, defended the Scottish philosophy, and posted himself its representative. In this relation the different articles which he has written in that journal are of infinite value; and it is not I who ought to solicit Scotland for Sir W. Hamilton; it is Scotland herself who ought to honor by her suffrage him who, since Dugald Stewart, is her sole representative in Europe.

"In truth, what characterizes Sir W. Hamil-



ton is precisely the Scottish intellect; and he is only attached to the philosophy of Reid and Stewart because their philosophy is the Scottish intellect itself applied to metaphysics. Sir W. Hamilton never deviates from the highway of common sense, and at the same time he possesses great ingenuity (*esprit*) and sagacity; and I assure you (I know it from experience) that his dialectic is by no means comfortable to his adversary.

"Inferior to Reid in invention and originality, and to Stewart in grace and delicacy, he is perhaps superior to both, and certainly to the latter, by the vigour of his dialectic; I add, and by the extent of his erudition.

"Sir W. Hamilton knows all systems, ancient and modern, and he examines them by the criticism of the Scottish intellect. His independence is equal to his knowledge. He is, above all, eminent in logic. I would speak to you here as a philosopher by profession.

"Be assured that Sir W. Hamilton is the one of all your countrymen who knows Aristotle the best; and were there in all the three kingdoms of his Britannic Majesty a Chair of Logic vacant, do not hesitate—make haste—give it to Sir W. Hamilton."

The election took place on the 15th of July 1836, and the class did not open till the 21st of November. This gave the new Professor some time for the work of preparation; but so far as the composition of his lectures was concerned, it does not appear to have made much progress in the interval. His materials were of course familiar to him, but the task of putting them in a form suited to a class composed chiefly of very young men, was new and difficult. Hitherto he had employed himself chiefly in discussing the most abstruse questions of Philosophy, and now, at the mature age of forty-eight, the moulding of his style to the requirements of his new audience seemed in anticipation a more serious problem than it really proved to be. In short, the preparation of his lectures was put off to the very last moment, and it seems in point of fact that the commencement of the session found him no further advanced in composition than his introductory lecture, the subject of which he more than once changed. The lecture at once stamped the new Professor as a man born for the work of educating, in the highest sense of the term, and the impression it produced was perfectly sustained all through the course. On those who heard him for the first time, both then and in after years, especially the young and ardent, the effect was singularly inspiring. Professor Wilson was grand, and his looks, tones, and words, had a mighty fascination. Sir William Hamilton had not so extraordinary and majestic a presence, nor the same gift of thrilling eloquence, but his aspect and utter-

ance were not less memorable, perhaps even more deeply impressive. "Fortunate," it has been said, "beyond expression or comparison, were the students who saw and listened" to these two men. Sir William's manly figure, the look of clear decision that marked his keen and handsome features, and, above all, the wonderfully piercing glance of his eye, at once arrested attention and commanded respect. That impression was heightened by the manner and matter of his delivery. His calm and dignified earnestness, the stately procession of his thoughts, descending in clear and orderly array, as if from lofty and untrodden heights, clad in a style of exquisite fitness, with few but noble ornaments, carried the hearer away into new and wide fields of thought, making him feel how little he knew, how much was to be known, how elevating was the quest which he was invited to join, how glorious the company to which he was being introduced,—the seekers for truth, the hierarchy of the sages, the lovers of wisdom,

"the great of old!  
The dead but sceptred sovereigns who still rule  
Our spirits from their urns."

The lectures were delivered three times a week, the other two days being devoted to examinations. During the first session the course was on Psychology, and each lecture was composed on the night preceding its delivery, Sir William writing out the rough draft, which Lady Hamilton copied sheet after sheet as it was ready. As already mentioned, this labour went on all through the winter nights, and on some occasions, Mr. Veitch says, "Sir William would be found writing as late as nine o'clock of a morning, while his faithful but wearied amanuensis had fallen asleep on a sofa." The same thing happened in the following session, when the Logic lectures were composed. These lectures, it seems, were never substantially changed afterwards. But though later in date than Sir William's *Discussions*, his biographer is quite justified in protesting against Mr. Mill's assumption that they contain "the fullest and only consecutive exposition of his philosophy." He shows very satisfactorily that for the fullest and most authoritative statement of Sir William's special doctrines, both in Logic and in Metaphysics, we must look to his supplementary dissertations to Reid, and the appendices to his *Discussions*, while unfortunately "a consecutive exposition of his philosophy" the author has nowhere given. The mere fact that the lectures were composed in the circumstances above mentioned,



and were never revised for publication by the author, is indeed sufficient to place them on a different footing, as regards authority, from his more elaborate published works.

The influence of Hamilton as a teacher is well and eloquently described by Mr. Veitch, and by two other pupils of Sir William's, than whom none more distinguished ever issued from his class—Dr. Cairns and Mr. Baynes. The aspect of the class and the manner of carrying on the work were in some respects quite peculiar. On entering the room, and taking his seat on one of the benches, which were all lettered in alphabetical order, the visitor's attention was first arrested by a large green ornamented board, fixed below the ceiling behind the Professor's chair, on which, in letters of gold, stood out the motto—

ON EARTH THERE IS NOTHING GREAT BUT MAN;  
IN MAN THERE IS NOTHING GREAT BUT MIND.

Below this inscription was a longer one in Greek, to the effect that emulation in high pursuits is a noble thing, ending with the words of Hesiod,—

*Ἀγαθὴ ἔρις ἦδε βροτοῖσι.*

All along this wall were hung a series of smaller tablets, painted in like manner, containing, in letters of gold, the names, in the order of merit, of the students who in successive sessions had, by the votes of their fellows, been adjudged worthy of the honours of the class. On the opposite wall hung a less numerous row of similar tablets, with the names of a still more select class, those who had won the summer prizes for extra study and special essays. The effect of these visible incitements on the impressible minds of youthful students may easily be imagined; they were, in fact, a perpetual appeal to their ambition and emulation. Sir William's style and the effect of his lectures are thus graphically portrayed by Mr. Baynes:—

"Whatever the previous expectations of Sir William's appearance might be, they were certainly realized, if not surpassed; and however familiar one might afterwards become with the play of thought and feeling on that noble countenance, the first impression remained the strongest and the last—that it was perhaps altogether the finest head and face you had ever seen, strikingly handsome and full of intelligence and power. When he began to read, Sir William's voice confirmed the impression his appearance and manner had produced. It was full, clear, and resolute, with a swell of intellectual ardour in the more measured cadences, and a tone that grew deep and resonant in reading any striking extract from a favourite author, whether in prose or poetry—from Plato or Pascal, Lucretius or Virgil, Scaliger or Sir

John Davies, whose quaint and nervous lines Sir William was fond of quoting.

"The new comer naturally listened to the lecturer with interest and some curiosity, knowing perhaps little or nothing of the subject, and having his own misgivings, notwithstanding Sir William's fame, whether anything could be made of it or not. After hearing a few lectures, the impression produced was probably one of mingled surprise and admiration, wonder and delight. The subject had been described as abstruse. He fancied it must be dark, mysterious, and uncertain, and that perhaps it would be impossible to understand the lecturer at all. On the contrary, the exposition was found to be clear, forcible, and even vivid in its distinctness—the thought striking the intellect as sharply as near objects do the eye on a bright day; and the style a perfect mirror of the thought—exact to a nicety, every word the right one, and each in its place, giving in fact quite a new idea of the precision of which language is capable. This naturally excited surprise, and awakened unexpected admiration. The lecturer's whole tone and manner, too, at once powerfully stimulated curiosity, and inspired confidence. The pupil was conscious of breathing a fresh intellectual atmosphere as bracing to the mind as sea air to the body, and already began to feel a new and reviving sense of elasticity and power. The appetite for knowledge was suddenly sharpened, and he felt at the same time that he had found one who could satisfy it to the full. It is difficult to say, exactly, how this feeling of exhilarating confidence, of glad but undefined expectation, was produced; partly, no doubt, by what was said, but chiefly from the manner of the speaker. There was much in it strictly personal;—the instinctive feeling naturally awakened in listening to one who spoke with the serene insight and authority of a master both in history and science. . . .

"When, becoming familiar with the manner, the attention of the student was concentrated on the matter of the lectures, and the objects exciting the new feeling of wonder gradually grew more distinct, the first conviction was, that he had entered into an entirely new world, wholly different from the world of men and the world of books which he had hitherto known. And what struck him most of all probably, was the fact that it really *was* a world—a veritable Cosmos, with facts and laws of its own, with phenomena, processes, and results not less vast and varied, harmonious, and sublime, than the sensible facts and physical laws of the universe,—a world within as full of wonder and mystery, of secret activities and unknown powers, as the material earth and heaven around and above us. It was soon discovered, moreover, to be a region, in exploring which he needed and could receive but little help from others; the objects of research and the instruments of investigation, the observer and the phenomena to be observed, being alike within. He awoke to the sudden consciousness that the living spirit moved amidst the clouds of passion, and behind the veil of innumerable, but often unconscious ac-



tivities, was far more full of strange and prophetic inspiration than the fabled oracle of Delphi, while the inscription on the temple of the one was the true key to the mysteries of the other—*γνῶθι σεαυτὸν*—know thyself. And he was powerfully impelled to acquire this self-knowledge, because it in turn would obviously furnish the key to the vaster world opening before him in the dawning light of a new experience.

"It was soon discovered, moreover, from the lecturer's method, that this new world was, in the strictest sense, the object of science—that its facts could be observed, and its laws known. And if the science were thus possible, it must obviously, when achieved, be superior to all others—must in a sense be inclusive of all others—at once a key to the past, a guide in the present, and a prophecy for the future. It would necessarily explain every special history, interpret every old form of religion and government, every successive phase of past civilisation, by reaching the psychological laws whose development they reflect. It must throw a flood of light on the complex forces working amidst the crowd and dust of actual life, and powerfully help to solve the urgent social problems arising from their blind or misguided activity; while the prospect opened for the future was inspiring in its boundless extent, as it was obviously impossible to measure the powers or limit the development of humanity. The true clue for exploring the intellectual world being once found, it was natural to believe that future progress would be sure, rapid, and almost limitless; and this clue was found in the rigorously inductive method of observation and analysis pursued in the scientific exposition. Nor did the treatment of history in the lecturer's hands at all diminish one's confidence in the certainty of the science. True, the speculations of illustrious thinkers were assailed without pity, and remorselessly destroyed. Sir William's path was, in the words of one of his critics, 'emphatically over the wreck of systems which he demolished as he went;' but, strange to say, this but strengthened instead of weakening confidence, because it was clearly seen to be done upon principle. A tithe of such destructive criticism from a teacher of less power, might have left one utterly sceptical, while Sir William's inexorable dialectic inspired the fullest trust. For though much was destroyed, more was left. The indurated hull of system was shattered only to set free the germ of truth it contained; and the severest criticism but illustrated the maxim of Leibnitz, that philosophers are true in what they affirm, false in what they deny. It was continually shown that every error is only a truth abused, and all partial systems but contributions towards a perfect science. The theories of elder philosophers that lay isolated, barren, and far asunder on the fields of speculation, came like the dry bones in the Valley of Vision at the voice of the prophet, marshalling to their place, bone gathering to bone, sinew to sinew,—the scattered fragments growing into form, and waiting only the breath of higher inspiration to ap-

pear as a living whole. The entire exposition thus tended powerfully to confirm the first impression, strengthening at every step the rising belief in a new and noble field of investigation, offering to the zealous explorer results of the highest certainty and value."

Not less distinct and interesting are the reminiscences of Dr. Cairns, from which, however, we must content ourselves with a brief extract:—

"The fascination of so commanding a personality for young and susceptible minds can easily be understood. It was assisted by the novelty of the lectures, and by the sense of novelty even on the part of the lecturer, which had its stimulating effect on the audience as they strove to march with him through the unexplored regions of a first course. If I may judge from myself, it must have cost even those who at all succeeded a great effort. The style was wholly new in our philosophical literature. It was replete with technical terms, and bristled with Latin and even Greek words and quotations. It carried with it a constant load of definitions and distinctions, and involved, even in its elementary statements, difficult processes of analysis and criticism which could only be fully mastered at an advanced stage. It was liker stretches of Aristotle and steppes of Kant than the flowery field opened out in Stewart and Brown. After the border of the wilderness was passed in the introductory lectures, I well remember the sense of difficulty and even desperation that seemed to fall upon the class as the definition of logic was unrolled in all its formidable proportions—'the science of the laws of thought as thought, or of the forms of thought, or of the formal laws of thought.' Another slough of despond was the enunciation of the fundamental laws of thought; and many a shuffle of the feet entreated the lecturer to pause upon and repeat, for the enlightenment of a wholly bewildered audience, such dark formulas as that of the law of contradiction, ' $A-A=0$ .' I do not think, indeed, that I ever saw more blank dismay upon any countenances than that which sat upon the majority of the class during this lecture. Some, perhaps many, abandoned the effort henceforth; but to a select minority, and that by no means inconsiderable, the sense of difficulty acted with the force of inspiration. In the throes and struggles of the unwonted exercise an altogether new power of thought was created, and the frowning and rugged cliffs, at the base of which some sank to rise no more, became to others the means of ascent to the command of a wide and unsuspected horizon of land and sea. Gradually, to those who waited for it, day broke upon the extensive prospect, and the toil of climbing, with the horror of darkness, gave place to exhilaration."

The work of the class consisted of essays, exercises, and examinations. The latter were of two kinds, voluntary and compulsory. To the compulsory examinations all



members of the class, not amateurs, were liable at intervals during the session. The voluntary examination was, however, the chief and peculiar feature of the work, and the prizes were awarded only to those who took part in it. The main part of it was not an examination at all, but consisted in recapitulating any portion of the recently delivered lectures which the Professor chose to call for. It was a most difficult and trying exercise, and those who imagined that it could be achieved by servile "getting by heart," were sadly mistaken. The lectures were so full of condensed matter, and so strict in the sequence of thought, that without understanding them it was hopeless to think of mere parrot-like repetition. The dropping of a link in the chain of exposition was fatal in such a case, besides that the speaker's intelligence and self-possession were continually being tested by questions from the chair. For those who thoroughly went into this work it was undoubtedly an admirable discipline. It had the disadvantage, however, of absorbing a somewhat unreasonable amount of time in the writing out and preparation of the lectures, and of being generally confined to some twenty or thirty members of the class. To those who took part in it, the examination days were full of excitement. One never knew when he might be called, the system being to have the letters of the alphabet mixed up in a jar on the Professor's table, into which he dived his hand, and picking out a letter, held it up and inquired, "Any gentleman in A," or whatever it might be. The venturesome man who first stood up was sure to be greeted with hearty applause of feet. During the course of the session the class had full opportunity of judging who were worthy of its honours, and their judgment was very rarely at fault. Occasionally this exercise was varied by the Professor's inquiring if any gentleman had any "additional information" to give on any point touched on in the lectures. This sometimes elicited interesting matter, in the form of difficulties suggested, a manifestation of independent thinking which the Professor specially encouraged. On such occasions, or when an essay of more than usual originality was being read, a lively interlude would sometimes take place, in the form of a little discussion between the Professor and the student. We have a very distinct recollection of one such scene, when a student of mature years and great ability read an essay propounding a somewhat novel and bold idea. Sir William stated an objection,—the essayist replied with promptness and decision, and for nearly half an hour a most interesting interchange of cour-

teous logic-fence went on between master and pupil. It is hard to say whether the Professor or the class enjoyed it most.

A pleasant illustration of the same kind of thing is given by Dr. Cairns:—

"I well remember that during the private gatherings of this season, discussions between Sir William and his more advanced students, took a larger compass; that some difficulties in regard to his philosophy of perception, and other points, which have since been abundantly urged, were proposed, and that he endeavoured to meet them with the greatest candour and fairness. I can distinctly recall one evening in Great King Street, when successive groups of querists assailed him, not with objections so much as with difficulties calling for explanation; and when, I believe for hours, with his back leaning against the shelves of his library, he met all comers with the most perfect good-nature, and with that unconsciousness of his own greatness, which was the charm of his friendly intercourse."

Sir William's courtesy to his students was one of his most attractive qualities as a Professor, and all the more when it was remembered how formidable he could be in controversy. It was the spontaneous fruit of his kind and cordial nature, which, with little of demonstrative effusion, made itself felt even without words. His brief, but warmly uttered farewell at the close of the session, "God bless you all!" can never be forgotten by those who heard it.

On the general effect and value of his teaching, as constituting an epoch in the history of British Philosophy, we cannot do better than quote Mr. Veitch. After referring to the low state of speculative thought and learning in this country at the time when Hamilton wrote his first paper in the *Edinburgh Review*, he proceeds:—

"With the already published writings of Hamilton the spring-time of a new life in Scottish speculation had begun. A more profound analysis, a more comprehensive spirit, a learning that had surveyed the philosophical literature of Greece and Germany, and marked the relative place in the intellectual world of the sturdy growths of home thought, were the characteristics of the man who had now espoused the cause of Scottish speculative philosophy. The speculation of the country had been raised above its comparatively low level, and brought face to face with the highest metaphysical problems. The modified doctrine of Experience of the Scottish school had been marshalled with the skill of a great general against the positions of the highest representatives of modern Absolutism. Hamilton had shown that he knew the strength and the deficiency of the line of speculation which had been pursued in Scotland. Now that he was called upon to devote his energies in an academical position to the study and the teaching of



philosophy, a keen sifting, purification, and amplification of preceding doctrines were to be looked for at his hands. In his Lectures, accordingly, we find, for the first time in the history of British speculation, an appreciation of the nature and number of the departments of intellectual philosophy, of their mutual relations, and of the questions appropriate to each, a restoration to their proper place of neglected branches of the study, and a thorough and serviceable acquaintance with the literature of the subject. These points are now familiar among us; but they were unknown thirty years ago: and adherents and opponents of the views then inculcated are alike indebted for their knowledge of the departments of philosophy, and of the attempted solutions of many of its higher problems, to the writings of Hamilton."

On the influence of his writings in America we find in the Appendix an excellent paper by Professor Porter of Yale College, from which we select a short passage:—

"If it was Hamilton's distinguishing merit to have re-animated philosophy in Great Britain, when it was near to breathing out its life under the hands of its guardians and devotees—if it will be remembered to his honour that he restored it to a position of higher dignity than it had enjoyed for centuries before, and this at a time when the prevailing devotion to material interests had well-nigh materialized philosophy itself, and when the splendid triumphs of physical discovery might naturally render men indifferent to those less obtrusive metaphysical truths on which all discovery depends,—it was his privilege in America to act upon the rising philosophical spirit which had never been discouraged or suppressed, and at a critical moment when it most needed wise direction, and a stimulating as well as a safe example. Hamilton found us just as we were becoming interested in what the French and Germans could teach us, and when not a few were ready to be dazzled by systems that were largely imaginative and fantastic, provided that erudition and genius made them plausible. Hamilton was so learned that he could not but command respect. He was critical enough to inspire confidence. He was daring enough to satisfy the aspirations of the most adventurous. He was wise and solid enough to quietly displace pretentious assertion by well-reasoned truth, and to effectually set aside ambitious rhapsody by discriminating logic. While he has not by any means been the only teacher of this generation—while his own writings have directed and encouraged us to study the philosophers of the Continent—yet his influence has been most potent to repress what might otherwise have been magniloquent pretension, and to stimulate those who but for him would have been discouraged by uncertainty and bewildered by scepticism."

In the midst of his labours during his first session, Sir William began the preparation of a revised edition of Reid's Works, with the view of using portions of it as a

text-book. At first he contemplated only the addition of a Preface, but as the revision of the sheets proceeded he added notes, and the work of editing gradually expanded as he went on. It suffered characteristic interruption and delay. In September 1839 he writes about it to M. Cousin: "The work has been nearly ready for a year and a half, but having been obliged to change my publisher, I have allowed the publication to be delayed, without any good reason for it, longer than it ought. I mean to set about printing it in the course of a few days, and hope to have it out in about six weeks." Having experienced some difficulty in arranging about the publication, the work, in fact, lay dormant for seven years after this, and did not finally appear till 1846. Even then it was not complete, Not D\*\*\* suddenly ending the last page in the middle of a sentence, of which the conclusion was not given till the posthumous publication of the sixth edition of the work in 1863. Of this great work there is no need here to say more than this, that, apart from its importance as a new edition, not only of Reid's Works, but of the Scottish Philosophy, the original matter added by the editor stands, for combined acuteness and learning, alone in the philosophical literature of this country.

On the subsequent career of Sir William as a Professor we cannot dwell, nor does space remain to narrate his controversies with the Town Council, with the *Senatus Academicus*, with the Non-Intrusionists, with Professor De Morgan, with Archdeacon Hare, into each of which in turn he threw himself with the most intense vigour, sometimes wasting the darts of splendid logic, learning, and sarcasm, on mere rhinoceros hides, at other times throwing them away on subjects with which his admirers would have preferred that he had not meddled, but always with a high and noble aim, and, despite considerable sharpness of language, never undignified.

In 1840 Sir William was elected a Corresponding Member of the Institute of France, one of a long list of honours conferred upon him from abroad, including, among others, the quite unique distinction of D.D. from the University of Leyden. While not without honour in his own country, he received, as already indicated, small recognition from those in power. The free emoluments of his Chair were under £300 a year, and a sense of duty to his family constrained him reluctantly to make application for any legal appointment compatible with his duties as Professor. Lord Melbourne was then Prime Minister, and to him



Sir William, in February 1840, addressed a statement of his claims, in one of the most remarkable letters that perhaps ever was written for such a purpose. It is too long for citation, and must be read as a whole to be judged of. Remembering that the writer was one of the greatest intellectual lights of Europe, and that this humble but manly plea for the interests of his children and the science he loved came from a high and proud but most modest nature, it is impossible to read it without being moved,—all the more when we know further that it was written in vain. Well might Sir William with emphasis quote the lines:—

"Dat Galenus opes, dat Justinianus honores,  
At nos philosophi turba misella sumus."

In the month of April following he addressed another letter to the Lord Advocate, which, being shorter, we shall extract:—

"MY DEAR RUTHERFORD,—As I understand that it is probable that some new appointment must be immediately made among the Principal Clerks of Session, I earnestly entreat that you would take my claims to such appointment into account.

"I do not request you to second any application on my behalf on the ground of personal favour. I should, indeed, feel most grateful for any act of friendship from you; but I would be the last to request of you, in your public character, to do anything not justifiable on public grounds. I may be mistaken, but I do not think that any one has now a higher claim on the present Government to such an office than I have; and I am so situated that, however disagreeable to my own feelings, it is my duty—my *urgent* duty—to do what an honourable man can, to make that claim effectual. I am induced to hope that Lord Melbourne is not indisposed to me; and, were you free to support my suit, I would be desirous to lay a statement of my claims before Lord Normanby. Seconded by you, I should indeed have little doubt of success; and there is assuredly no one whose recommendation and good opinion would be more flattering to me on their own account.

"I have been no importunate and habitual suitor; and no one with equal claims has asked or received from his party less. I have never, indeed, been the candidate for any office to which I was not fairly entitled; and I can confidently affirm that I have undertaken no public duty which I have not discharged with more than satisfaction. For a sheriffship I have not pressed, as I was conscious that it required a knowledge of forms and details with which I had not made myself familiar. But as to the office of Clerk of Session, in which, with a general knowledge of law, precision of language and of thought, is the principal requisite, I may without presumption say, that no one is better qualified to discharge its duties; while I would endeavour to devote my-

self, without distraction or anxiety, to pursuits which I trust will not be found to be without result."

To one who knows something of the offices referred to, and the qualifications of some of their occupants, there is something exquisitely comical, and yet really tragical, in the idea of Sir William Hamilton considering himself hardly quite fit to be a Sheriff, but thinking it no presumption to say that he was well qualified for the office of Clerk of Session! He was not, alas! "practical" enough to be free from modesty, and so he got neither Sheriffship nor Clerkship.

These unpleasant revelations are unfortunately not yet exhausted. In July 1844 Sir William was suddenly and without warning struck down by paralysis of the whole right side. His intense occupation of mind, and his unfortunate habit of devoting the ordinary hours of sleep to study, easily account for this seizure. It was at first very severe, but its effects were entirely physical. His mind was totally unaffected, then or afterwards, except in an increase of nervous irritability, insomuch that the patient, as described by his medical attendant Dr. MacLagan, was busy all the time of this attack "making a physiological study of himself." He slowly recovered, but thenceforth his right hand was powerless, his right leg partially so, his articulation sometimes difficult, and the sight of his right eye somewhat impaired. And so he appeared in the remaining years of his life, a sad but noble sight, the strong brave man, now crippled and dependent on the help of others, yet patient, cheerful, and ever active in his work. With the exception of the first session after his illness, when the duties of the class were conducted by his attached friend Professor Ferrier, he continued, with the help of an assistant, to discharge the duties of the Chair as before, and did so heroically to the last. Had his means allowed it, there can be no doubt that he would have preferred to retire from office. But there were then no retiring allowances for Professors, and his whole income from the Chair did not average £500 a year, out of which, among other burdens, he paid for the first seven years an annuity of £100 to his predecessor. The salary consisted of £30 a year from Parliament, and £22, 4s. 4d. from the Town Council, the class-fee was £3, 3s., and the average attendance of the class during the twenty years of his professorship was 135, which makes an average yearly income of £477, 9s. 4d. In these circumstances it was considered by some distinguished members of the Conservative party, which was then



in power, that the public services of Sir William Hamilton, and his acknowledged pre-eminence in learning and philosophy, made his case a suitable one for public recognition in the form of a pension. Such public rewards had been conferred in many other cases of literary or scientific eminence, sometimes on persons of no conspicuous fame, and in the absence of the special claim constituted by bodily infirmity. One of Sir William's colleagues, a much younger man, and in good health, was already in the enjoyment of a considerable pension, on account of his contributions to physical science. Sir William's case seemed a peculiarly strong one. But *Dis aliter visum est*, and he was a metaphysician. Here, we regret to say, *Dis* means Lord John Russell, who had become Premier in place of Sir Robert Peel before the application was presented. The matter was brought under his Lordship's attention in 1846 by Lord Advocate Rutherford, and the reply was, "I found that of £1200 pension £900 had been distributed by Sir Robert Peel. I have advised pensions of £200; there remains only £100. But I will recommend £100 a year to Sir William Hamilton, if he thinks proper to take that sum. I can only say that it is all that is left." The apology for the smallness of the sum was quite adequate, though the terms of the offer might have been more cordial. Sir William, however, thought it his duty respectfully to decline the offer, as being an inadequate recognition of his claims. Lord Jeffrey and other friends having expressed the opinion that he was wrong, he lost no time in writing to the Lord Advocate, to assure him and Lord John Russell that he felt most grateful for the offer, but that, if the grant were to be published without explanation, it would appear to the world as if this were an estimate of his claims, and that by a Government of his own party, which, independently of the consideration of his illness, he should be mortified to think correct. If it were not published, however, he should most gladly avail himself of the intended kindness, and begged that his former letter should be held *pro non scripto*. The Lord Advocate appears to have thought it advisable not to communicate this conditional acceptance to Lord John Russell, and so the matter rested for that year. Next year he informed Sir William that Lord John Russell had found it impossible to include his name in the pension list, owing to the smallness of the fund, and the pressure of other claims, "more especially as he could not now have proposed a larger sum than was last year rejected as inadequate and unbecoming, though it was

all he had then to bestow." There accompanied this a polite assurance of being "very sensible of your great merits," and "deeply lamenting the circumstances," etc. etc. The feelings produced by this communication among Sir William's friends are expressed in a note of Lord Cuninghame's:—

"I return you the Lord Advocate's letter, which Lord Jeffrey had for some days, and tells me he perused with great pain. That Lord John has taken same offence at the refusal last year is plain; and I own I am shocked at the unreasonableness and littleness of the feeling. It has produced the deepest condemnation among all classes of Liberals, and justice must and will be done to Sir William next year, without any effort. That I and all our friends are confident of."

Next year Sir William personally addressed a letter to Lord John Russell, fully explaining the whole matter, and couched in terms the most respectful. He received no answer, and the pension list for 1848 appeared without his name. In 1849 the matter was again represented to Lord John, who then wrote to the Lord Advocate. "The Queen has sanctioned a pension of £100 a year to Sir W. Hamilton. This is all that can be spared, but it may be increased next year if there are the means of doing it." Sir William still declined to accept this pension for himself, but he consented to an arrangement, brought about by Mr. Gibson-Craig, by which it was bestowed on Lady Hamilton. No addition was ever made to it, and an application for that purpose to Lord Palmerston, after Sir William's death, though signed by an unusual number of the most eminent names in the kingdom, met with no success. This is a painful story, and it is only necessary to add, as crowning it, that the same Minister who could spare only £100 to Hamilton, bestowed on his colleague, Professor Wilson, on his retirement two years later, a pension of £300 a year, coupled with the "most gratifying" expression of his Lordship's sentiments towards the illustrious man who had more than any writer in Britain exerted himself to make Whig principles and Whig statesmen contemptible. Wilson's claims, apart from such paltry considerations, were undeniable. But the supposed gracefulness and magnanimity of the act must rather suffer now, in the estimation of those who think due kindness to deserving friends a virtue at least as respectable as generosity to inveterate enemies.

During the remaining years Sir William was little out of doors, with the exception of his daily drive to the University at one o'clock. The records of these years are



therefore confined chiefly to glimpses of his domestic life and literary labours. This, however, is one of the most interesting portions of the biography. The details of his manner of working, his various appliances for facilitating reference to books, his mechanical ingenuity in binding favourite volumes, or in making kites for his children; the illustrations of his simple tastes, his delight in works of imagination and fairy tales, or in a round game with his family, his sense of humour, his tenderness of heart, his kindness to the lower animals, are all full of interest, and make up a very attractive picture. Such little revelations of character as the tracing of grotesque faces on his ms., in the midst of some of his most abstruse discussions on Logic and Metaphysics, his reading through two volumes of Macaulay's History without stopping or going to bed, his enjoyment in being gently concussed into going to see a review in the Queen's Park on Waterloo day, though he had said "No," are very pleasant to read of. A few of his letters to his eldest son, who was now a soldier in India, are perfect models of simplicity and parental tenderness. Among the most curious and interesting materials in this part of the work are some full notes of his conversations made at the time by Mr. Baynes. They are eminently characteristic, and give a most faithful idea of the style in which he used when at ease to unfold the stores of his vast and various knowledge. The account which his daughter gives of his daily mode of life, and the kind of reading he indulged in for relaxation, is also exceedingly interesting. In the concluding chapter Mr. Veitch gives an excellent sketch of the chief contents of his library, and his favourite authors, and a description of his extraordinary Commonplace-Book, of which one or two specimen pages are given. There are many passages in these chapters which we had marked for quotation: we must content ourselves with one, from the pen of one of the late Professor More's daughters. It will pleasantly recall to Sir William's later students the evenings on which they were wont to see him at home:—

"The rooms in which he and his family usually sat were surrounded by books; and how clearly does one in which we passed many a pleasant hour rise to mind! In it, from floor to roof, the book-shelves mounted one above the other, almost entirely covering the walls. The books were of all sorts and sizes, but the brown folios and great volumes clothed in velum, which were level with the eye, inspired us at an early period with profound respect, from seeing them so near, and yet feeling they contained treasures of wisdom and knowledge which we would never reach. Above the

black marble mantelpiece the picture of a strikingly handsome man (Sir William's brother) looked grandly down, and at his side the wall was occupied by fine engravings of the Italian poets—Dante's earnest face always seeming to catch the eye, and to be reminding one that the way to paradise is steep and long. Beneath these, on a table inlaid with brass, stood two handsome malachite vases, some pieces of old china, and usually a glass with flowers—all looking like homage offered to the immortals above. The room was lighted by one large window, and in its embrasure stood a great Indian jar covered with strange devices, which must have had a charmed life, since it had survived many generations of children unscathed. Outside the window, the top of a tall poplar (planted in the court below) swayed to and fro with every breath of air.

"At the further end of the room, two pillars supported a beam which crossed the roof. By some inexplicable combination of ideas, these always reminded us of the two middle pillars in the temple of Dagon. Without doubt, the impression which the pillars in themselves first conveyed was afterwards confirmed, by Sir William in his latter years being almost invariably seated near them at the side of the fire; the sight of the strong man, shorn of his strength by the mysterious malady which had laid hold of him, almost naturally suggesting thoughts of Samson. What a brave spirit his was, which in a form of such massive mould that physical strength seemed its right, endured with patience being held captive and bound with fetters which no effort of his will could break! His grand appearance was adorned with that essential and most ethereal attribute of beauty—colour; and the gleam of the silvered hair, with the deep, dark fire in the eyes, and the delicate carmine which often mounted to the cheek, produced a combination which pleased indescribably. Time and increasing feebleness only made the spirit shine out more visibly from its house of clay, and the sharp distinction between the mortal and immortal part always grew more vivid and interesting."

Sir William's general health was not impaired by the paralytic stroke, and his latter years were among the most laborious of his life. His edition of Reid, as already mentioned, was published in 1846. His *Discussions* appeared in 1852. In 1853 he commenced the superintendence of a collected edition of the Works of Dugald Stewart, which occupied a considerable portion of his time till his death. In addition to the work connected with these publications, he devoted a large amount of research, and accumulated extensive materials, in connexion with a work on Luther, which he did not survive to complete. The papers he left on the subject, Mr. Veitch says, would occupy a large volume. From a specimen extract, apparently intended for a preface, we take the following sentences:—"I know a hundred



portraits of Luther the Angel, and a hundred pendants of Luther the Devil; but I know not a single true likeness of Luther the Man." "Luther I not merely admire, but love. My love is, however, limited to the real Luther, and him I love with all his faults and weaknesses—nay, more, perhaps, that he is no 'monster of perfection.' As to the ideal Luther, angel or devil, for such I care no more than for any other fancy which folly, ignorance, prejudice, or perfidy may engender. I look to truth alone." Another work he had contemplated, and to which he at an earlier period devoted much time, was a Life and new edition of the poems of George Buchanan. In his annotated copy of Ruddiman's quarto edition, some of the pages are perfectly covered with illustrative quotations, parallel passages, and references to ancient and modern Latin poetry. It may be hoped that this work, though unfinished, will not be lost to the world. As an illustration of his other miscellaneous labours, we quote from a letter of Lady Hamilton to her son in 1848, "As soon as he was able after his attack of erysipelas, he took to answering a letter from Mr. Thomson of Oxford, on some of his logical theories, and last night we despatched a second letter of twenty-two folio pages of close writing, all of which I had to write twice over."

While at Largo, in Fifeshire, during the summer of 1853, Sir William, in walking up-stairs alone, fell and broke his right arm. He speedily recovered from that injury, but the shock to his head appears to have resulted in a serious illness during the following winter, after which he never recovered his former vigour. During that session he was for some time absent from the class, and was thereafter carried in a sedan chair up the weary flight of stairs that led to his class-room. The summer was again spent in the country, and he was busy with Stewart's Works, but now easily tired and agitated. Next winter he got through the session well, though the work was fatiguing. How affecting it is to read such words as these—"To his own feelings and ours it is certainly very painful that, when so unable for his work, he should be compelled to go on with it for the sake of income; but at the same time it is good for him, . . . and for these reasons it is well that he should retain his professorship as long as he can at all fulfil its duties." The autumn of this year was spent in Fifeshire, and symptoms of declining strength became more visible. But again the session work was faithfully gone through, without missing a day, till it terminated in the middle of April. On the 28th of that month he was down-stairs for

the last time, and finished his last literary labour, the correction of a proof-sheet for the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, of a biography of Heyne, written by him for the previous edition. That night he was taken ill with congestion of the brain. On the 5th of May 1856 he became unconscious, though in lucid intervals he recognised and faintly spoke to those around him. It was not in his nature at any time to give much expression to his deepest feelings or his faith, which was as firm as his conviction of man's impotence to grasp the Infinite. In his last conscious hour he was heard to utter these words, "Thy rod and thy staff they comfort me." As night approached the darkness deepened over him, and with the morning dawn he gently passed to where there is no darkness at all.

We may close with the words of another of Scotland's acutest metaphysicians, who, though widely differing from Hamilton in philosophy, had the fullest appreciation of his greatness, and loved him like a son,—Professor Ferrier:—

"A simpler and a grander nature never arose out of darkness into human life: a truer and a manlier character God never made. How plain and yet how polished was his life in all its ways; how refined, yet how robust and broad his intelligence in all its workings! . . . His contributions to philosophy have been great; but the man himself was greater far."

#### ART. VII.—THE EARLY HISTORY OF MAN.

WE propose briefly to consider three points connected with the early history of man: the first respects his antiquity; the second his primitive condition; and the third the method of studying his early progress.

I. THE ANTIQUITY OF MAN.—Our proposition is that the antiquity of man is very great—the popular chronology entirely wrong. The point to be cleared is, Whether all the races of men can have had their progenitors in the members of a single family 2348 B. C.,—the date of the deluge? If we can show that to be impossible our proposition will be proved, since the chronology which asserts it is the only obstacle to our believing man to have been on earth for any length of time. It is commonly supposed that this chronology is founded on Scripture; but in the Old Testament there is no connected chronology prior to Solomon. "All that now passes for ancient chronology beyond that fixed point is the melancholy



legacy of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; a compound of intentional deceit and utter misconception of the principles of historical research."\*

In the earliest historical times great and highly civilized nations existed in different parts of the world. This is what we should expect, because history begins with records, and before a people can bring to perfection the arts which make enduring records possible, they must have made great progress in civilization. Of the ancient communities we select for consideration three—the Egyptian, the Chinese, and the Indo-European "mother-tribe." The facts ascertained respecting the antiquity and ancient condition of these communities establish our proposition.

(1.) *Ancient Egypt*.—Those entitled to have an opinion respecting the commencement of history in Egypt differ from one another, but agree in referring it to a time precedent to "the dispersion of mankind." Lepsius assigned to the accession of Menes the date 3893 B.C., which merely agrees with that given by Kenrick and Humboldt; Bunsen fixed it at 3648 B.C.; Pickering, Lenormant, Champollion-Figeac, and Böckh, referred it to dates varying between 4400 and 5867 B.C. It is unnecessary to insist on the correctness of any of these computations: sufficient for our purpose are the computations of such men as Wilkinson and Poole. Wilkinson had in 1835 assigned a comparatively recent date to Menes, saying, "I have not placed him earlier, for fear of interfering with the Deluge, the date of which is 2848 B.C." He remodelled his chronology at a later time, and assigned to the accession of this king the date 2320 B.C., being twenty-eight years *after* the flood, and ninety-six *before* the dispersion of mankind.† Mr. Poole's view is thus represented by the Duke of Argyll:—"The most moderate computation carries the foundation of that [the Egyptian] Monarchy as far back as 700 years before the visit of the Hebrew Patriarch. Some of the best German scholars hold that there is evidence of a much longer chronology. But seven centuries before Abraham is the estimate of Mr. R. Stuart Poole, of the British Museum, who is one of the very highest authorities, and certainly the most cautious, upon questions of Egyptian chronology. This places the beginning

of the Pharaohs in the twenty-eighth century B.C. But according to Usher's interpretation of the Hebrew Pentateuch, the twenty-eighth century B.C. would be some 400 years before the Flood. On the other hand, a difference of 800 years is allowed by the chronology which is founded on the Septuagint Version of the Scriptures. But the fact of this difference tells in two ways. A margin of variation amounting to eight centuries between two versions of the same document, is a variation so enormous, that it seems to cast complete doubt on the whole system of interpretation on which such computations of time are based. And yet it is more than questionable whether it is possible to reconcile the known order of events with even this larger estimate of the number of years. It is true that, according to this larger estimate, the Flood would be carried back about four and a half centuries beyond the beginning of the Pharaohs. But is this enough? The founding of a Monarchy is not the beginning of a race. The people among whom such Monarchies arose must have grown and gathered during many generations. Nor is it in regard to the peopling of Egypt alone that this difficulty meets us in the face. The existence in the days of Abraham of such an organized government as that of Chedorlaomer, shows that 2000 years B.C. there flourished in Elam, beyond Mesopotamia, a nation which even now would be ranked among 'the Great Powers.' And if nations so great had thus arisen, altogether unnoticed in the Hebrew narrative—if we are left to gather as best we may from other sources, all our knowledge of their origin and growth, how much more is this true of far distant lands over which the advancing tide of human population had rolled, or was then rolling, its mysterious wave?"\* Nothing need be added to the case as here so well put.

As to the state of civilization in Egypt at the commencement of its history, we have the fact that the hieroglyphic system appears on the earliest extant monuments belonging to the fourth dynasty, and must therefore have been in use for centuries before. The monuments themselves are proof of some knowledge of the sciences of geodesy and astronomy, and of great skill in the mechanical arts; and, indeed, had the people not been excellent hydraulic engineers they could not have established themselves in towns in the Lower Valley of the Nile. "The pyramids and the sepulchres near them," says Kenrick, "remain to assure us

\* Bunsen's *Egypt's Place in Universal History* (Lond. 1848), Pref. p. 1.

† See, for a discussion of these dates and computations, *Types of Mankind*, by J. C. Nott and G. R. Gliddon (Philadelphia, 1854), p. 671 *et seq.*

\* *Primeval Man*, by the Duke of Argyll (1869), pp. 85-88.



that the Egyptians were then a powerful and populous nation, far advanced in the arts of life; and as a people can only progressively attain such a station, the light of history is reflected back from this era upon the ages which preceded it." \* . Reed-pens, inks (red and black), papyrus-paper, chemically prepared colours, beautifully executed bas-reliefs, a magnificent architecture, pyramidal and hydraulic engineering, are items in the proof that they were highly civilized. It is important to observe that the records show them to have been but one of several contemporary nations; that they believed themselves to be autochthones; and that many of their institutions were unquestionably indigenous. The hieroglyphics were their own; much was peculiar to them in manners, customs, and arts; their religion—there was a national priesthood—was in some particulars local; and every animal and plant delineated in their sculptures belonged to the land they inhabited. It is implied in what has been said, and is the fact, that the ancient Egyptians were agriculturists, and had a variety of domesticated animals.

(2.) *China*.—In China we see a mighty State, comprising about one-third of mankind, living under the same government and code of laws, speaking the same language, and enjoying the same culture. That State appears in a remote antiquity, with peculiarities that still adhere to it; its language, science, philosophy, industries, and marvellous administrative machinery, having features peculiarly its own. Of its origin, of the consolidation of so many races of men under a common government, we know nothing; but as well might we believe coal-beds and chalk-cliffs to be primordial features of the earth's crust, as the empire of China to have been the growth of a few hundreds, or even thousands, of years. When its authentic history commences is another matter. The beginning of its historical period is perhaps as well fixed as any such fact can be at 2637 B.C. The Hia dynasty, at least, beginning with Yu the Great, is well fixed at 2200 B.C., little more than 100 years after the flood, according to Usher, and but twenty-four years after the "dispersion of mankind." Of the ancient civilization of the Chinese we shall give no details. The reader will consider how much progress is implied in the consolidation of a monarchy.

### (3.) *The Indo-Europeans*.—The earliest

\* *Ancient Egypt under the Pharaohs* (London, 1850), p. 131.

date claiming to be historically established for any race of the Indo-European group is about 2400 B.C., which Mr. James Fergusson assigns to the entrance of the Solar Aryans into India.\* We are enabled, however, to contemplate the Indo-Europeans at a time long before that invasion. The chief triumph of philology is the generalization which has brought to our knowledge the mother-tribe of the Sanskrit-speaking Aryans, the Persians, the Greeks and Latins, Germans, Slaves, and Celts. In that tribe, before its disruption, the grammatical structure still seen in the languages of its derivatives had been developed, and many objects, acts, and processes had been named. The names given to these, being a portion of the vocabulary of the mother-tribe, have been ascertained by a process as simple as it is ingenious—the examination of the derived languages, and the reasonable inference that any word found in all, or nearly all, of them, is a part of the common inheritance from the mother-tribe. More need not be said of a generalization with which by this time most readers are familiar. Now, while philology, thus investigating the early history of the Indo-Europeans, can tell us nothing of the locality of the parent tribe, nor of the date of the dispersion, it assumes to fix with confidence a date before which the dispersion must have happened. Mr. Whitney in his excellent book on Language says, "To set a date lower than 3000 years before Christ for the dispersion of the Indo-European family would doubtless be altogether inadmissible; and the event is most likely to have taken place far earlier."† In this conclusion we imagine every philologist will agree. The mother-tribe of the group is exhibited as a language-using tribe distinct from the Mongols and Semites, and most probably territorially disconnected from them at a time long anterior to that of the alleged dispersion of mankind.

Let us now see what was the state of civilisation in the mother-tribe of the Indo-Europeans. Mr. Max Muller has done more than any other writer to familiarize English readers with the facts about which among philologists there is no dispute; but the most condensed statement of them we know is given by the American author whom we have just cited. Mr. Whitney says: "It is found that the primitive tribe which spoke the mother-tongue of the Indo-European

\* *Tree and Serpent-Worship* (1868), pp. 59, 63 of the Introduction.

† *Language and the Study of Language*, by W. D. Whitney, Professor of Sanskrit in Yale College (Trübner & Co., London, 1867), p. 205.



family was not nomadic alone, but had settled habitations, even towns and fortified places, and addicted itself in part to the rearing of cattle, in part to the cultivation of the earth. It possessed our chief domestic animals—the horse, the ox, the sheep, the goat, and the swine, besides the dog: the bear and the wolf were foes that ravaged its flocks; the mouse and fly were already its domestic pests. The region it inhabited was a varied one, not bordering upon the ocean. The season whose name has been most persistent is the winter. Barley, and perhaps also wheat, was raised for food, and converted into meal. Mead was prepared from honey, as a cheering and inebriating drink. The use of certain metals was known; whether iron was one of them admits of question. The art of weaving was practised; wool and hemp, and possibly flax, being the materials employed. Of other branches of domestic industry, little that is definite can be said; but those already mentioned imply a variety of others as co-ordinate or auxiliary to them. The weapons of offence and defence were those which are usual among primitive peoples,—the sword, spear, bow, and shield. Boats were manufactured, and moved by oars. Of extended and elaborate political organization no traces are discoverable: the people was doubtless a congeries of petty tribes, under chiefs and leaders, rather than kings, and with institutions of a patriarchal cast, among which the reduction to servitude of prisoners taken in war appears not to have been wanting. The structure and relations of the family are more clearly seen; names of its members, even to the second and third degrees of consanguinity and affinity, were already fixed, and were significant of affectionate regard and trustful interdependence. That woman was looked down upon, as a being in capacity and dignity inferior to man, we find no indication whatever. The art of numeration was learned, at least up to a hundred; there is no general Indo-European word for ‘thousand.’ Some of the stars were noticed and named: the moon was the chief measurer of time. The religion was polytheistic, a worship of the personified powers of nature. Its rites whatever they were, were practised without the aid of a priesthood.”\*

Three civilizations, occurring in the three families into which mankind is usually divided, have now been exhibited, two of them with some detail, at dates anterior to that which the popular chronology has fixed for

the commencement of the peopling of the world. These civilizations were high compared with the state of human tribes yet on the earth. The people were agriculturists, and well practised in the common arts of life. They had a variety of domesticated animals; indeed, but few animals have within the historical period been added to the list. They clothed themselves with a variety of fabrics, dwelt in houses and in towns, protecting the latter by fortifications; they had speculated on the order of the spiritual world, and evolved religions; on the order of the material world, and evolved bodies of doctrine, which we should call sciences. They differed from one another in language, religion, physical characters, and social arrangements; but in this they agreed, that they had left a state of barbarism far in the rear.

If now we take up our position in time at a date preceding the alleged dispersion of mankind, say somewhere about 2700 years B. C., and contemplate the Chinese, the Egyptians, and the early Aryans,— *races so different in type, geographically disconnected, and so far advanced in civilization,—and ask when were these nations represented by their progenitors in the primitive family-group from which some think mankind has been derived, is it not plain that we shall be forced to say, “If they ever were so represented, it must have been many thousands of years ago. In 4000 years the types of men have not changed.” They were either primordial, or their production must have occupied ages.”*

Here we may say that our proposition has been proved, and that the popular chronology, whose influence on historical inquiry has been so pernicious, must be discarded. It may be believed that, once it is fairly given up, we shall be unable to think of the ancient nations as being at all *much* nearer the beginnings of human progress than we are ourselves; we shall be unable to think that four or five thousand years are more than a fraction of the time which that progress has occupied. When that point of view becomes common, no one will any longer wonder at the Greeks appearing with the wonderful Homeric poems as their earliest record, or at the Aryans possessing the Veda from the dawn of history. Indeed, a knowledge of the Vedic literature, which, through the labours of Müller, Muir, and others, is being brought within our reach, will do much to establish the position we

\* *Language and the Study of Language*, 1. c. p. 207.

\* This is established by the monuments of ancient Egypt.



have been maintaining. That most ancient literature is in many respects wonderfully modern,\* and no one can study it without feeling that the years that separate us from the poets are few compared with those that separated the poets from barbarism.

(4.) *Archæology*.—The body of facts accumulated in the pages of Lubbock and Lyell bearing on the antiquity and ancient condition of man forms a hitherto innominate science (which we must glance at), comprising the history, so far as we know it, of what are called "prehistoric" times. We have evidence of man as a tool-using animal, and, what is more remarkable, as an artist, inhabiting the earth, along with genera of animals now extinct, most probably more than 20,000 years ago.† He then possessed the same characteristics that he now exhibits; was distinctively *man*, with remarkable powers of contrivance, and æsthetic tastes, though with less knowledge, and consequently with ruder habits. It would be out of place to enter into the details of this evidence. The fact that Sir Charles Lyell has yielded to the pressure of it, after a long resistance, is the best proof of its force.

\* As an illustration take Rig-Veda ix. 112, which has been closely translated as follows:—

"How multifarious are the views which different men inspire!  
How various are the ends which men of various crafts desire!  
The leech a patient seeks; the smith looks out for something cracked;  
The priest seeks devotees from whom he may his foe extract.  
With feathers, metals, and the like, and sticks decayed and old,  
The workman manufactures wares to win the rich man's gold.  
A poet I, my sire a leech, and corn my mother grinds:  
On gain intent, we each pursue our trades of different kinds.  
The draught-horse seeks an easy car; of gallants girls are fond;  
The merry dearly love a joke; and frogs desire a pond."

There is a prose rendering of this lyric in Mr. John Muir's *Miscellaneous Hymns from the Rig and Atharva Vedas*, in the Proceedings of the Royal Asiatic Society. Mr. Muir says of it, "It is distinguished by a vein of naïve observation not unmingled with satire." It might have been written yesterday in London by a quiet cynic of the Thackeray type, who, looking to the balance and movement of the piece, would scarcely have said more in it of the aims and pursuits of the men of to-day than is here recorded of those which engaged men of our race 4000 years ago. It is instructive to reflect that this is a part of that Vedic literature which the orthodox Hindoo believes existed in the mind of God from all eternity!

† It illustrates the nature of the struggle between the old and new views of the age of man that there are some who regard the stone implements, which often are the only witnesses of man's existence long ago, as being "inventions of the devil" intended to mislead the human intellect. *Fossils* were thus long regarded!

We may glance, however, at the facts in one district disclosed by cave-excavation. Human remains have been found along with those of the elephant and rhinoceros in the south of France; and there is proof that the concurrence in the same district of such remains with those of the reindeer at least is not accidental,—that the two were inhabitants of the country contemporaneously. The bones of the reindeer were broken open for the marrow, and many of them bear the marks of knives. At Les Eyzies a vertebra of this animal was found that had been pierced by a stone weapon when it was fresh. The stone instruments found are suited for a variety of uses; for aid in eating, in killing, and in manufactures; the "finds" comprising scrapers, cores, awls, lance-heads, cutters, hammers, and mortar-stones. "In the archaic bone-caves," says Sir John Lubbock, "many very fair pictures have been found, scratched on bone or stone with a sharp point, probably of a flint implement. In some cases there is even an attempt at shading. . . . In the lower station at Langerie several of these drawings have been found; one represents a large herbivorous animal, but unfortunately without the head or forelegs; a second also is apparently intended for some species of ox; a third represents a smaller animal, with vertical horns; another is evidently intended for a horse; and a fifth is very interesting, because, from the shape of the antlers and head, it was evidently intended for a reindeer. Several similar drawings have been obtained by M. de Laëtic in a cave at Bruniquet. But perhaps the most remarkable example of the cave-man's art is a poniard, cut out of a reindeer's horn. The artist has ingeniously adapted the position of the animal to the necessities of the case. The horns are thrown back on the neck, the forelegs are doubled up under the belly, and the hind-legs are stretched out along the blade. Unfortunately the poniard seems to have been thrown away before the carving was quite finished, but several of the details indicate that the animal intended to be represented was a reindeer."\* The cave-men, though they were such good artists, were ignorant of metals, of the art of *polishing* their stone implements, of pottery and agriculture. They had no domestic animals—not even the dog. Similar evidence demonstrates a like antiquity and condition of men in different parts of the world.

We have now transcended the period of

\* *Prehistoric Times*, by Sir John Lubbock, Bart. (1865), pp. 254-5.



historical records. In reaching a time indefinitely more remote, we have come on a condition of man indefinitely lower. Yet we find ourselves still far from the fountain-head—assuming for the moment that there has been from the first a progress; we find man still distinctively human, a tool-user, an artist, a thinker, an ingenious craftsman. Rude as the instruments were with which the cave-man worked, they yet required much thought to devise them, and great dexterity of hand to frame and to employ them. What man then wanted most was a knowledge of workable materials, and of methods of working—a knowledge which no one, we imagine, will maintain came to him otherwise than gradually, through the exercise from time to time of his wits, in new circumstances and on novel occasions; through happy accidents, or as the result of some of the infinitely varied suggestions springing up in the mind, often, as we call it, casually. The cave-dweller was a hunter, and probably ate his prey raw. He broke the bones of animals to get at the marrow. But he was a social creature, and had time for, and cultivated, the arts of amusement. What more he may have been we shall never ascertain from the record that discloses these facts. What were his relations to his females, to his children, to his fellows; under what rules the groups in a district associated in the chase and divided its produce; whether there was any division of labour, any political system, this record, from the nature of it, can never inform us.

It here occurs, that in referring to an epoch so remote as 20,000 years ago, we may appear to be assuming, without evidence, that the earth itself then existed. The popular chronology declares it did not then exist as emphatically as it declares that distinct nations could not appear in different parts of the world earlier than 2224 a.c., the date assigned to the dispersion of mankind. Perhaps any remarks on this point are by this time superfluous; one or two may, however, be submitted with confidence for consideration. It is familiar that the defenders of this chronology—which is as purely a *human* invention as is the bicycle velocipede—have been obliged to stretch the days of creation, as given in Genesis, into periods of time of indefinite duration—millions of years, if necessary. It is also familiar that they are being obliged to regard the Mosaic account as comprising a history of the white races of men only—the others having nothing, on that view, to do with Adam.\* Our first re-

mark is that these concessions prove that the evidence of the antiquity of man has been felt to be irresistible, considering the weight of the prepossessions it has been able to overcome. Our next remark is that astronomy sets the existence of *the world* more than 20,000 years ago beyond doubt, by showing that there are stars now visible to us whose light takes at least 50,000 years to cross the space that separates us from them. Lastly, we observe that in the latest assault made on geological time by Sir William Thomson, the conclusion arrived at, on physical considerations, is, that geologists must contrive to confine “all geological history showing continuity of life,” within “*some such period of past time as ONE HUNDRED MILLION YEARS!*” \* The student of human history, regarding man as the latest and highest of organized beings, is disposed to be content with such a slice off the 100,000,000 years as may reasonably be thought to belong to him, and feels that he is nowise greedy when he claims a little more than 20,000 years out of the 100,000,000 as necessary for an explanation of the progress of mankind.

II. THE PRIMITIVE STATE.—Within the historical period the progress of man has been effected from point to point by his powers exerted to meet his occasions. All we know of man in prehistoric times shows that he was then less advanced than at the dawn of history. Was the gulf between the cave-dwellers and the ancient nations crossed through such exertions as have improved the condition of men within the historical period; and was the stage of advancement the cave-dwellers were in reached by similar exertions put forth by men advancing from a still lower condition? The forces that have effected such a mighty progress in the sciences and arts, and in the domestic and political grouping of men, within the period of history, will, if we assume them to have been at work from the first, afford an ample explanation of a progress from the rudest beginnings. They will do so even on the assumption that they were at first *less*, and their action less intense. On the other hand, the question above put cannot be answered in the negative unless we assume a commencement of the action of these forces, and that the progress we see could never have been carried on by them had it not been set agoing by supernatural means on a basis of communicated ideas. Such an assumption would be unscientific, and the inquiry is

\* *On Geological Time*, by Sir William Thomson, LL.D., Trans. Geol. Soc. of Glasgow, vol. iii. Part I. p. 1.

\* *Primeval Man*, l. c. p. 104.



scientific. That the ancient nations had a long history that is unrecorded is certain. The stage of advancement at which records can begin is necessarily high, and on the theory of development the greater part of a nation's life is probably passed before reaching it. That the unrecorded part was, like the recorded, a progress, can generally be shown; that it was effected by other forces than those we still see at work there is no evidence.

The question we have above put, and, after a fashion, answered, it is usual to put somewhat differently, as when it is asked whether men were originally savage or civilized. If men were civilized to begin, existing savage races have fallen from the primitive state; if men were savage to begin, the ancient nations advanced in prehistoric times to the civilized state in which they appear. Our proposition is that men were originally savage and not civilized.

Let us here define what we mean by civilization. We have hitherto used the word indefinitely, as it is employed in common parlance, but a precise definition of it is necessary to prevent confusion in the discussions we are entering upon. The word *civilization*, as its etymology indicates, denotes the condition *cives*, of men, that is, united in societies which are also *civitates*—States. Of the many ideas the word now brings together, this is clearly the primary one, so that strictly we should not be justified in at all speaking of the stage of civilization of any people ignorant of the relations implied in citizenship. The combination of men in civil societies is possible only on certain conditions, namely, those which must be complied with before large numbers of men can live permanently together; and the first of these is ORDER, and the second is what we may call a COMMISSARIAT. The order of society turns wholly on the *grouping* of its members, domestic and political while the efficiency of the commissariat depends of course on the stage at which the arts of subsistence have arrived, and the established facilities for the distribution and interchange of productions. Necessary for both of these main conditions being fulfilled are certain faculties,—the means of interchanging ideas and a capacity for common action, which implies a community of ideas and sympathies, as well as interests. Civilization begins with the State, and no earlier; and those who would discriminate between stages ruder than that, must be understood as speaking of preparatory stages leading up to the State from various distances and at varying rates. The idea of the State is elementary, like that of the family. The family rests on the closest blood-relationship; the

gens on consanguinity, real or assumed, between the families composing it; the tribe, according to the common theory, is composed of cognate gentes. The State begins where blood-ties terminate. In the largest tribe a man is simply a tribesman: he is a citizen in the smallest group of tribes politically united under a common government.

This definition fixes attention on three distinct sets of phenomena—(1.) The grouping, domestic and political, of men in societies; (2.) The arts and sciences; and (3.) The means of intercommunication and common action. The means of communication is of course language. Religion is a most powerful social bond, facilitating common action by establishing a community of sentiments and aspirations. We propose rapidly to glance at the facts which show that in each and all of these, there has been development.

(1.) *Grouping*.—Before we can say whether there has been any progress in grouping, it is necessary to see whether we can find a test by which one mode of grouping can be known to be higher and better than another. Such a test we think exists.

No one will question but that a tribe of men, ignorant of marriage and blood-relationship, and without permanent attachments of males to females, and of parents to offspring, is as low a group as is conceivable, a simple *herd*, as we should call it, when presented as an aggregate of creatures other than human. The rudest permanent arrangement of the sexes, and the most imperfect system of kinship—say, for instance, a system of kinship through mothers only,—appearing in a group, would compel us to recognise it as *more* advanced than that first considered. Permanent arrangements of a sort to permit kinship through fathers as well as mothers we should recognise as entitling a group to rank higher than the second considered. Looking at it another way: any regulated relation of the sexes is an advance on promiscuity; the Tibetan polyandry, in which the co-husbands are brothers, is an advance on the Nair, in which the co-husbands are strangers in blood; the Levirate is an improvement on—it is at any rate an advance from—Tibetan polyandry; monandry, with the agnatic family, repudiating such an obligation as the Levirate implies, is an improvement on the Levirate, and, lastly, we may see that modern marriage-laws, gradually conceding equality of rights to women, are improving a system which still preserves too many features of the husband's absolute supremacy as head of the agnatic family. A similar series of stages from lower to higher might be pointed out in the evolution



of rights of property and laws of succession—rights and laws intimately connected with domestic grouping. As regards political grouping, it is not so easy to effect a classification. This is not to be wondered at, considering that no respectable arrangements have as yet anywhere been established for the reasonable government of large communities. Progress in political organization is in its infancy. Yet there are stages in the past history of even political grouping which, as manifestly connected with and determined by the domestic grouping, might pretty safely be classified. We shall not here, however, affect to offer a classification, as there does not exist such a body of settled opinion as could confidently be appealed to in justification of a scheme. Enough has been said to show how a classification of stages of progress in grouping generally may be effected, and that suffices for our purpose at this point.

Now, we have numerous examples of all the stages of domestic grouping we have enumerated occurring among the most diverse races of men. We have numerous instances of the family as a group, with the mother at its head—the marriage system polyandrous, and the husbands living not with the wife but in their mothers' houses. We have numerous instances, again, of a polyandrous arrangement, by which a woman becomes the wife of all the brothers of a family, passing into permanent residence with them in *their* house. We have cases transitional between these two, and also between the last mentioned and the agnatic family, and can show how the one grew into the other. Sometimes we can exhibit the transition in progress in adjoining districts of the same country. In some cases, again, it can be shown that they actually succeeded one another as stages of evolution in the progress of particular nations. Take the case of kinship, for example (which depends on the form of the family), and the history of the Greeks as illustrating the growth of systems of kinships. The Homeric poems exhibit the ties of kinship through both father and mother as being recognised, and furnish hints that at an earlier time only the ties through the mother were acknowledged. These hints, when combined with the ancient traditions of the people, read in the light of facts elsewhere disclosed, *prove* that at an earlier time there was kinship through mothers only. In the post-Homeric times we reach a stage at which there was kinship through fathers only, that is, when agnation was established. Orestes was esteemed no relation of his mother Clytemnestra. Later still, agnation broke down, and there was again kinship acknowledged through mothers as well as

fathers. These stages of evolution are not only well vouched, but the causes can be assigned which determined them—causes connected mainly with changes in the marriage-laws and the laws of inheritance, of which changes, again, the causes can generally be assigned. Such an evolution as is in this case presented can be shown to have taken place in numerous unconnected cases: we find tribes of men now existing occupying one or other of the stages precedent or transitional to that in which the Homeric Greeks appear; again, we find nations more ancient than the Greeks, either exhibiting traces of having, in the prehistoric times, come through such precedent stages, or occupying one or other of them, or one or other of the stages later than, and advancing from, that the Homeric Greeks occupied; lastly, *we cannot find a nation that offers no traces of such stages.* These facts being sufficiently attested, we are obliged to conclude that there was a law of progress in the evolution of forms of domestic grouping, which may be enunciated as a law of human progress; and the only explanation that can be offered of such a progress is, that men have advanced from the savage state.

Not only can every conceivable stage of domestic grouping be discovered in the history of the ancient nations, but the moral sentiments of men can be seen improving with the domestic institutions. It is a favourite idea with some that man's progress has been material merely; that as a moral being he has not made progress. It may be a question whether he is readier now than formerly to observe the standards of propriety established in the society of which he is a member. We incline to think he has improved even in this respect. Public opinion, which applies the severest sanctions of right conduct, is more searching and powerful now, and, other things being the same, the disposition to obey the dictates of conscience may be assumed stronger the sharper the penalties of disobedience are. Of the improvement of the standards of propriety there is no doubt.

Look to the rules related to domestic grouping which constitute the standard of purity—the laws regulating the relations of the sexes generally. Sister marriages were common in ancient Egypt, where acts of prostitution in the temples were prescribed to the women. In ancient Persia there seems to have been no law of incest at all. Brothers and sisters married, and even mothers and sons. Unions of mothers and sons were *required* for the production of persons eligible to certain religious offices. Marriages were allowed both in Athens and



Sparta between brothers and sisters of the half-blood. They were permissible also among the Jews. Amnon and Tamar were marriageable—"speak to the king, and he will not withhold me from thee."\* Abraham married his sister, his father's daughter; Nahor married his niece, his brother's daughter. Amram, the father of Moses, married his father's sister. Such marriages we declare incestuous, and to be capital crimes. Anciently they were all right—agreeable to the moral standard; it is the standard of propriety that has changed with the nature of domestic grouping.

Where, again, is the ancient nation that was monogamous? The Jews certainly were not. They recognised concubinage as well as polygyny. Jacob had two sisters to wife at one time—a thing subsequently forbidden, polygyny being recognised in the prohibition. A Jew might marry his brother's widow, although he had wives of his own; indeed, at one time she became his wife without any form of marriage;† afterwards he was enabled to get quit of her;‡ arrangements that go to show that *polyandry* had anciently been a Jewish institution. Well, if not among the Jews, where else shall we look for monogamy? No Semitic people had it. Shall we find it among the Vedic races? The Rig-Veda contains traces of both polygyny and concubinage. The term *sapatrī* occurs, for example, which means having the same husband. The Hymns, x. 145, 159, contain charms by which a wife tries to get rid of her rivals. For the kings, concubinage became an institution.§ In the Sātāpāthā Brāhmāṇa, ix. 4. 1. 6, we have the order of sacrifice regulated on the principle of men being entitled to have many wives:—"He gives pre-eminence to the man in consequence of his vigour. He sacrifices to the man as if to one, and to the woman as if to many. Wherefore also one man has many wives." And so on. Here, again, as in the Jewish case, we can see that polyandry preceded polygyny as the marriage system. We find in the Rig-Veda that the Asvin brothers had one wife between them—Sūryā. It is familiar that in the great epic, the Mahābhārata, the heroes—the five Pandava Princes—had one wife between them, Draupadī. The authorities hold that there is proof that the Brahmans who compiled the epic from old materials, found this tradition too strong for them, otherwise they would

have suppressed it; and that, since the marriage was repugnant on the whole to Vedic and altogether to post-Vedic ideas, the story belongs to the pre-Vedic history of the people.

The father of Draupadī is represented by the compilers as shocked at the proposal of the Princes to marry his daughter. "You who know the law," he is made to say, "must not commit an unlawful act which is contrary to usage and the Vedas." The reply is, "The law, O king, is subtle; we do not know its way. We follow the path which has been trodden by our ancestors in succession." One of the Princes then pleads precedent: "In an old tradition it is recorded that Jātīlā, of the family of Gotama, that most excellent of moral women, dwelt with seven saints; and that Vārksatī, the daughter of a Muni, cohabited with ten brothers, all of them called Prachetas, whose souls had been purified by penance."\* The tradition being too stubborn for the Brahmans they thus tried as much as they could to palliate it. It is a tradition of that stage of the family group which prevails now in Thibet, and no one could study Manu and doubt that such a stage had anciently existed among the Hindoos. That it was pre-Vedic may be considered certain. At any rate, monogamy was not the Vedic idea of marriage, and we cannot doubt but there had been a progress in the pre-Vedic as well as in the post-Vedic times. In the latter, caste has arisen—the laws of inheritance and marriage shifting from ruder to more civilized types. In the discussion between the Pandavas and their father-in-law we have simply a case of collision between moral standards belonging to two stages of the progress.

The Homeric Greeks were after a fashion monogamous; but they also had only just left polyandry in the rear. Their marriage system was clearly only a few generations old at the Troica, for none of them had a pedigree with more than one or two known fathers. It consisted moreover with their having any number of captive wives. Let us observe also of the Greeks, that while they were developing a proper law of incest and marriage they were gathering a literature round the practice of *naupatrisia*. The relation between a man and his *aitas* they constituted by one of the ancient forms of marriage.† It is disagreeable to recall such facts; but they are necessary for our argument. To clearly understand what moral standards have been derelinquished by men within the historical period, a wide survey

\* 2 Samuel xlii. 13, and see verse 16.

† Lewis's *Hebrew Republic* (1725), vol. iii. p. 268.

‡ Ruth iv. 6; Deut. xxv. 5-10.

§ Rig-Veda, xx. 1. 12, and 1. 72; and see, for traces of polygyny, i. 112. 19, v. 42. 12.

\* On the Mahābhārata. Reprinted from the *Westminster Review* for April 1868.

† Grote's *Greece*, vol. ii. p. 500.



would have to be taken of ancient facts, of a nature still more disagreeable.\*

It matters not what moral standard we take, when we study the history of the rules now constituting it we shall have a similar account to give of them. They are the lower the farther back we go, and are everywhere in harmony with the general character of the grouping at each stage of the evolution. But of the evolution of grouping and of moral sentiments from such low stages as we have exhibited, what explanation, we repeat, can be given, except that men have advanced from the savage state?

Other explanations have no doubt been offered; but it is impossible to regard them as being other than the products of an uninformed fancy. Take, for example, the hypothesis of Sir George Grey in explanation of the peculiar grouping, the complex laws of marriage, intermarriage, kinship, and succession, which he found among the natives of Australia. These laws are familiar to us as transitional in the case of numerous primitive races in many quarters of the world. And we have evidence of such laws among the most ancient nations. To Sir George they appeared, not as evolved from the past experiences of the people, and in the course of growth and modification, but as being of divine appointment, and immutable. "The laws of this people," he says, "are unfitted for the government of a single isolated family, some of them being only adapted for the regulation of an assemblage of families; they could, therefore, not have been a series of rules given by the first father to his children: again, they could not have been rules given by an assembly of the first fathers to their children, for there are these remarkable features about them; that some are of such a nature as to compel those subject to them to remain in a state of barbarism, whilst others are adapted to the wants and necessities of savage races, as well as to prevent too close intermarriages of a people, who preserve no written or symbolical records of any kind; and in all these instances the desired ends are obtained by the simplest means, so that we are necessitated to admit that when these rules were planned, it was foreseen that the race submitted to them would be savages, and under this foresight the necessary provision was made for the event."† Elsewhere he says it is impossi-

ble to believe the Australians to have been originally civilized, and equally impossible to believe that their laws had been developed.\* His conclusion is, the laws were designed by God for them as savages, and with a view to prevent them ever improving! It is only what we should expect after this, when the same writer says that "The first natives who were placed on the (Australian) continent must have been instructed how to provide for their wants, how to form weapons suited to their circumstances, how to select roots and to capture animals fit for food."† A revealed stone arrow-head or boomerang should no more surprise us than an inspired "inch." If an inch is to be so taken, then an ell. We have been offered a revelation of the entire metric system!

The progress we contend for is wholly divine as much as it is wholly human. What is at issue is the mode of the divine operation. Why should a revelation to the Negritans and peoples in their situation be of stone arrows, suggesting a low state of development? Why not at once the Henry rifle and Boxer-Henry cartridge? Is there a special fitness of the boomerang for killing beasts or men in Australia, and nowhere else, since no other country has it? More reasonable surely it is to regard the weapon as a local invention. We cannot look at the facts from the two points of view simultaneously; and if we are to take any of them either way, we should take them all. It is possible to regard the discoveries of Galileo, Newton, Adams, and Leverrier as revelations; but if we do, along with them we should take Mr. Disraeli's Reform Act of 1868, and the latest addition to the law of sale or bankruptcy in England. Not the less for so, in some moods, regarding these, shall we be constrained by the whole cast of our minds, as Heaven determined, to take an interest in and trace the stages of each discovery and enactment—and, divine as they may be, to get beyond them—with fresh discoveries that shall leave them behind as contributions merely to the growing mass of our knowledge, and with fresh enactments giving effect to new social conceptions evolved from experience.

It is obvious that the class of facts related to grouping which we have just surveyed belong to quite a different category from those related to the mechanical arts which the Duke of Argyll has so lightly put aside in his case against Sir John Lubbock. It is obvious also that before the Duke can plead one word in favour of the degradation hypo-

\* See Leviticus, chap. xviii. in the light of verse 27; and see book xiii. 9 of *Mishcod-ul-Masdeh* on the points relating to marriage on which Mahomet was consulted by his disciples, vol. ii. p. 76 (Calcutta 1810.)

† *Travels in North-West and Western Australia* (London, 1841), vol. ii. p. 322.

\* *Idem*, p. 223.

† *Idem*, p. 220.



thesis as explanatory of the facts of history, he must produce for us an ancient people whose moral standards we should call high, and whose grouping was in accordance with such standards. Till that is done the degradation hypothesis cannot be seriously considered. It will never do to tolerate an hypothesis which requires for its foundation another hypothesis which there are no facts to support.

(2). *The Arts of Subsistence, etc.*—When we turn to the commissariat of society, the progress becomes, if possible, even more palpable. As regards the tools, weapons, and ornaments used by successive generations of men, there is evidence everywhere presented of the gradual relinquishment of inferior materials and forms on the gradual discovery of better. The succession of the ages of stone, bronze, and iron is an established fact, which, though only recently demonstrated, was long ago perceived as probable on an incomplete survey of the facts. Lucretius anticipated our archæologists: \*—

"Arma antiqua, manus, unguis, dentesque fuerunt  
Et lapides, et item sylvarum fragmina rami;  
Posterior ferri vis est ærisque reperta;  
Et prior æris erat quam ferri cognitum usus."

"Man's earliest arms were fingers, teeth, and nails,  
And stones and fragments from the branching woods,  
Then copper next; and last, at latest traced,  
The tyrant iron."

The kinds of food on which men subsisted, and their modes of procuring food, equally with their arrangements for shelter and security, can easily be classified as more or less primitive; and most of the modes and arrangements now in use among the less-favoured races of men archæology shows were employed by the inhabitants of the world in remote prehistoric times. A nomad tribe, subsisting on fruits, berries, roots, and shell-fish, leads a more simple and precarious life than a tribe of hunters; and hunting as a means of living is more obvious and presumably earlier than fishing.† A tribe that accumulates stores of food, by whatever causes led to do so, is obviously a step in advance of one that does not. The herds-

man and shepherd keeping stocks of the animals most wanted is in advance of the hunter; while the agriculturist, whether nomadic or settled, is in advance of the herdsman and shepherd.

We find now on the face of the earth, or we have accounts of tribes existing in each of the stages enumerated of progressive modes of procuring subsistence, and in every conceivable phase of transition from the lower to the higher of them; and it is impossible not to believe that as those in the lower are seen advancing, those in the higher have similarly and step by step advanced in these arts of life. Tree-dwellers and cave-dwellers, using nature-supplied shelters, are nowise distinguishable from other animals that do the same thing. The tribes that first felled trees, and erected rude platforms on their stumps, at a height from the ground, for security, were architects, as were the excavators of artificial caves or underground houses. The steps from either mode of "building" to modern architecture are numerous, and all the evidence shows that they were taken one by one. Many of them can be enumerated. Moreover, as regards the arts of subsistence, shelter, and security, the progress we are endeavouring to demonstrate is still a fact. New means of meeting the necessities and conveniences of men are year by year, and even day by day, being invented. And the same never-ending process of invention and discovery that we now see has been going on everywhere, *within the whole of recorded time*. Since this process, if assumed to have gone on from the first, offers a sufficient explanation of the facts—and since in *this field* there is a total absence of reasons against making the assumption,—we are free as we are constrained to make it, and to believe the whole phenomena of the arts and sciences to have been progressively evolved by human ingenuity exerted to meet human exigencies or to satisfy human curiosity. Of course, when we go back to the commencement of the evolution we have there Man—the creature capable of achieving the progress.

(3). *Language.*—Language forms no exception to the law of evolution of all human powers. The means of communication between man and man by articulate speech and writing, as a pure product of human effort, are effective only so far as a common understanding is artificially established as to the meaning to be attached to the sounds or the symbols. About writing there is no dispute. The written or rudimentary written systems, which are various, and independent of each other, can be exhibited in

\* *De Rerum Natura*, v. 1282.

† Among Sir George Grey's divinely-taught Australian aborigines the hunter is seen stalking his prey with the bearing of a beast of prey, only with the aid of contrivances. But for these he would be undistinguishable from any other animal engaged in the search for food.



many of the stages of growth from pictorial signs, and abridgments of such, to the systematic employment of conventional symbols that are not pictorial.

It can scarcely be said that there is now a dispute as to the origin of speech. It is admitted that all the languages of men have grown; the processes and laws of the growth are well ascertained and agreed upon. All speech has been run back to a few monosyllabic sounds, as the elemental matter out of which the wonderful variety of tongues has been elaborated. There is some controversy as to the roots, but it chiefly concerns the question whether they were *instinctive* utterances, whatever that, as distinguished from *developed* utterances, may mean—it is not asserted that instincts may not be developed—or sounds uttered in successful imitation of sounds occurring in nature, and as interjections in the natural expressions of emotion.\*

Professor Max Müller, who supports the instinctive theory, puts his results thus:—"We require no supernatural interference, nor any conclave of ancient sages to explain the realities of human speech. All that is formal in language is the result of rational combination; all that is material the result of a mental instinct. The first natural and instinctive utterances, if sifted differently by different clans, would fully account both for the first origin and for the first divergence of human speech. We can understand not only the origin of language, but likewise the necessary breaking-up of one language into many."† Elsewhere rejecting the origin of roots in interjections, and the imitation of sounds occurring in nature, he adopts the views of a German authority (Professor Heyse, of Berlin), which are as follows: "There is a law which runs through nearly the whole of nature, that everything which is struck rings. . . . It was the same with man, the most highly organized of nature's works"—and so on. Man possessed an instinctive "faculty for giving articulate expression to

the rational conceptions of his mind." But "this creative faculty, which gave to each conception, as it thrilled for the first time through the brain, a phonetic expression, became *extinct* when its object was fulfilled!" etc. This—which would have been worthy of Sir George Grey, and in him not to be wondered at—is marvellous as propounded by Müller. It has been appositely termed "the *ding-dong* theory" of the origin of language, as opposed to the *bow-wow*, or imitative, and *pooh-pooh*, or interjectional, theories. It cannot be said that the "*ding-dong*" has met with any acceptance. Mr. Whitney says of it, "It may be very summarily dismissed, as wholly unfounded and worthless. It is, indeed, not a little surprising to see a man of the acknowledged ability and great learning of Professor Müller, after depreciating and casting ridicule upon the views of others respecting so important a point, put forward one of his own as a mere authoritative *dictum*, resting it upon nothing better than a fanciful comparison which lacks every element of a true analogy, instance, or illustration, drawn from either the nature or the history of language."\*

Take it either way, as ideas came gradually, and therefore words, which, even on the *ding-dong* hypothesis, came after the ideas, we are led back to a time when man, as regards his power of communicating with his fellows, was undistinguishable from any other animal, for the brutes also have their modes of communication, including "their natural and instinctive utterances."

(4.) *Religion*.—Of the growth of religious ideas we shall here say little, because the subject would require more space than we have for the whole purposes of this paper at our disposal for its discussion, and to make the development clearly apparent. Thus much, however, it is necessary to say, that when we examine the religions of the ancient nations, as we know them, at the earliest time—and they were almost as various as their languages, while, like them, perhaps, compounded from a few simple elements,—the conclusion is irresistibly forced on the mind, that each of them had passed through a long previous history. They were composite, as were the populations that possessed them; animal and vegetable gods, the elements, and especially fire, the sun, moon, and planets, light and personifications of light, of the sun, and of the procreative and life-sustaining powers of nature, being all commingled in theogonies to which there

\* Mr. E. B. Tylor has done good service in showing how important *gesture* originally was as a means of communication. He has shown that there must have been a time when the numerals were unspoken, and their purposes served by visible signs,—a hand meaning 5, and two hands 10; 20, of course, was a man. The argument rested by Sir John Lubbock on the evidence Mr. Tylor has adduced is conclusive as to the independent development, among different races, of systems of numeration founded on counting the fingers and toes, and worked at first by appeals to the eye. It is understood that Mr. Darwin is now working on this subject.

† *Lectures on the Science of Language*, 4th edition (1864), p. 409.

\* Whitney, 1. c. p. 427.



must have been numerous contributories, and on the elaboration of which an infinity of thinking, fancy, faith, metaphysics, and imposture had been expended, and round which in some cases literatures had grown. The ivy never covers the tower of yesterday. This also has been said, that not one of them exhibits the idea of God as we have it, as an idea in the mind of the worshippers; and that not one of them exhibits the idea of creation *ex nihilo*, as we have it; that these are modern conceptions. Max Müller, following the Rev. R. G. S. Browne, in his essay on the progress of Zend scholarship, points out that the idea of creation *ex nihilo* came late even to the Jews, who latterly received it as the orthodox view.\* It occurs neither in the Veda nor Zendavesta. There is no hint of it in Homer. There has been a progress, therefore, in the central conceptions; how much more probable it is there was progress in the detail.

Every one admits there is but one true faith, and since of faiths there is an immense variety, that all save one have grown or been invented. That is, we all admit that religions *can* grow and develop, are human institutions, that reflect in their structure, as modified from time to time, the shifting phases of belief in their adherents. It has been asked whether *any* faith has had no history, has not grown and developed within the period of our knowledge? The mysteries of religion occupy so many minds, and so exercise ingenuity, that its doctrines constantly tend to vary, and would do so very rapidly, but for—(1.) the hold the central authority in each religious organization has on its ministers as bound by the standards; and (2.) the hold the ministers have on their flocks through the solemnities and ordinances. Despite these checks the varieties are surprisingly numerous. New sects are constantly forming, and about as frequently new religions. Of the projects, only those thrive that fall in with the sentiments and dispositions of large classes,—the conditions of success so far resembling those of ordinary commercial undertakings. By a process like that of natural selection in the animal and vegetable kingdoms, those that best accommodate themselves to the conditions of existence live, while the others perish. Many religions, either wholly new or radical modifications of old faiths, have sprung up and died within a century. One or two more vigorous still flourish, and may live long and be influential. We see Mohammedanism spreading into regions to which Christianity

is refused access—the superior faith beaten in some districts by the inferior, as being more attractive to the inferior people. Every faith, again, on a conquest, loses in purity as it gains in range, through unavoidable intermixture of its rites and doctrines with those of the religion it displaces. Christianity itself, as seen in the Romish Church, has taken over much of the ceremonial, many of the festivals, and not a few of the doctrines of ancient Paganism. Change is thus a consequence of diffusion. And as every religion spreads necessarily from some centre of origin, continuous modification is a necessary feature of the progress of every religion from its beginning.

If we would see from how low a state men may have advanced as regards speculation on the mysterious order of the world, we shall find races of men whose minds a thought of the existence of the divine power has never entered. Above that stage of blank ignorance we shall find every conceivable phase of speculation and belief; every imaginable form of superstition and idolatry; and a great variety of contending, highly organized, and in some respects “reasoned” systems of religious doctrine. The belief in God, and the idea of his hating sin and loving righteousness, are grand conceptions. Were there always *some* human breasts in which from the first they were cherished? To the question no one dare say No, however he may be moved by the probabilities of the case, looking to the answer which history would prompt him to give. “We can hardly speak with sufficient reverence of the discovery of these truths,” says Max Müller, “however trite they may appear to ourselves; and, if the name of revelation seems too sacred a name to be applied to them, that of discovery is too profane, for it would throw the vital truths of all religion, both ancient and modern, into the same category as the discoveries of a Galileo or a Newton. Theologians may agree in denying that any man in possession of his reason can, without a crime, remain ignorant of God for any length of time. Missionaries, however, who held and defended this opinion, have been led to very different convictions after some intercourse with savage tribes. Dobrishoffer, who was for eighteen years a missionary in Paraguay, states that the language of the Abipones does not contain a single word which expresses God or a divinity. Penafiel, a Jesuit theologian, declared that there were many Indians who, on being asked whether, during the whole course of their lives, they ever thought of God, replied, *No, never*. Dobrishoffer says, ‘Travelling with fourteen Abipones, I sat down by the fire in the open

\* *Chips from a German Workshop* (ed. 1867), vol. i. p. 135.



air, as usual, on the high shore of the river Plata. The sky, which was perfectly serene, delighted our eyes with its twinkling stars. I began a conversation with the Cacique Ychoalay, the most intelligent of all the Abipones I have been acquainted with, as well as the most famous in war. "Do you behold," said I, "the splendour of heaven, with its magnificent arrangement of stars? Who can suppose that all this is produced by chance? Whom do you suppose to be their creator and governor? What were the opinions of your ancestors on the subject?" "My father," replied Ychoalay, readily and frankly, "our grandfathers, and great-grandfathers, were wont to contemplate the earth alone, solicitous only to see whether the plain afforded grass and water for their horses. They never troubled themselves about what went on in the heavens, and who was the creator and governor of the stars."\*

We have now glanced at the facts which support the conclusion that men were originally ignorant of language and laws, arts, sciences, and religion,—a conclusion to which we are driven from whatever view of man's origin we set out. The story of the fall of man, unaccompanied as it is by a statement that the arts of life were divinely communicated, represents the species as left from the first to struggle for existence on the earth, cursed because of the disobedience of the first father. The narrative bears that men grew up in wickedness till the Flood came, which left as their only records but a few names and the generally bad reputation. At a later time the sins of Noah's descendants led to their dispersion, and to the confusion of tongues. Wandering in different directions, unable to communicate with each other, none of them perhaps retaining the original language or the ideas embedded in it, they must have sunk into utter barbarism. What does it matter whether the savagery from which men have advanced was primitive or induced, if it be the fact that it was universal? The learned President de Goguet, in his excellent work on the *Origin and Progress of Laws, Arts, and Sciences*, thus depicts the condition of men, before the commencement of the progress it was his object to investigate:—"All society being dissolved by the confusion of tongues [at Babel], and families living detached from each other, they sunk in a little time into the profoundest ignorance. Add to this, the consideration of the tumult and disorder inseparable from

new establishments, and we shall easily conceive how there was a time, in which almost all this world was plunged into the most deplorable barbarity. Men wandered in the woods and fields, without laws, without leaders, or any form of government. Their ferocity became so great, that many of them devoured each other. All kinds of knowledge, even the most common and necessary, were so much neglected that not a few had forgot even the use of fire. It is to these unhappy times we must refer what profane historians relate of the miseries which afflicted the first ages of the world. All ancient traditions declare that the first men led a life very little different from that of beasts. We shall find no difficulty in believing these relations if we cast our eyes on what ancient authors tell us of the state of several countries even in their own times, a state the reality of which is confirmed by modern relations. Travellers inform us, that even at this day, in some parts of the world, they meet with men who are strangers to all social intercourse, of a character so cruel and ferocious that they live in perpetual war, destroying and even devouring each other. These wretched people, void of all the principles of humanity, without laws, polity, or government, live in dens and caverns, and differ but very little from the brute creation. Their food consists of some fruits and roots, with which the woods supply them; for want of skill and industry they can seldom procure more solid nourishment. In a word, not having even the most common and obvious notions, they have nothing of humanity but the external figure. These savage people exactly answer the description given us by historians of the ancient state of mankind. We see even from Scripture that soon after the dispersion the precepts and example of Noah were so generally forgotten that even the ancestors of Abraham were plunged in idolatry."\*

We have here the conclusion to which the facts led a man as ingenious and learned as he was orthodox—"that the first men led a life very little different from that of beasts." The fact may be humiliating; but surely it is encouraging. If we of the higher races of men are yet of those who once were in such a case, and have come to be what we are, while with humble hearts we regard our origin and first estate, we may hopefully look to the future as holding in store for our species forms of life purer and higher than the present by as much as the present are purer and higher than the past.

\* *A History of Sanskrit Literature* (1859), p. 538.

\* *The Origin of Laws, etc.*, Trans. (Edinburgh, 1761), Introduction, vol. i, p. 3.



III. THE METHOD OF STUDYING EARLY HISTORY.—In considering how the general course of human progress from its beginning can be ascertained, we shall reach a point from which the argument demonstrating the progress to have taken place will be seen to acquire a great accession of force.

It has been said that in the course of the life of the individual phases occur analogous to those of the development of the species. This is partially true as regards the unfolding of intelligence and morality. There is the childish stage of thoughtlessness and love of amusement; the boyish, in which speculation begins; youth, with its love-blossoms, quickened poetic and scientific imagination, faith, chivalry, self-devotion; manhood last, appreciating the situation, with experience, self-control, moderation, disappointment, and submissiveness. A fanciful person might, with a little trouble, make much out of the slight general resemblances here suggested. It would be to no purpose, however, saving the exercise and the pleasures of ingenuity. The infant has his mother's arms; the child his father's hearth; the boy, older and wiser comrades; the youth, a refuge, when discomfited, beneath the parental roof; so that, as the race had no corresponding solaces and supports, there is a radical difference between its case and that of the individual at each stage of progress. The species, whatever view is to be taken of its origin, has beyond doubt been from the beginning engaged in the struggle for existence. It may be impossible to infer from the incidents of that struggle, as we now see it, what its character was when waged with the forces of nature, hand to hand, without science and without art; but we must believe it was in early times very sharp and terrible, seeing how hard it still is for the majority. How the fierce pull for life must have qualified, stunted, or prevented the growth of the intellect and conscience, we may learn from a study of the effects of exceptional circumstances on the nature and conduct of individuals. But beyond this, the study of the individual, always excepting the knowledge it affords of human nature, will not much avail in the elucidation of human history in general. The analogies between the evolution of the life of the specimen and the species are suggestive rather than instructive, and need not seriously occupy the student of history.

The history of a nation, on the other hand, might be expected to disclose, not analogies merely to the phases of development of the species, but many of the phases themselves. Here, however, a difficulty occurs similar to that encountered in the general inquiry: the

history of most nations was to an unknown extent transacted before the age of records. The question is, How can we learn what the unrecorded part of the national progress was? Our answer is, that we can do this to a considerable extent by studying the various sections of the nation. In a progressive community all the sections do not advance *pari passu*, so that we may see in the lower some of the phases through which the more advanced have passed. Of course the completeness of the disclosure must depend on the number and nature of the inequalities presented.

The inequality of development is determined by the nature of things. It results necessarily from the conditions under which many of the causes of progress operate, and is, in the nature of the case also, more remarkable the larger the progressive community is. While the progress of communities is determined to a great extent by causes that affect all their sections equally, it must always be in many respects promoted by a few leading spirits, acting chiefly on certain of the sections only in the first instance. The men of genius who by their inventions have from time to time added to human knowledge and power, and, by their speculations and aspirations, dignified our life; the philosophers and critics who are foremost to purify, amplify, and change ideas; and the favourites of fortune who are so circumstanced as to be immediately benefited by discoveries, and influenced by improved standards of propriety, form a class by themselves in every community. What is gained by the leaders is first appreciated, taken over, and secured by those next to them in the ranks of progress—ranks that widen backwards from the front. Its transmission to the rear, and adoption and preservation there, are manifestly dependent on the arrangements for that end existing,—the educational apparatus,—which are everywhere imperfect, and for each rank the more imperfect the wider it is, the more numerous its members. And since the force of custom is more decided in the greater masses than the less, while the means of diffusing new ideas are more imperfect for the greater than the less, the latter *must* tend to advance more rapidly than the former. In other words, owing to the inequality of gifts and opportunities, and the conditions hampering the dissemination of new ideas and methods, inequalities of development *must* be presented by the sections of every progressive society, and must be more numerous and remarkable the larger the society is. We should not look for very different modes of life in a small group, and we should be surprised not



to find them in a large group, for there, on the view we have been taking, they are normal and necessary.

Let us take the case of London to illustrate our meaning. In that centre of arts, sciences, industries, and intelligence, are predatory bands, leading the life of the lowest nomads. The night street-prowlers are nearly as low in their habits as the jackals of Calcutta. The city might be made to furnish illustrations of the progress of the family in every phase, from the lowest incestuous combinations of kindred to the highest group based on solemn monogamous marriage. It contains classes that know not marriage, classes approximating to marriage through habits of settled concubinage, and classes for whom promiscuity is an open, unabashed organisation. The honour of some of the people are the humane institutions; the disgrace of others are the baby-farming and infanticide,—systems as heartless as ever China or Orissa knew. Manners, customs, even language and religion, vary, as we pass from class to class. Groups as destitute as Ojibbeways of religious knowledge and emotion are within the shadow of its cathedrals: the same district containing some whose minds the idea of God never entered, and others who, in the pride of philosophy, have rejected it. Between the extremes is every conceivable form of intelligent and unintelligent faith.

Many of these facts, we are aware, may be explained on the degradation hypothesis, as well as by the hypothesis of unequal development. That the lowest strata are constantly receiving accessions through degradation there is no doubt; but these strata have always existed, and were presumably lower formerly than they now are. Can we doubt that they consist to a large extent of the direct representatives of those who formed the lowest strata in the earliest times?

What is true of the large towns generally is still truer of the nation at large. Cities are the centres of all that is denominated by civilisation, as the name indicates; they are *ex facie* the birthplaces of civility, urbanity, politeness. In country districts opportunities of interchanging ideas are rarer, while the clashing of interests evolving new rules of conduct is less frequent and intense; progress in the country therefore is naturally slow, and mainly determined by influences flowing over from the towns. We should expect accordingly to find life most primitive in the districts least exposed to city influences. And this is what we find. In Devonshire and Cornwall, at one extreme, and in the Highlands and the Hebrides, at the other, we discover remains of pre-Chris-

tian customs and superstitions, as well as modes of life of striking rudeness. Customs survived in Wales till lately that grew out of the rudest stages of society, as, for example, the mimicked cavalry engagement as a ceremony of marriage. Ideas derived from other ancient customs may still be found lingering in various districts in the north of England. The nation that one may divorce a wife by selling her is one of these. Indeed, when we go back little more than a hundred years, we find the most palpably diverse states of life within the country. Tribal and clan ties were till very lately in full force in the Highlands of Scotland, where the archaic system of relationship by milk-ties still survives—as system of which almost everywhere else the traces have long been obliterated.

Of course, for many of the inequalities special reasons may be assigned. The population is here mixed, there pure—one stock being purer here, and another there, and each having peculiarities affecting the social phases. The same thing may be said of the town populations. What we maintain is, that had the population been originally homogeneous, and its progress achieved by its internal forces uninfluenced from without, there must have been inequalities of development—the sections less affected by the causes of progress exhibiting phases of life and feeling through which those better situated had passed. A variety of stocks in a nation is merely another and independent guarantee for inequalities of development, as establishing inequalities of gifts, and probably of opportunities, in the sections of the population.

Let us see now to what account such inequalities might be put in illustrating the history of the population of the United Kingdom. We might disinter in Cornwall a great part of the Paganism of the ancient Britons; from a study of the still lingering customs associated with the Beltane festival and Easter and May-day, we might pretty confidently conclude that the Celts and the Anglo-Saxons had equally at one time been fire-worshippers, had we no other evidence of the fact. We might conclude that the Welsh tribes had at one time been exogamous tribes, that obtained their wives usually by actually capturing them from their enemies; and that the mixed population in the north of England comprised tribes that used to get their wives by the less primitive method of sale and purchase. The milk-ties of the Hebrides, as they may to this day be studied, would throw a light on the difficulty Giraldus Cambrensis states to have been long ago felt in Ireland, among congeners of the



Hebrideans, in the taking of hostages,—a light which might explain the difficulty, even if the system of Alterage and Fosterage had not been the subject of an exposition from the pen of Sir John Davis. Further than this we need not press our illustrations. All we have desired to show at this point is that the method may undoubtedly be an aid in the investigation of the unrecorded history of a people.

The advantages of the method, we said, must be more apparent in studying the larger communities than the smaller. They may be expected therefore to appear at the fullest in the study of mankind at large. Races, nations, tribes, are the units in the composition of human society. The races differ from one another in capacities and dispositions. Some of them within the whole of historic time have been less favourably situated than others; and in the history of each, as we know it, a variety of circumstances, some of them what we call accidental, have powerfully affected their careers, sometimes rapidly accelerating their progress, sometimes retarding it, or converting it into retrogression, sometimes simply modifying its direction and rate. How the races came to be located where we find them we cannot as a rule tell, any more than we can say whether the physical and mental characters that distinguish them were primitive or induced. Most of them have been situated where they now are since the dawn of history, and all the types appear as existing from the first. Of these facts a variety of explanations have been offered. One is that the types represent so many independent creations in distinct zoological zones. It is enough for our purpose that, numerous and striking as the differences are by which the types are distinguished, and on which such speculations are founded, the various races have so much in common that their differences may be disregarded. The human characters outweigh and make insignificant the distinctions of races and types.

It is *a fortiori* of inequalities of development appearing in each community that they should appear among mankind. The *rationality* of their production being the same in the one case as in the other, it will be seen that the inequalities of gifts and opportunities must have been indefinitely more numerous and striking for the totality of the races of men than for any one of them.

Our proposition, of course, is that the preface to general human history, as recorded, may be compiled from the materials presented by barbarism. Whether it can be accurately compiled must depend—assuming the method to be correct—on the suffi-

ciency of the materials. If every conceivable phase of progress can be studied as somewhere observed and recorded, and if the phases can be shown to be interconnected, to shade into one another by gentle gradations, then a clear and decided outline of the progress may be made from the rudest phase to the highest. The method may be sound and the picture incomplete; no one could doubt the method or the real character of the history of man if, from the materials at our disposal, a perfect picture could be drawn. Equal certainty as to the correctness of the method and the character of the history may be reached, however, otherwise than by attempting the picture, which could in no case here be exhibited.

The best proof of the soundness of the method, as well as of the continuity and uniform character of human progress, is that we can trace everywhere, and sometimes under striking symbolical disguises, in the higher layers of civilization, the rude modes of life, and forms of law related to grouping, with which the examination of the lower layers makes us familiar. *Of these traces and symbols no explanation can be given except on the theory of development.* As to the symbolical forms, we must infer that in the past life of the people employing them there were corresponding realities; and if among primitive races we find such realities as might naturally pass into the forms on an advance taking place in civilisation, then we may infer that what these now are those employing the symbols once were. That such enigmas as the symbols sometimes are should be explainable in this way, and in no other, is a confirmation of the development hypothesis.

Let us illustrate this by a single instance. There is almost no existing race of men among whom what has been called the Form of Capture in marriage ceremonies has not been found, except those who get wives by actual capture, or in one or other of the ways transitional between the practice of actual capture and the symbolizing of it. Now, of the meaning of this particular symbol there can be no doubt, because the practice of actual capture has been exhibited in numerous stages of decadence into the symbol, and in the varieties of the symbol itself we often have records which, *abundante*, we know to be correct of the ancient modes of warfare among the people observing the symbol. But the Form of Capture has been found in use among all the nations of antiquity, so that whatever the symbol may imply must be held to be true of the early history of those nations. We must believe, therefore, that the ancient nations were composed of tribes that used at one time to capture their wives



from foreign tribes, and that had been exogamous, i. e., disallowed marriage within the tribe. Exogamy is a sufficient explanation of a system of capturing women for wives, and wherever such a practice, or the symbol of it, is found, it can as a rule be shown that exogamy is or was the law. Of exogamy, again, no explanation can be feigned short of hypothecating the savage state, and a system of female infanticide, which kept low the number of women in tribes. At any rate, the symbol proving that the system of actual capture had prevailed, and this system being inconsistent with certainty of male parentage in the run of cases, we have a demonstration that in the ancient nations a system of kinship through mothers only must have existed in the pre-historic times. So that by means of this symbol alone the ancient nations are decomposed into tribes on a level, as regards grouping, with the native tribes of Australia. And can any one doubt that the Australians have been lower than they are,—that they are an advancing people? Even among them we find inequalities of development!

That the Chinese were anciently exogamous we may infer from evidence appearing in their law as still in force.\* Staunton informs us that "the most usual name in the Chinese language for describing the people or nation is Pe-Sing, or the hundred names." The names are now more numerous, but they are still remarkably few. M. Abel Rémusat says there are only 400 family names for a population of 200,000,000 individuals, and the law, as laid down in the penal code, is that marriage cannot be contracted between two persons of the same family name.† On the average, there are 500,000 persons of the same name between whom marriage is prohibited. There can be little doubt that these names were anciently tribal, and that the tribes they belonged to were exogamous. We have similar independent evidence of exogamy in India. The gotra of the Hindoos resembles in every respect the family of the Chinese and the totem of the Australians and Red Indians. And the foundation of the prohibition among the Hindoos, we learn from Manu, is that the family name indicates that the parties are of the same primitive stock. Exogamy is no more or less than the interdiction of the marriage of persons of the same stock, all of the stock being primitively comprised in the same

group. In neither of these cases have we direct evidence of the system of female kinship, which is usually found accompanying exogamy, but in the case of the Hindoos we must infer it from evidence of their having anciently been polyandrous, appearing both in the laws, and in their most ancient literature. All the traditions of the Chinese, again, declare that there was a time when marriage was unknown to the people. At such a time, if kinship was thought of at all, the only system possible would be a system of kinship through mothers.

We have proof that the Greeks had the system of female kinship, and many indications, apart from traditions, that they were anciently exogamous. The Egyptians also, we gather from Herodotus, came through the stage of female kinship. He says of them, "No necessity binds sons to keep their parents when they do not choose; whereas daughters are obliged to do so, even if against their choice." This custom Rawlinson declares to be incredible, and we might think it incredible did we not know, on excellent authority, of such a rule among various other peoples. It was a rule proper to the stage in which, Nicolaus Damascenus informs us, the Lycians were in his time. "The Lycians," he says, "honour their women rather than their men, and are called after the mother. They leave their inheritances to their daughters, and not to their sons." The rule is now in force among the Kooch, with whom the women are the heads of families, and the daughters the heirs. Where daughters are the heirs of families is it incredible they should be saddled with the obligations of heirship as well as entitled to its benefits? What explanation can, on any other view, be given of such a rule?

If the Greeks, Hindoos, Chinese, Egyptians, were all anciently exogamous, or had the system of kinship through females only, they were originally savages, and we shall be justified in studying the condition of savages, in order to ascertain what was the general course of history in prehistoric times.\*

\* Mr. E. B. Tylor has made a valuable contribution to the evidence which justifies the course we propose, in a paper recently read before the Royal Institution of Great Britain, "On the Survival of Savage Thought in Modern Civilization." That the ancient nations should be so much further advanced in the arts of subsistence, convenience, and amusement than in grouping should surprise no one. The arts necessary for existence must have been cultivated before those related to convenience merely. The chief determinant of progress in grouping has been property, and therefore a settled social order of some sort must have been reached before the progress could become rapid, more especially as a revolution in the popular sentiments

\* See Davis, i. 264; Purchas, iii. 367-394; Du Halde, i. 145.

† Note to chap. x., *In-Kiao-li*; or, *The Two Cousins*.



The argument in favour of the method of inquiry proposed, founded on symbolical usages, is of so simple a kind that only a strong prejudice can resist it. In many cases, where the fact to be proved matters little, no one thinks of resisting it. No one will question, for instance, that the Roman marriage *per coemptionem* symbolized the ancient marriage by sale and purchase, and proves that a section of the people, at least, had had experience of that archaic manner of procuring wives. No one can doubt but that the Libripens officiating with his scales at a will or act of adoption, illustrates the source whence all ideas of formal dispositions were derived—the sale of “fungibles;” or that the formalities in the *Legis Actio Sacramenti* indicate that the Romans were anciently ignorant of legal proceedings, and dependent for a settlement of their disputes on the force of arms, or the good offices of neutral parties interfering as arbiters. To take a different case: no one will question the good sense of Captain Cook in his interpretation of a symbol he became acquainted with in Otaheite. After giving an account of the human sacrifices in use there, he observes:—“It were much to be wished that this deluded people may learn to entertain the same horror of murdering their fellow-creatures, in order to furnish an invisible banquet to their God [the sacrificed are *buried* by the altar, and it is supposed the god feeds on their souls], as they now have of feeding corporeally on human flesh themselves. And yet we have good reason to believe there was a time when they were cannibals. We were told (and indeed partly saw it) that it is a necessary ceremony, when a poor wretch is sacrificed, for the priest to take out the left eye. This he presents to the king, holding it to his mouth, which he desires him to open; but instead of putting it in, he immediately withdraws it. This they call ‘eating the man,’ or ‘food for the chief,’ and perhaps we may observe here some traces of former times, when the dead body was really feasted on.”\* Knowing that cannibalism was a practice of some of the congeners of the Otaheiteans, we cannot doubt

was a condition of each step of the progress. Some of the steps could not be taken at all till men got into comparatively easy circumstances. As to the arts—music, poetry, designing,—there being a talent in man for these, there is no reason why they should not have been developed quite as early as the arts of subsistence. There must have been plenty of spare time, among the races situated in tropical countries especially, for their cultivation, and there is no reason why men should not take to them as naturally as birds do to singing.

\* *A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean* (London, 1784), vol. ii. p. 44.

the correctness of the inference that the practice of cannibalism was here symbolized. The selection of the left eye may seem singular; but so is the whole thing.

We have now given reasons for believing that the history of man upon the earth goes back to times very remote; and that it is a history of a progress from the first. We have presented a view of the method by which the outline of that progress in prehistoric times can be drawn. We have seen that owing to the inequalities of development occurring among the races of men, facts of to-day are in a sense the most ancient history,—many existing forms of life being structurally more archaic than any recorded, lying nearer, that is, to the beginning of human progress, considered as a development. We have shown how we may classify such forms as more or less archaic, and learn from the study of their interconnection what were the successive steps in their evolution. Almost every conceivable phase of progress being somewhere presented as existing or recorded, the materials for the sketch are abundant, and the securities against error great. We have pointed out the instructive value of the symbolism of law and ceremony. Were it not for the key a knowledge of the inequalities of development furnishes to the meaning of that symbolism, in what mystery would the history and practices of our species be enveloped! What has been called “the poetry of law” would have to be received as made up of grotesqueries and graces of procedure introduced at random to satisfy the popular fancy. As it is, in the knowledge of the inequalities, and of the ruder forms of life, the mystery is unriddled, and the symbolism is made to tell us as certainly of the early usages of a people as the rings in the transverse section of a tree tell of its age.

ART. VIII.—*Walter Savage Landor. A Biography.* By JOHN FORSTER. 2 vols. London: Chapman and Hall.

His friends, and those of the literary world who knew that this task had been allotted to him, have been long looking for Mr. Forster's *Life of Walter Savage Landor*. Every one knew that he was Landor's trusted friend, and was to be his literary executor; to whom he had already during his lifetime assigned the copyright of his works;\* and

\* *The Works of Walter Savage Landor*, in two



as most of the essential materials were in his hands some years before the old man's death, it seemed as if there could be little more to add save the minor interjections which might have to be made from yet retained letters, and the final scene of all. And to judge by various mistakes of dates, etc., made in the first volume and corrected in the second, it would appear that some part of the biography has in fact been written meanwhile. Five years however, have elapsed since Landor's death and Mr. Forster's biography; and it now remains with us to see how the literary executor has fulfilled his task, and how the dead friend has fared in the hands of his trustee.

Though he went through the appointed conditions of modern men, loved, quarrelled, wrote, travelled, sinned and repented, yet the outward circumstances of Landor's life were not very varied. Indeed, for a man of his temperament, and whose youth was passed in an exciting time, whose opportunities of experience were many, and whose days were so prolonged, there are singularly few salient points to record; but in what there are will be seen the two radical characteristics of his nature, namely, his intense power of affection and his want of self-control. This want of self-control indeed, amounted to something so like insanity that there were occasions on which Landor was, for the time, absolutely mad. Yet, while lamenting this as a misfortune, and acknowledging it as an evil, we would not judge the intrinsic worth of his character by that one inferior part, nor assay the sterling gold by the standard of the alloy. Between the two extremes of exaggerated advocacy and malicious colouring—*suppressio veri* and unfriendly candour—lies the third way of absolute truth with a generous reading. Robert Landor, in one of his letters to the biographer, speaking of De Quincey's paper on Parr, says a good thing on this very subject:—

"If Mr. De Quincey had been desirous to show us how far it might be possible to con-

volumes, published by Moxon in 1846, containing all his best and noblest work. The three volumes published since were not so assigned. Landor never cared to make money for himself by literature. If he received anything from the publishers, which was not often and never much, he invariably devoted it to some charitable purpose. The *Works* are dedicated to Julius Hare and John Forster conjointly, and they end with a sonnet to the latter, beginning—

"Forster! whose seal hath seized each written page  
That fell from me—"

Landor believed in Forster—"good Forster," as he used to call him.

vey the most false and injurious notions of a man in language which no one could contradict, which said nothing but the truth, he could hardly have succeeded better. What he has written is very true and very false; but there are some old people, like myself, who may wish that the mixture had been less skillfully malicious and a great deal more honest."\*

Though the eldest son of one of the old country families of Warwickshire, Landor's father was a physician. Mr. Robert Landor, in a letter to the biographer, says, speaking of ninety or a hundred years ago—

"It was, I believe, not unusual for even the eldest sons of private gentlemen to engage in some profession during their father's lifetime, if their fathers were not old. The regular army could afford but little room for them. Perhaps the greatest number were educated in your profession, as best qualifying them to manage the business of after life. But some preferred medicine. Our father took his degree at Worcester College, Oxford, and, succeeded Sir Charles Shuckborough, an old Warwickshire baronet. A still older baronet, many years after, who lived in the adjoining parish to Ipsley-court, was first Doctor and then Sir Charles Throckmorton. The different branches of the medical profession were kept much more distinct a hundred years ago than at present. After the death of his father, and his own succession to the two Warwickshire estates, our father resigned his practice, and lived part of the year at Ipsley-court, and part at Warwick."

And at Warwick was born, on the 30th of January 1775, Walter Savage Landor, the eldest child of Dr. Landor's second marriage. His first marriage with the daughter and heiress of Mr. Wright of Warwick had been singularly unfortunate in its issue; of the six children born to them only one surviving,—a daughter, on whom had been settled the bulk of her mother's fortune, and who married a Staffordshire cousin, Humphrey Arden † of Longcroft. For his second wife Dr. Lan-

\* Though on the surface of things not much to the purpose, we would quote one of the most trenchant observations of Landor on friendship, in his *Imaginary Conversation between Andrew Marvel and Bishop Parker*;—

"Were I to trust my observation rather than my feelings, I should believe that friendship is only a state of transition to enmity. The wise, the excellent in honour and integrity, whom it was once our ambition to converse with, soon appear in our sight no higher than the ordinary class of our acquaintance; then become fit objects to set our own slender wits against, to contend with, to interrogate, to subject to the arbitration not of their equals but of ours; and lastly, what indeed is less injustice and less indignity, to abandon, and disown."

† It was pleasant to hear Landor speak of a pretty lisping cousin of his, an Arden, to whom he addressed some graceful verses; how she used to



dor chose Elizabeth Savage, eldest daughter, and co-heiress with her three sisters, of Charles Savage, the head of an old Warwickshire family; to whom came in due time, bequeathed by the representatives of the younger branch of the family, the two Warwickshire estates of which all who knew Walter Savage Landor heard so much, namely, Ipsley-court and Tachbrook, both strictly entailed on the eldest son. So that Landor had a good descent on both sides, and was justified in his boast that his estates were sufficient for the legal qualification of three Roman knights, and that "he started with a larger hereditary estate than those of Pitt, Fox, Canning, and twenty more such amounted to." He used to make more account of his birth than need have been, perhaps; but was it necessary for Mr. Forster to call attention to such an insignificant weakness? We who knew Landor well, better perhaps than did the biographer himself, and who certainly saw him more frequently, and for longer spells at a time, never heard him make so great a point of his birth and descent as Mr. Forster has represented; and we take this to be one of the bits of ill-natured "honesty" with which the biography abounds. Yet he had cause to be proud. His family dated as Warwickshire landholders so far back as 1191; and such a date is by no means contemptible or common. Landor was intensely, we will even say inordinately, proud in every way. As his brother says of him, "Never could there be a vainer man than the one (Parr) nor a prouder man than the other" (Walter). His writings abound with contemptuous touches, with haughty self-assertion; yet he was a red-hot Republican from his earliest youth, and his political instincts were liberal and generous. But we have other instances now living which show how as generous and liberal instincts can exist with as great personal pride; for though wide scientific knowledge teaches humility, the gift of genius seldom does. But proud as he was, he was always ready for fun, and always quick to seize humour; and of the two fun would get the better of pride. Mr. Robert Landor found in a translation of Rabelais the word "*Landor*" applied to such fools as were supreme among all other fools, and a long note was required to enumerate their varieties." "Till then," he goes on to say,

tease him when they were boy and girl together, and how she threatened him with punishment when he was rude and naughty. His imitation of her shrill hissing voice was very good, and full of boyish fun, at the remembrance of it, past eighty as he was.

"I did not believe that any language could contain so many opprobrious terms, so whimsical and contemptuous. The last time that my brother (Walter Savage) was at Birlingham, I tried to read the long list of them, but was interrupted by such loud screams as must sometimes have shaken both your library and mine." There was not only astonishment but delight in his laughter. When I suggested that probably our ancestor was the greatest fool among all those who accompanied the Conqueror, and thus acquired the highest place and name, he accepted the priority. But then he might have reserved for himself the power to escape. For it appears that our name was originally *De La Land* (De La Laundes); and my brother Henry has in his keeping some old writings conveying an estate, signed and sealed in that name. When it was that so many Norman names gained English terminations, the heralds know best."

The troubles arising from the want of self-control, that beset the whole of Landor's career, began early in life. Always a difficult and headstrong boy, with those violent republican notions of his, and as violent and uncompromising a way of enunciating them, his father never seems to have been able to manage him; and they got on but lamely together both in boyhood and manhood. Nor was his mother much more successful. We have a little picture of the old lady in her high-heeled shoes, as she suddenly rises from her seat and clatters across the room: box young Walter's ears, when he tells his godfather, General Powell, that he wishes the "French would invade England, and assist us in hanging George the Third between two such thieves as the Archbishop of Canterbury and York." "I'd advise you, mother, not to try that sort of thing again!" shouted young Walter, as she disappeared quickly from the room, probably half-frightened at what she had done. As he grew up he and his mother came into frequent collision, though they were never at such open war as were he and his father. But, rightly or wrongly, Landor always accused her of intercepting the letters of a certain French girl for whom he had formed an attachment when in Paris, and so of com-

\* His laugh was one of Landor's essential personal characteristics. Never was heard such a tumultuous outburst, such a leonine roar. It used to break out like a burst of thunder, and go on in a kind of cumulative way, like the reverberation of that thunder among the mountains—"Pomero" mingling in the tumult with his sharp, shrill, rapid bark, till the noise would gradually cease by Mr. Landor's turning to play with and talk caressing nonsense to his little dog; or if he wanted to do something else, he would suddenly break short in his roar, and silence Pomero with a few expletives; and so quiet would be restored. But that laugh was something to remember.



ing between him and a love which might have been the happiness and salvation of his life. It might be so, or it might not. He was given to these wild assertions when he got excited, and specially if the subject was his own sufferings or wrongs.

But according to his own account, given in the true Landorian explosive manner, not all the miseries and misfortunes of graver aspect come near the misery of learning to dance, or the misfortune of not dancing well. He might perhaps have excepted grammar and arithmetic, which last he could never master, and which he always said went beyond his other trials. When about ten years of age he was sent to Rugby, where the turbulent temper with which he was born continually broke out in defiance of all authority within bounds, and in perpetual escapades without. The best anecdote is that which tells how he acted as the *retiarus* in a quarrel between himself and a farmer owning the fishing right of a river, where he was fishing after having been refused permission. The Rugby boy and the farmer came to high words; when suddenly Landor, by way of delivering up his apparatus as he was bidden, flung his net over the farmer's head so neatly as to effectually entangle him and reduce him to submission. And he would tell, with roars of laughter—Landor's laughter—how he would as suddenly entangle the head-master in questions of longs and shorts; and how, when the doctor good-naturedly went to visit the rebel in his private room, he, Landor the rebel, would bolt the door, and, affecting to disbelieve the visit and the voice, would refuse admission, and say devoutly, "Avaunt, Satan!"

It was at Rugby that he first showed that wonderful taste and power for making Latin verses which never left him; and the excellence of which was traditional at the school for half-a-century after he had left—"Play-day for Landor's Latin verses," written on the slate by the hand of Dr. James himself, exciting no little veneration for the Latinist in the minds of the fags and juniors of the time. But Landor's pride took fire, because he thought Dr. James wilfully chose his worst verses to *play for*, as it was called, and he took his revenge in some Latin lines which were both coarse and clever, and which the master sharply resented. The upshot of this, and other quarrels perpetually arising between master and pupil, was the removal of Walter by his father, to save Dr. James the pain, and himself the disgrace, of expulsion. It was nothing worse than this, as Mr. Robert Landor testifies:—

"When between fifteen and sixteen he was not expelled from Rugby, but removed, as the

less discreditable punishment, at the head-master's suggestion. There was nothing unusual or disgraceful in the particular transgression, but a fierce defiance of all authority, and a refusal to ask forgiveness."

It began by Dr. James requiring the correction of a false quantity which did not exist, and Landor's refusal; and it ended by Landor's expulsion under a qualified form. One of the sweetest recollections of Rugby is that given by him in a foot-note to the *Imaginary Conversation between Leofric and Godiva*:—

"The story of Godiva, at one of whose festivals or fairs I was present in my boyhood, has always much interested me; and I wrote a poem on it, sitting, I remember, by the *square pool* at Rugby. When I showed it to the friend in whom I had most confidence he began to scoff at the subject, and on reaching the last line his laughter was loud and immoderate. This conversation has brought both laughter and stanza back to me, and the earnestness with which I entreated and implored my friend *not to tell the lads*; so heart-strickenly and desperately was I ashamed. The verses are these, if any one else should wish another laugh at me—

'In every hour, in every mood,  
O lady, it is sweet and good  
To bathe the soul in prayer,  
And, at the close of such a day,  
When we have ceased to bless and pray,  
To dream on thy long hair.'

"May the peppermint be still growing on the bank in that place!—W. S. L."

Greek came later than Latin, and was never so entirely his own tongue as was the first learnt and the younger. But if his knowledge of the language was not acquired so early nor so thoroughly as Latin, his spirit was essentially Greek, as were his tastes. Nothing in the English language breathes so entirely the very essence of Greek thought and poetic feeling as Landor's *Hellenics*, some of his *Imaginary Conversations*, and his immortal *Pericles and Aspasia*. The sense of beauty, the tender love, the naturalness of emotion and subtlety of thought combined, render them unique as English compositions; and we can dispense with the last niceties of scholarly learning in Landor's *répertoire* of knowledge, when we get to such noble results.

Mr. Forster tells us too, that besides being an indifferent Hellenist, he was by no means the robust athlete he would have had his friends believe, and as the common tradition of the school claimed for him; that he was never the expert horseman he used to say he was; and that, though he took a fair part in the sports and games of the school, he excelled in none, save perhaps



throwing the cast-net in fishing. His own account of himself was different; and certainly, though not noticeably stalwart, he was a strongly-built man, and must have been both muscular and active; and the probabilities are that a youth of his build, born and bred in the country, and used all his life to dogs and horses and guns and fishing-rods, with brothers to vie with, and an immense desire to excel, would have turned his physical powers to some account, and have done at least some of the things he took credit for.

After Rugby came Oxford, where he was even more unfortunate than he had been at school. His fierce republicanism gained him but a doubtful kind of reputation, at a time when to be liberal was to be suspected capable of all misdemeanours and most crimes. He was even so far lost to propriety as to abjure powder and wear his hair plain, and his queue tied up with black ribbon. "Take care," said his tutor; "they will stone you for a republican." But Landor was no coward, and stuck to his Jacobinism and plain hair. Southey, then a student at Balliol, was also going about with flowing locks, both youths taking courage and example by the French minister, Roland, who had persisted in going to Court in dreadful simplicity; but the future Poet-Laureate declined to know the young Warwickshire revolutionist, because he was a "mad Jacobin." Afterwards they were a literary Orestes and Pylades, the dearest of friends and the most constant of correspondents; but not often meeting. The Pantisocratist laid the *onus* of his refusal on Landor's madness, not his Jacobinism. That indeed he shared; but the turbulent temper, the contempt of all ordinary rules of life, the defiance of all constituted authority whatsoever, repelled Southey, and the two men never met while at the University. A year's residence was all that Landor's evil genius allowed him to have. After that time he was rusticated for firing at the windows of a fellow-student whom he hated for his Toryism and despised for his vulgarity. He was taxed with the offence, and thinking of his father's distress should he be rusticated, as he knew he would be for firing a gun in the quadrangle during prayers, he denied it. Landor was the last man in the world to lie by habit or nature. He was too proud, too brave, too impetuous for deceit. He never even palliated his faults when he saw them at all; and he had no sooner committed this sin against his truer nature, against his own dignity and self-respect, than he acknowledged it—acknowledged it fully, manfully, without subterfuge or excuse, but without

baseness or humiliation. He was however rusticated for two terms; after which he was invited to return. But he never went back, and the breach between him and his father was wider than ever.

We come now to one of Landor's tenderest and sweetest idyls—the episode of Dorothea Lyttleton, his sister Elizabeth's dearest friend, and the beauty of Studley Castle: an heiress to boot, and the desired of all the marriageable youths in the county. She was very intimate with the Landor family, and as yet had refused every offer of marriage. All the brothers were of course in love with her, "and a tale is told of the youngest (Robert) that when two or three years hence she had relented, and was a bride, and he a lad of fifteen, had gone into her presence bent upon slaying her bridegroom in single combat with spears or bows or arrows. She suddenly, to his extreme mortification, displaced those desperate thoughts by taking him in her arms and kissing him." This sweet and lovely girl was Walter's constant correspondent, and his intercessor with his father, through her uncles with whom she lived. He was warmly and tenderly attached to her, and she to him; and Mr. Forster "found among his papers a packet of her letters carefully kept and endorsed by him, addressed to him at his London lodgings in Beaumont Street, in those early months of 1795," as also one from his old nurse, and another from a second old servant. This was thoroughly like Landor. With all his passion, ferocity, and coarseness when roused, there was an amount of purity of feeling in him unequalled, and a capacity for the most refined and idyllic tenderness as great as was his capacity for anger, pride, and hatred. Mr. Forster makes but little account of this. While all the small and evil parts of Landor's character are dragged into the light, the sweet and lovely qualities are not so much as hinted at. Yet there never lived a man who had more of an almost maidenly modesty and grateful tenderness towards certain of his friends and lovers than had Landor. His love for Dorothea was of this kind; though no one now can judge of its direction, whether it was merely fraternal, or whether it would have been more than fraternal had he had the power to make it so.

He himself used to say that he would and could have married her had he been independent. This Mr. Forster questions; but her letters certainly evince a warmer interest than that of the mere "friendly familiarity of a good-humoured girl for the brother of her friend, a year or two younger than herself, whose cleverness she admired, and



whose attentions pleased her." Young girls of Dorothea's age and upbringing were not accustomed in those days to write to young men as she wrote to Walter; and there are many little touches which show more than the biographer admits. Landor used to say that he had had but "four great loves in his life;" but these were loves for which while they lasted—and some of them, more especially the fiercer kind, lasted over many years—he lost his senses and himself: and of these Dorothea Lyttleton, fortunately for her, was not one, but something better, truer, and more pure.

At this time too Landor began to write. He published first a volume of poems; then "A Moral Epistle to Earl Stanhope," in the style of Pope; and then he looked about, or was urged to look about, for a profession. His father, still estranged from him, offered him four hundred a year if he would study law, and one hundred and fifty if he did not. He declined the offer, and took the lesser sum. He was recommended for a commission, and his chance of getting it was talked about at mess; whereupon one of the officers said he would resign his if Walter Landor obtained one. When the subject was mentioned to him, and it was proposed to him that a commission should be obtained for him if possible, on condition that he would keep his opinions to himself, he proudly refused; he would keep silence for no man, he said, and would never betray his principles even by silence. He then went to Tenby, there to wait the results of Dorothea Lyttleton's intercession with his father, and the efforts of his friends; and in Wales took place one of the four "affairs" he used afterwards to speak of—a very stormy and intense affair, and one that left its mark for years upon him. After this, or rather during this time, he wrote the first of his famous works, *Gebir*,\* for which he always

had great regard. His favourite works were, to the end of his life, *Gebir*, the Imaginary Conversation between *Epicurus*, *Leontion*, and *Ternissa*, and the *Hamadryad*, one of the Hellenics.

His two great friends at this time were Walter Birch and Doctor Parr, the latter then living as perpetual curate at Hatton, a small, dull village, two or three miles from Warwick, on the Birmingham road. Parr was a poor man when he went there, and when he was more prosperous he was too fond of the place to leave it. He was, as every one knows, foremost among the classical scholars of his day. While Porson lived he used to say, "The first Greek scholar is Porson, and the third Elmsley; I won't say who the second is." When Porson died he took the foremost place; and Sydney Smith, calling attention to the fact that he was languishing on a paltry little curacy in Warwickshire, speaks of him as by far the most learned man of the day. He and Landor made great friends together—Parr's other intimate at the time being James Mackintosh, to whom he would say, after a long argument, "Jemmy, I cannot talk you down, but I can think you down, Jemmy." Of Mackintosh Landor says in one of his letters to Southey:—

"I never knew that he was so stored and laden as you give me to believe. He was certainly very inaccurate, not only in Greek but in Latin. Once at breakfast with Parr in Cary Street, where I was, and Hargrave and Jekyl, he used the word *anabasis*. Parr said, 'Very right Jemmy! very right; it is *anabasis* with you, but *andabasis* with me and Walter Landor.' I was very much shocked and grieved; indeed, to such a degree that I felt indisposed to take any part in the conversation; only saying (which was not quite true), that I did not know it until then; which obtained me a punch of the elbow under the rib, and the interjection of '*lying dog*!'"

At this time Landor was writing fierce political articles against Pitt and for Fox; kept to the point as much as might be by the good offices of Robert Adair, with whom he had been brought in contact by Parr, and who, seeing at once Landor's possible use in the cause, overlooked all his heresies and dangerous independencies of thought and conduct, and did his best to "put so clever a fellow in the proper way." This

\* *Gebir* was a great favourite with Shelley. "When he was at Oxford in 1811, we are told by the friend and fellow-collegian who was most intimate with him there, he would at times read nothing else; and Mr. Hogg relates that on the frequent occasions when he found him so occupied, it was hopeless to draw his attention away. There was something in the poem which in a peculiar manner caught his fancy. He would read it aloud to others, or to himself, with a tiresome pertinacity. One morning his friend went into his room to tell him something of importance; but he would attend to nothing but *Gebir*; whereupon Hogg describes himself with a young impatience snatching the book out of the obstinate fellow's hand, and throwing it through the open window into the quadrangle; but unavailing—for as it fell upon the grass-plot, and was brought presently back by the servant, again Shelley became absorbed in it, and the something of importance had to wait another

time. I related this incident at Florence," adds Mr. Hogg, "some years afterwards, and after the death of my poor friend, to the highly-gifted author. He heard it with his hearty, cordial, genial laugh, 'Well, you must allow it is something to have produced what could please one fellow-creature, and offend another so much.'"



political fever was diversified by the attack on *Gebir* in the *Monthly Review*, and Landor's reply in a prose postscript to *Gebir*; which, however, was suppressed at the instance of his friends, and specially at that of Isaac Mocatta. This was thoroughly Landorian. Deaf to reason, incapable of fear, wild and revengeful, he yet could be turned aside by affection, and he would forego his most cherished passion at the prayer of a friend and to gratify one who loved him.\* After this he went to Paris, where he saw Bonaparte's first public reception after he was made Consul, and where he formed one of the most romantic of all his attachments, which he was obliged to leave when at its height. He used to tell how he besieged the post-office for months after he returned home, for the letters that never came, and how he pined and fretted for news of his left love; but he never heard of her again; and he threw the blame on his mother who probably did not deserve it.

At the death of his father, which took place in 1805, Landor went to Bath and Clifton, where he lived what we should now call a fast life, with the reputation and appearance of great wealth; but it was not a coarse nor a profligate life, as Forster insinuates. It was extravagant; and it was so far reprehensible in that it contained a passionate attachment for one he ought not to have loved; his "Ianthe;" an attachment that lasted for years, and that continued as a sentiment into quite old age. But it was no more than this. His life was never vicious, never coarse; it was lawless, which is another matter. So far as regards Ianthe, we may as well say here as further on, how touching it was to see these two old people together in the last days of both. Marriage, years, separation, had not destroyed the affection between them; and to the last the one was a paragon and a "prince," the other a beauty and an angel. Ianthe was a gentle, sweet-natured, but by no means wise old woman in these days; but though she used to say the most inconceivably silly things, Landor never lost his temper with her, and always listened to her with grave attention and courteous respect. Her grandchildren were his great delight, and he used to play with them by the hour together; but his favourite was her eldest granddaughter, then a sweet and fragile girl of seventeen, whose

music, of a very first-rate order, charmed him as David's charmed Saul, and held him entranced for all the time it lasted. His face used to assume quite a different expression when Luisinha played and sang; and one saw then what Landor's soul was—what the real man was like when the disturbing passions were at rest.

Undoubtedly the two greatest misfortunes of Landor's life were his purchase of Llanthony and his marriage. His other escapades were hurtful enough, but not so permanent in their ill effects as these. For instance, there was that generous if rash rush of his into Spain (1808), where he presented the Governor of Corunna with 10,000 reals for the benefit of "the unfortunate town of Venturada, destroyed on account of its loyalty to its king by most cruel and ferocious enemies;" where he remained in or near Aguilar, with a troop of volunteers, for nearly three months, seeing no active service, but "fretting at the inaction of the northern division and its general;" where he quarrelled with Charles Stuart, the envoy at Corunna, because of a chance word which he misunderstood and misapplied; and whence he came home again, heartily disgusted with the whole affair, having wasted time and money to no good whatsoever. In a characteristic letter to Southey, he says that he wished very much to have seen Madrid, but that he was afraid a battle would have been fought in his absence, which would have killed him; and that he had the satisfaction of serving three launches with powder and muskets, and of carrying on his shoulders, six or seven miles, a child too heavy for its exhausted mother. In return for his aid and gifts of "twice 10,000 reals," the Spaniards gave him the honorary rank of colonel in the service of King Ferdinand, conveyed in a handsome letter of thanks written by the Spanish Minister, Cevallos; but when "the restored Ferdinand had restored the Jesuits, Landor sent back his commission in a letter to that same Don Pedro Cevallos, telling him that he had done his best for Spanish liberty against Napoleon, and would not continue, even nominally, in the service of a worse perjurer and traitor."

But though he lost money, and by his quarrel with Charles Stuart repute as well, and gained but little experience by this Spanish episode, the purchase of Llanthony was a yet more disastrous affair. It would have been better for him if he could have contented himself with Tachbrook, or if he could have bought that Cumberland estate\*

\* It was always thus with him: he would break the hardest iron rod that might be laid upon him, but he could be guided by a silken thread. Love and tenderness, but not servility and flattery—as Mr. Forster would have us to believe—were the only powers which Landor could be brought to obey; and he did obey these implicitly.

\* Mr. Forster says it was an estate on Loweswater. We always understood from Mr. Landor himself



on which he had set his affections; where, among the finest scenery in England, with a peasantry, keen, blunt, honest, and as independent as himself, and with a small but singularly choice society scattered about the various vales, he might have found much to interest and something to control him. He and Wilson would have fought whenever they had met, but Southey's amiableness and Wordsworth's quiet philosophy would have calmed the tempests in which these two fiery spirits habitually dwelt. But he did not get his lake-land estate, and he bought Llanthony instead, for which his mother sold Tachbrook, reserving to herself an annuity of £450 as indemnification. It proved to be a mistake; found out when too late; and he soon took an immense dislike to both the place and the people.

"Llanthony is a noble estate," he says in a letter to his biographer; "it produces everything but herbage, corn, and money. My son, however, may perhaps make something of it; for it is about eight miles long, and I planted a million of trees on it more than thirty years ago. I lived there little more than eight months altogether, and built a house to pull it down again. Invent a hero if you can, who has performed such exploits."

Nothing prospered at Llanthony. He planted and he builded, and what he planted perished, and what he builded he pulled down again, as he says; his tenant annoyed him; the bishop slighted his offer to repair the old church; the lord-lieutenant declined to appoint him a magistrate; he tried to do his people good and they would have none of his improvements; he took up a public scandal and failed to substantiate his charge; and, on the whole, Llanthony was a scourge and no blessing, and he sighed passionately for Bath again. But even Mr. Forster does him justice as to the motives which actuated him:—

"Nor were the objects proposed by him in taking possession of his new estate other than the worthiest; and such as he might fairly have hoped to accomplish. He was bent upon restoring and civilizing on every side of him; the mountain wastes, the church and abbey ruins, the shockingly impassable roads, the ignorant barbarous people. Unhappily he found the stubborn and evil qualities of the Welsh in his neighbourhood to be greatly in excess of his expectations."

And then Mr. Forster finds him blame-

worthy that he did not continue there, and force his good deeds upon them, seeing that the worse they were the more need they had of reformation. Very true; but it is not given to every man to be a practical reformer; and Landor, whose chief characteristic was want of patience, was eminently unfitted for the task, but not blameworthy because he could not do what his nature incapacitated him from doing.

While Llanthony was in course of progress, and before the "cottage" to which he afterwards invited Southey, promising to send down a "tea-caddy full of books" as part of the furniture, was yet unbuilt, Landor wrote his tragedy of *Count Julian*, which he finished in April 1811; and on the very evening of its transcription he fell in love with Julia Thuillier, "a girl without a sixpence, and with very few accomplishments," he says. "She is pretty, graceful, and good-tempered—three things indispensable to my happiness." She had beautiful golden hair; he and Ianthe had quarrelled, and he married her. He had better have died, for, of all the misfortunes of his life, and of hers too, this marriage may rank as the greatest. There was no real love on his side, and there was no sense on hers. She irritated him, and she did not care to study his temper; so that things turned badly as time went on, which any one might have foreseen. Perhaps his home discomforts were helped on by the vexations he had found in his estate; which at last became so great that, wearied and disgusted, he quitted Llanthony for ever; and in May 1814 took the resolution to leave England as well as Wales, never to return. His first intention was to live in France, but after a brief sojourn in Jersey—where he had a serious quarrel with his wife whom he quitted, to return to her however, after some months' absence—he finally established himself at Florence, where he lived for many years; where he wrote his *Imaginary Conversations*, and *Pericles* and *Aspasia*; where his children were born to him—those children for whom he had such a passionate love; where he made the friendship of the Hares, Lady Blessington, and others who stood faithful to him through life; and where he was happy and industrious. Where he was peaceful too—more than was usual with him; but still effervescing on slight occasions, and at all times ready to accept a quarrel if the chance of one was offered to him.

That Florentine time was Landor's golden time, when he was at his best and grandest; where he did his noblest work; where his affections were healthiest, deepest and purest. But it was destined not to last. A furious

that it was on Leatheswater, generally called Thirlmere, at the foot of Helvellyn. Loweswater is by no means one of the finest of the Lakes; but though Leatheswater is small, its situation and surroundings are magnificent.



quarrel with his wife in 1835 drove him from his Italian home for ever—for one can hardly call his last exile there a home; and giving up his property to his family, retaining only a very small income for himself, he left them in undisputed possession of all he felt he could no longer enjoy with self-respect, and came back to Bath, where he lived alone in shabby lodgings till that disastrous year of 1857. Here he published those lovely *Hellenics*, of which Forster says finely:—

"Certainly this little book, which appeared at the close of 1847, gave convincing proof that up to this date Landor's powers, even of fancy, had not ebb'd a hand's-breadth on the sands of time, seventy-three years wide."

Here too he made the acquaintance of John Forster, his present biographer, and of Charles Dickens\*—at the easel of whose fancy he stood for the portrait of Laurence Boythorn—"Pomero" his little Pomeranian dog, being represented as the canary. Here too began his friendship with Eliza Lynn (Mrs. Lynn Linton), to whom he wrote an exquisite sonnet on her "*Amyone*," and to whom he dedicated his *Five Scenes*. She was his adopted daughter in the literary sense, and visited him regularly for weeks together, for the ten or eleven years their friendship lasted; and it lasted till his death. Which at least proves this, that Landor was not always ferocious, and that he could live in peace and content with any one who cared to study him. Miss Lynn treated him with the respect and tenderness of a daughter, and he in return treated her with unvarying kindness and gentleness. Her testimony goes dead against Mr. Forster's assertion that Landor could not live with any one save as a rebel or a tyrant. What he required in his companion was some amount of tact, self-control enough for both, affectionate behaviour, and that he himself should be made to respect. Lower men than he require more.

Always busy, but not producing anything now demanding sustained effort, his days

\* Mr. Forster and Mr. Dickens used to visit him on his birthday, the former especially, with great regularity. On one occasion (1849), when they had both come from London for that purpose only, Landor brought down the next morning the following lines, afterwards printed in the fly-leaf of *The Last Fruit off an Old Tree*:—

"I strove with none, for none was worth my strife;  
Nature I loved, and, next to Nature, art;  
I warm'd both hands before the fire of life;  
It sinks, and I am ready to depart."

To this hour we remember the quiver on the delicate mouth and the moisture in the quick grey eyes which accompanied the reading of this little poem. He had been so happy over-night in the presence of his two trusted friends; and he was a man whose gratitude for love and attention was as large as his pride and as warm as his anger.

glided peacefully away; with his dog, his friends and his thoughts as his companions until, his best friend being then impossible, he fell into bad hands, got mixed up in a disgraceful scandal, published a libel for which he was cast in damages, and, to avoid payment of the fine, left England for Florence in 1857; where he died miserably. September 17, 1864, æt. 89.

Of Landor's person Forster gives a good description, omitting however, the peculiarity of the shabby brown suit, rusty hat, apple-pie boots, and frayed silk tie he always wore; and which were all characteristic of the man—in person delicately clean, in dress notoriously shabby, just as his soul was pure and noble, while his outer garb of temper was disordered and unlovely.

"Landor was then upwards of sixty, and looked that age to the full. He was not above the middle stature, but had a stout stalwart presence, walked without a stoop, and in his general aspect, particularly the set and carriage of his head, was decidedly of what is called a distinguished bearing. His hair was already silvered gray, and had retired far upward from his forehead, which, wide and full, but retreating, could never in the earlier time have been seen to such advantage. What at first was noticeable, however, in the broad, white, massive head, were the full yet strangely-lifted eyebrows, and they were not immediately attractive. They might have meant only pride or self-will in its most arrogant form, but for what was visible in the rest of the face. In the large grey eyes there was a depth of composed expression that even startled by its contrast to the eager restlessness looking out from the surface of them; and in the same variety and quickness of transition the mouth was extremely striking. The lips that seemed compressed with unalterable will would in a moment relax to a softness more than feminine; and a sweeter smile it was impossible to conceive."

The best portrait of him, as an old man, is a photograph by Herbert Watkins. This is to be preferred far before the engraving from Boxall's picture, or even Gibson's bust. It is Walter Savage Landor as he was at the close of his life, and it neither flatters nor exaggerates. To this personal description must also be added a notice of the little Pomeranian dog he was so fond of; the "*cane lupo*," the "*caro cane*," "*dear heart*," he used to play with and delight in. It was something if once seen never to be forgotten; and Pomero was quite as well known in Bath as was "the old man eloquent" himself. He used to talk to him chiefly in Italian, that being the language he said, "*his mother taught him!*" and he would make out long and fanciful pedigrees to prove how he came by his fox's tail and ears,



and how he was indeed the grandson of a fox to whose wicked flatteries his mother had given ear. It was nonsense if one will, but it was Landor. Also must not be forgotten his intense love of children and of flowers. Children were his masters, and he was their patient and obedient slave. They might do what they would with him, he never resented anything from them—not even their shyness. His letters show how deep was his affection for his own children, of whom he always spoke as if they were still little ones, when they were men and women grown. "Good Arnold," "wise old Walter," "beautiful Carlino,"—their names were for ever on his lips. And next to children came flowers. He had a special and peculiar love for the "little butting cyclamen" with its goat-like horns; for the lilac which he pronounced "laylock;" for the violet, the rose, and the daphne mezereon. All flowers he loved, but those in chief.

"Nature I loved, and, next to Nature, art," he says of himself. But his art was very doubtful. He filled his house with pictures, to all of which he gave grand names, but the most of which were mere broker's rubbish. It was his hobby, and he might have had one less innocent and more expensive. He would buy a daub that he christened a Rembrandt or a Morland, for half-a-crown or five shillings; and Gainsboroughs and Correggios came into his hand for the price of an old song. He had however, one or two very pretty things; and one, "Europa and the Bull," which he said was a Correggio, gave him the picture of the "Ancient Idyl" in *Dry Sticks*:—

"Against his nostril fondly hangs her hand,  
While his eye glistens over it, fondly too,  
It will be night, dark night, ere she returns,  
And that new scarf! the spray will ruin it!"

He was wonderfully generous, and gave away anything that a friend admired. He was charitable too, and sent meat and wine to those of the poor whose wants were made known to him; and he sent it in a royal manner, largely and grandly. He has been known frequently to stint himself at dinner that a poor old woman should have more. Keen in intellect, excessive in passion, he was also great in virtue; whatever he did was done with a certain margin of exaggeration truly, but we do not quarrel with the exaggeration of nobleness.

We have left ourselves no space for more than the most cursory remarks on Landor's genius; and yet his genius was the man. What he wrote when at his best, what he thought and felt when most inspired, was more himself than were his mere tempers;

his *Imaginary Conversations* were the real and permanent Landor, his passionate outbursts of violence and coarseness were only the outward and temporary man. The one will live for ever, the other will die out of the world's memory in another fifty years or so; and even Mr. Forster's biography will not serve to keep the ugly shadow alive. No man since Shakespeare's time has written so much wisdom or so much beauty; in no other man's works is there such exquisite tenderness, so much subtlety of thought, such wealth of imagery yet all chaste and nothing glaring, so much suggestiveness and yet such ample fulness. Not a page but contains the most deathless beauty; though also, we confess it sadly, his later volumes are disfigured by coarseness which we wish Landor had died before he had written. But these were his madnesses; we look upon them as the sorrowful ravings of insanity, and so pass them by with solemn pity, lamenting rather than condemning. It is not just to bring them too prominently forward; for he was better than these worst parts of him, and he must not be judged by them. Do we judge of life only by its pain? of humanity only by its sin? And this is the basis of our quarrel with this biography. No book that we know of, save Hogg's reminiscences of Shelley, can compare with it for the skill with which it has degraded and dwarfed its subject. We do not say that it is not truthful in fact, but it is not just in spirit. It has not created the small or ugly parts of Landor's character, but it has given them undue prominence; it has dwelt on them too heavily—brought them out into the full glare of light, or more damagingly hinted at them only, as at things too bad to be reproduced; while even in retailing the better facts it could not deny, it has not spared covert sarcasm and open contempt, where both were ungenerous and unnecessary. It has judged Landor by the worst of him and not by the best; and so far it is untrue. Let us confess it frankly: Landor had a bad temper—a ferocious, ungovernable, insane temper—"the worst that ever man was cursed with," he says of himself; but is a bad temper so rare that all his transcendent powers and noble qualities, all his affectionateness, his genius, his generosity, are to be assayed by the standard of this fault, great as it was? He was explosive, proud, exaggerative, passionate, and unreasonable;—granted; but he held liberal principles at a time when liberal principles were accounted for sins, and when the holders of them were conventional pariahs by whose curse we are now blessed; his thoughts were heroically great; his genius was majestic; his judg-



ments, apart from his passions, were always instinctively true and generous; and these were qualities for which he is to be judged rather than for a physical infirmity of temper which made him difficult and dangerous to deal with. Mr. Forster's portraiture is conceived on exactly contrary principles to this, and the consequence is a book eminently wanting in magnanimity. We will not say that it is intentionally false or unfair; but it is both in result; because the drawing is out of proportion, and because the lights are all thrown on the faults not on the virtues, and prominence is given to the evil and not to the good. More than this too, we will say, that so pitiless a dissection and so cold and "candid" an analysis have come with a singularly bad grace under all the circumstances of their friendship from the hand of the present biographer; who would have done better to have rebuked Landor in his lifetime for the faults and weaknesses of which he has told the world so much after his death.

#### ART. IX.—THE IRISH CHURCH MEASURE.

For the fourth time within forty years the nation finds itself in presence of an antagonism between two of the three elements of its constitutional government. Such a situation is natural, and indeed inevitable, when one of those three elements is an elective assembly, continually renewed, and each time renewed so as to represent the opinions of the whole nation, while another of them is an hereditary House, representing nothing but its own order, and that order consisting mainly of one class of persons, the wealthier landlords, who cannot be expected to feel complete sympathy or move in conformity with the whole complex population of the three kingdoms. The only principle yet found able to put an end to this dead lock is, that the nation is supreme, that it is only as representing the nation that the House of Commons or the House of Lords has its legislative rights, and that when the nation has once declared for a line of policy, it becomes the duty of the two Houses to carry out the intentions of the nation in their practical details. Hence it follows that in cases of dissension between the two Houses, the only ground of controversy ought to be whether the will of the nation has been declared, and how far and how minutely that will has been expressed. Of course a controversy of this kind may branch out into innumerable details. It might be

conceded that the result of a general election is the only constitutional method of determining the tendency of the national will. Yet it might be contended that the verdict was a surprise, that the arguments on both sides had not been heard, that the conclusion was only an accidental reading of the ever-varying barometer of popular feeling, which the next hour's reading might contradict, that in matter of fact the will of the nation had changed or was changing, and so on, through an indefinite variety of exceptions, the real meaning of which amounts to this, that the nation has no determinate method of saying what it deliberately intends, which cannot be picked to pieces and set aside by pleas which Mr. Disraeli would characterize as "*nisi prius*," if they did not happen to be those of his friends. In the great crises of the history of the last half-century the Lords have invariably shown a disposition to set the wheels of the State out of gear by the readily adopting pleas of this kind when the expressed will of the nation was recorded in favour of principles or measures which militated against their prejudices, or against the supposed interests of their order. And they have generally succeeded for a season in inflicting upon the nation one of those reverses which are invariably followed by a triumph, and in gaining for their own principles one of those barren victories which are invariably succeeded by a disaster. It was so in 1832, in the days of the first Reform Bill; it was so in 1846, when the Corn-Laws were repealed; it was so in 1866, when their principles triumphed over the moderate Reform Bill of the Liberal Ministry, only as a prelude to the household suffrage of the succeeding year. And in spite of the majority of thirty-three on the 18th of June, there is considerable danger lest it may be so again in 1869.

The theory of the philosophical Tories concerning the functions of the House of Lords was clearly and concisely expressed by Lord Salisbury in the debate on the 17th of June. According to him, both the Upper and Lower Houses equally represent the nation, and equally and co-ordinately share the supreme authority, except in those unusual and critical periods when the nation thinks for itself, adopts its own policy, and dictates it to its representatives. Then both Houses, he thinks, are equally bound to submit to the national will, as manifested in the general election of the House of Commons. In ordinary periods, he thinks, the nation leaves politics to the politicians, does not much concern itself with legislation, and trusts its representatives to provide all the legal and administrative supply which it re-



quires. In extraordinary times, then, the Lords follow the Commons, not morally, as subject to them, but chronologically, because the Commons are the first exponents of the national will; they do not submit to the Commons, but both Houses submit equally to the nation. In ordinary times both Houses are perfectly equal, the national will finding its expression sometimes in one House, sometimes in another. Such is Lord Salisbury's theory. It seems to come to this, that the nation, instructed perhaps by the debates in Parliament, chooses and dictates the principles of its policy, leaving to the Parliament the technical embodiment of those details in legislative acts. This is, however, a very inadequate view of the facts. The nation, in the aggregate, consists of a majority, generally more or less quiescent, inclining to progress, and a minority, generally the more active, devoted to the maintenance of things as they are. In the long run, the House of Lords represents the opinions of the minority, the House of Commons those of the majority. At times, when the majority has been mesmerized by a politician like Lord Palmerston, it rests for a season, and allows an apparent reaction to set in; on such occasions the opinions of the minority of the nation are represented in both Houses. But in healthy times, when the nation is vigorous, its intelligence active, and its will excited, the supremacy of the principle of progress is vindicated in a general election, and the House of Lords finds itself face to face with a national verdict which is opposed to its predilections. If Lord Salisbury's theory is correct, it is the duty of the House of Lords at such times to accept the national verdict, and to labour, conjointly with the House of Commons, in contriving the best possible practical embodiment of the national will. But what has been the practice of the House of Lords, and of the party which it represents? What is the advice of Lord Salisbury with regard to its present action? The practice of the House of Lords has always been to minimize the progress, to introduce as many reservations, contradictions, and compromises as possible, to see that no principle is ever perfectly carried out, no act of justice completed, no measure of progress passed without being discoloured by antiquated prejudices. In 1829, the splendid opportunity of Catholic Emancipation was spoiled by the anile prejudices of those who insisted on keeping up a few superannuated disabilities, and on balancing concessions by disfranchisements. In 1832, the Reform Bill was marred by foolish amendments, which made wiser amendments impossible. In 1867, the prejudices of the

retrograde party had to be assuaged by the empty froth of personal payment of rates, by the ill-advised destruction of a most useful economic principle, the composition for rates, and by a mischievous representation of minorities; and now, in 1869, Lord Salisbury advises the Lords narrowly to scrutinize the national verdict of last autumn, to reduce it to its smallest possible dimensions, and to balance the thoroughness of the decree of disestablishment, which he owns to have been irrevocably made, by the smallest possible application of the decree of disendowment, which indeed, in spite of the whole tenor of Mr. Gladstone's Lancashire speeches, he denies to have formed part of the question put to the people at the hustings. Now, this advice of Lord Salisbury seems to us to be directly contrary to his theory. If it is the duty of Parliament to embody the principles willed by the nation in the most perfect technical legislation, it cannot be at the same time its duty to minimize and carp at those principles, to introduce so many compromises and exceptions as to bury them, to transform disestablishment into a mere emancipation from State control, and to transfigure disendowment either into an accumulation of additional wealth, or into a maintenance of a very real and visible superiority in possessions. The party of resistance in England often complains that, whatever is granted, those to whom it is given are never satisfied. They moralize upon this theme, and mourn over the depths of human discontent and the insatiability of ingratitude. If they would but turn their lantern on themselves they might see that to clog concessions with insulting conditions is not the way to secure gratitude, to pay half a debt not the best means of satisfying a creditor, nor to bury a rule under exceptions the best way to exemplify a principle. Lord Salisbury in effect has said to the Peers, "We, in conjunction with the House of Commons, are placed here to give effect to the voice of the nation, to formulate its views, to embody its principles. Let us not therefore refuse to consider those principles, but let us consider them with a view to ascertaining how little of them we may admit, how much reject, and how far mar the remainder, with reservations and exceptions, without stirring up the nation to a war of extermination against our House. 'Half a loaf is better than no bread' is a saying which represents more or less truly the feeling of the Liberal party. A great deal will be endured from us before our existence is endangered. If we rejected everything Mr. Gladstone might successfully appeal to the nation to pass the Bill over our heads. If



we alter only details, as for instance the date from which private endowments are to be privileged, it would be so ridiculously small a matter to set in the balance against the maintenance of the Constitution that the sensible Liberals and good-natured Radicals would acquiesce in it, even though some of them would say that it left the disestablished Church the wealthiest ecclesiastical body in Christendom, spoilt the grace of England's act of justice to Ireland, and left behind a sufficient residuum of inequality and ascendancy to be an eye-sore to the present generation, and a nucleus round which will gather the elements of agitation and discontent in the future."

If the House of Lords were a mere senate, and not also an order consisting of the most characteristic members of a class which is characteristically the most rigid and unprogressive of all classes of society, it would naturally be liable to treat demands for progress with an unsympathizing criticism. With advancing years almost every reformer crystallizes into a Conservative. When the dreams of his youth have become realities, he is no longer young enough to imagine new dreams of his own, or to kindle at the imaginations of others. Men who have passed through great offices, or have spent a quarter of a century in the routine of law, have become habituated to a set of principles and practices which have become too usual to be lightly changed, too natural to be criticised. A mere senate, consisting of such men, old members of the House of Commons, old ministers, old administrators, men who had gained the prizes of the legal or clerical profession, though they would be capable of giving the most valuable aid in the elaboration of laws, and in embodying the decrees of the nation, would naturally join to their technical superiority a coldness in criticising the effervescence of national enthusiasm, which would make them an effectual and useful check upon the speed of legislation. But our House of Lords is more than this. It is not a senate, but an order, in which, by the mere accidents of succession, many of its members are senators. The law peers and Bishops are the only senators as such. Other peers may be senators, because, while they enter into the profession of politics in early life, they only succeed in middle age to their peerages. But this element of statesmanship in the House of Lords is not much stronger than the learned and scientific element in the Convocations of the English universities, where the real power, when they are stirred to exert themselves, lies in the hands of the country clergymen. So it is with the peers.

The weight and resistance of the order lie not in the politicians, but in the country magnates who know no more of the philosophy of legislation than the country clergyman knows of Greek scholarship. And in critical times like the present these hereditary and intermittent legislators congregate at Westminster, not to give technical expression to the national will, but to thwart it as far as they can, and to protect its stationary interests of their order against the innovations of progress. Lord Salisbury's senatorial theory of the House of Lords would be excellent if it answered to facts or rather is excellent so far as it does answer to facts. But the senate in the House is always liable to be swamped by the order and then the decisions of the peers represent neither the principles of the national will nor the arts of technical and administrative legislation. Was it with the view of changing the order into a senate that Lord Salisbury, in the debate on life peerages, mentioned the want of a censorship in the House of Lords?

That the leisure, experience, and technical knowledge of the senators among the peers can be used to excellent effect in improving the measures which pass through the cross-fire of amendments among the raver legislators of the House of Commons, is a truism. But this function is called into action chiefly when a Bill has been disfigured by the inconsistent amendments of various thinkers in a House which the Ministry is not strong enough to control. When a Bill has been thoroughly considered, well drawn, and passed through the House of Commons without material alteration, it is a euphemism to speak of the modifications of principle introduced into it by the peers as technical improvements. If the principle which they modify is one that ought to be enforced, their modifications of it are many failures of justice; they are legislative amendments, which only "improve" justice off the face of the law. If the Lords would faithfully do what they owe is their duty and study without prejudice to carry out the technical and scientific consistency of legislation, they would have a great future before them. The equality of justice at which the Irish Church Bill aims is almost a commonplace of consistent and scientific legislation. That which often makes despotisms bearable is the precision of the law—for this very precision is in its measure a safeguard of equality and justice. Grievances, disabilities, inequalities, injustices, are often only clumsy expedients of well-meaning and ignorant law-makers. And the clumsiness of the English law is its great fault. Future



reformers will have to address themselves to the task of finding better means of attaining certain ends that all parties agree in desiring—the extinction of pauperism, the education of the people, the repression of crime, the reformation of criminals. There is even a common term in which the policy of both parties with regard to the Irish Church coalesces. One would level up, the other level down, but both would level. Equality of some sort between the confessions is universally owned to be the proper aim of politicians. The question how to attain this equality is, if properly understood, exactly the question for the scientific statesman, who looks at the present, calculating the forces at his disposal, and looks at the future with the intention of making his measure complete, so as not to carry in its bosom the seeds of its own destruction. There can be no doubt that the equalizing and scientific system of policy has been gaining ground since the beginning of the century. Burke mourned the fall of chivalry, and the rise of economists and calculators. Chivalry is the statesmanship of impulse, of privilege, of divine rights inherent in persons and classes. It is the policy of conquerors who impose an extrinsic civilisation on subject races. But the internal development of civilisation by a national progress goes on other rules. The mathematical and mechanical legislation of the school of Bentham is a better expression for it than the spasmodic legislation of ascendant classes. The true age of economy and calculation began after the Reform Bill of 1832. Since that time mercantile policy has given the tone to our legislation, and has taught us that distributive justice deals out rights and imposes sacrifices on less invidious ground than the supposed moral and political superiority or deficiency of citizens, and that the fairest rule for nations as well as for persons is to deal to others as we would have them deal to us.

It is this happy relationship between the methods of a utilitarian legislation, and those of a legislation which aims simply at equality of justice, which causes that the men under whose guidance our economical legislation has culminated take their places as the leaders of the new movement. Mr. Gladstone became the principal figure in the day of financial economy, chiefly because he was never a mere financier or a mere economist. With all his mastery of the methods, and versatility in the resources of scientific finance, his measures were never merely financial, but always contained glimpses into outlying regions which gave a philosophic, even a metaphysical, tone to his financial

statements, and made them in this respect a laughing-stock to the mere calculator, who however accepted all their practical proposals with entire thankfulness. Mr. Gladstone was never a mere raiser of money for the Government to spend. His task was to see where the burden pressed overmuch, and where it failed to touch the bearer's back; to readjust the weights and distribute them evenly, so as to hamper the motive powers of the bearers as little as could be. The scientific treatment of finance for the purpose of securing a strict distributive justice in the partition of burdens, and the greatest possible freedom of movement in spite of the burdens, was his education to train him for a more general application of the same law of justice,—the readjustment of our political institutions on principles of equity, for the relief of those whose principles and consciences are justly offended at the existing inequalities. In Mr. Bright we also have one in whom early grasp of a great financial idea has supplied a certain sterility in devising the details of measures which in their general outlines and principles he foresaw sooner than any other statesman. If he is gifted with the far-reaching vision of a prophet, his detailed views seem to suffer under the conditions which necessarily attach to distance. But the firmness of his grasp of principles, and his passionate attachment to justice, make him, with Mr. Gladstone, a natural pioneer in the conciliatory and equitable policy on which the nation is entering.

The Irish Church Bill is a typical instance of this policy. If we consider the directness and precision with which its main principles of complete disendowment and disestablishment are carried out, and on the other hand the almost sublime contempt of logic with which it adopts compromise after compromise, till hardly one of its clauses, as Mr. Gladstone confessed to Mr. Fawcett, would bear to be scrutinized too closely, it is a model of scientific legislation, which loses sight neither of the oppressive multiplicity of contradictory details, nor of the unity which is ultimately to grow out of the heterogeneous mass. Or, if we consider the object of the Bill, which is to give to every religious confession in Ireland justice, and neither more nor less than justice,—to secure to each body its own rights, and to prevent it from so exercising or abusing its rights as to interfere with the rights of others,—it is evident that it deals with considerations more serious than finance, deeper down in the hearts of men than the incidence of taxation or military service; and these considerations are new, if not in themselves, at least in their relation with legislation.



For a long time questions of an abstract justice, or of the fundamental principles of politics, have had no practical effect in Parliamentary debates. Such speculations have dwelt in the dim distance,—if understood, at least not expressed. The questions of the day lay too near the surface of things to admit of being affected by texts of Scripture or transcendental analysis, and the reports of our Parliamentary proceedings offer none of the abstract and generalising character so familiar to the French and Belgian Chambers. But with the change in the character of the questions debated has come a change in the character of the debates themselves. Questions have been brought down from the regions of abstraction to those of practical and party politics, and the House of Commons has been somewhat assimilated with Convocation. It has heard many a warning voice suggestive of the pulpit, and many a disquisition and distinction suggesting a scholastic theologian with a predetermined theme to defend. But if it has thus opened a field to official philosophers and pulpiting statesmen, it has given the opportunity to the leaders of political thought to exemplify how eminently worthy of the highest statesmanship these somewhat abstract questions may be made; and neither the lucid and methodical thoughtfulness of Mr. Gladstone, nor the earnest conscientiousness of Mr. Bright, was ever so effectively displayed as in the late debates. In the House of Commons these debates have brought out two points in the clearest light: the scientific character of the Bill, which has made it practically inassailable, and has held it together by a sort of internal vitality; and the abstract nature of the problems which it raises, which seem to lie much deeper in the soil of political philosophy than ordinary questions go.

Mr. Gladstone, in moving for leave to bring in the Bill on the 1st of March, gave an explanation of the measure to be introduced, which is as true for the Bill now as it was for the first draught. Three specific dates at which certain operations would take place were the hinges on which his statement turned; but the course of the subsequent debates makes it more convenient to consider the operations themselves. These are mainly four: the disestablishment, the disendowment, and the modified reconstruction of the Anglican Church in Ireland, and the distribution of the funds accruing to the nation. The disestablishment is to be complete, and to take effect on the 1st of January 1871; on that day ecclesiastical courts and laws will cease to have authority in Ireland, ecclesiastical corporations will

be dissolved, and Irish Bishops will cease to have seats in the House of Lords. The disendowment of the Church as a Church will be complete on the day after the Act becomes law, when the whole property of the Church will be vested in the three Commissioners appointed by the Bill; but in consequence of the full recognition of all vested interests, the disendowment of each parish will be only a gradual operation. The life-interests of the clergy form the pivot on which the reconstruction, or rather the continuity, of the disestablished Church mainly turns. A machinery is provided, by which vacancies which occur between the passing of the Bill and the 1st of January 1871 will be filled up without creating any new vested interests. The clergy and laity of the Church are authorised, in the interval before complete disestablishment, to constitute a representative body, which the Government would recognise as the official organ of the Church. Through this body the Commissioners will make all the payments due to the annuitants on account of vested interests. It will also be enabled to accept from them a fixed sum in place of each annuity, and thus, by means analogous to those used by insurance companies, to accumulate a fund out of the difference between the capital with its total interest, and the sum of annual payments on each life. Again, the Bill recognises a distinction between public and private endowments. The latter are defined to be all moneys contributed from private sources since 1660. These are all to be handed over to the Church body; their value is estimated at £500,000. Again, the churches and glebe-houses will be handed over to the representative body, the former without any payment at all, the latter, with ten acres of glebe, for a payment of ten years' purchase of the land, without any consideration for the house, except so far as a debt is due upon it to the present Ecclesiastical Commissioners.

All the remaining property of the Establishment, consisting of its public endowments, will be vested in the new Commission. Upon this property the first charge will be compensation to vested interests; that is to say,—first, a continuation of present emoluments to every incumbent till his death, except in case of his accepting commutation, or refusing to continue his ministrations, in which case his annuity will be no longer payable to him; and secondly, two lump sums to compensate various interests affected by the withdrawal of the Maynooth Grant and of the *Regium Donum*. The permanent curates will be compensated out of the annuity of the incumbent who has



hitherto paid him, and the temporary curates will receive gratuities proportionate to their length of service, with a minimum of £200, and a maximum of £600. Parish-clerks and sextons will have full compensation for their vested interests, and other officers will receive gratuities to be determined by the Commissioners. The total value of the public endowments of the Establishment is estimated at £15,500,000; and the charges here enumerated will absorb about £8,000,000; £7,500,000 will therefore remain in the hands of the Commissioners. The fund which they will have to administer will come into their hands partly in the shape of a tithe-rent charge, partly in the shape of glebe-lands and other real property. It will be their duty to change these denominations into funded capital. For this end the Commissioners will sell to the landlords the tithe-rent charge at 22½ years' purchase, to be paid either in a lump sum, or by instalments to extend at the utmost over 52 years, at the rate of £4, 9s. per cent. of the capital for that time, less the amount usually deducted for poor-rates. After that period all tithe-rent charge not in the hands of lay impropiators will be extinguished in Ireland. The glebe-lands will be sold, partly to the Church body, partly, it is to be presumed, by virtue of a promised enactment, to other religious bodies, for like purposes, and partly to the occupying tenants. The churches, and burial-grounds which are annexed to them, will be handed over to the Church body, other burial-grounds to the Boards of Guardians, and ecclesiastical ruins to the Board of Works.

The sum remaining in the hands of the Commission after these operations is to be applied "mainly to the relief of unavoidable calamity and suffering;" in institutions which at present, where they exist, are maintained chiefly out of the county cess. The persons relieved will be lunatics, idiots, the deaf, the dumb, and the blind. The cost will be £235,000 a year out of the £311,000 which will be the income in the Commissioners' hands. The rest will be spent in aid to county infirmaries, reformatories, and in providing skilled nurses for the poor.

This being the character of the Bill as introduced into and passed by the House of Commons, the discussion of its principles, which necessarily preceded the second reading, was more or less a debate upon the abstract importance and meaning of religious establishments and religious endowments. Mr. Disraeli began the opposition in a speech wherein he made the establishment of a Church to consist in a union between it and the State, such as to render the State reli-

gious, and to invest authority with the highest sanctions that can influence the sentiments, the convictions, and consequently the conduct, of the subject; and, on the other hand, to render the Church political, by blending civil authority with ecclesiastical influence, by defining and defending the rights of the laity, and preventing the Church from subsiding into a sacerdotal corporation. Reading by his own private lights the signs of the times, he went on to say that the danger of the coming age will be an unchecked religious enthusiasm, issuing in sacerdotalism; against this fervid and zealous, but narrow and contracted agency, he found the true check and defence in a union with the agency of the State, which union alone could insure toleration. The Roman Catholic, he said, excommunicated by his Church, or the sectarian denounced and expelled by his congregation, ceases, in the presence of an Establishment, to be a forlorn being. There is the Church, of which the Sovereign is the head, which does not refuse to that individual those religious rites which are his consolation and comfort. Establishment, therefore, he said, means a union which secures to us "regulated freedom and temperate religion." In this speech Mr. Disraeli only hinted at his theory of the identity between Establishment and the supremacy of the Crown over the Church. In the debate in Committee on the 16th of April, when he moved the rejection of Clause 2, which dissolves the Legislative union between the Churches of England and Ireland, he enlarged upon the theory. "It is," he said, "union with the State under the supremacy of the Crown, which, quite independently of any endowment, secures to a Church purity and uniformity of doctrine, decorum of worship, a salutary discipline, and a wise and temperate Government." This proposition he made universal, and applied it to the Roman Catholic Church wherever it exists. He declared that so long as the Pope remains at Rome as sovereign, so long all Churches acknowledging his supremacy are established; that is, they are free from the uncertainties and mutabilities of voluntary associations, and enjoy, under the security of their supreme head, purity of doctrine, decorum of worship, salutary discipline, and wise government. But these advantages, he thought, are not conferred by anything short of a personal supremacy. Neither a confederation of Churches, nor a subordination of a Church to the civil law, would procure for it these benefits. Hence it followed that the Royal Supremacy which he wishes to maintain is not that which the Crown possesses in its Courts—for that is common to every Sovereign in the world,—



but it is an ecclesiastical power, which exists, not in the Law Courts, but "in the person of the Sovereign."

It is not probable that Mr. Disraeli had any very definite idea of his own meaning in this theory of Establishment, and criticism of so loose an aggregate of propositions is hardly possible. He foresees an age of religious zeal and sectarian heat, when these forces will be too strong for the control of the State by itself. But the State in union with the Church may rule them by cooling them. A Church thus allied with the State is described as a common pound for all stray cattle, an asylum for all castaway or unattached Christians, an unweeded garden where all pruners and cultivators of other fields are authorized to shoot their rubbish and throw their weeds. What influence such a hospital could have over the frenzy of enthusiasm is difficult to see; no person in the least actuated by the popular zeal of the coming religious epoch could tolerate it. And what consolation it could be to the excommunicated Catholic and expelled Dissenter to be invited to coalesce in common rites which they neither of them wished for or believed in is left unexplained.

If Mr. Disraeli intended to say merely that Established Churches, with various interests and various populations to conciliate, are conciliatory, whereas local sects are sectarian and exclusive, or if he had intended to refer to the comprehensive character of the English Establishment, which in its earlier years included schismatic Catholics, Protestants, Puritans, and the family of love, it would have been possible to say so in obvious and intelligible language. But Mr. Disraeli seems to have entertained some further idea that toleration is the child of religious establishment, and that it is identical with the indifference or temperance which he describes. Yet the most intolerant days of the Establishment were when it aimed at being most comprehensive—when it stretched out its arms to the whole nation, inviting them to come in, and imprisoning, fining, or hanging those who would not. Indifference to all doctrines but one, to wit, the Queen's supremacy, never was a step gained towards toleration of the denial of this one, but rather concentrated the spirit of persecution upon its impugnors. The same phenomenon has been seen in Catholic countries, where a good-natured indifference to the doings and opinions of all who professed to believe whatever the Church believed, has been found quite consistent with inquisitorial severity towards heretics who lacked this one thing needful. It would be curious to speculate on the ultimate outcome of Mr. Disraeli's theory. Probably he

would hold with Horne, Elizabeth's Bishop of Winchester, and a few others of that class who professed, in spite of the express contradiction of their doctrine put forth in the Queen's injunctions, that they believed the Crown to have inherited all the prerogatives of the Tiara, and that the Queen could do in the Establishment all that the Pope could do in the Catholic Church. A profession of civil and religious subjection to Her Majesty was, in the eyes of these Anglicans, the sum of all religion, just as submission to an infallible Pope may be in the eyes of some Romanists. But it is clear that the two systems are different. The Pope may be a symbol of dogma of some kind, the Queen cannot be. It may be thought a possible formula of faith to say, "I believe whatever the Pope believes or teaches;" but to say, "I believe whatever the Queen believes or teaches," is simply unmeaning, because the Queen, as such, is neither believer nor teacher. Instead of any such formula, the Anglican school of which we speak has to take refuge in a loyalty to the person of the Sovereign, a belief in his divine right, in the sacredness of his majesty, in the divinity which hedges his crown and guides his actions. This seems ultimately the only possible fixed tenet of Mr. Disraeli's political Church, consisting, as it does, of outcasts from all religious bodies united on the sole ground of the personal religious supremacy of the Sovereign. Probably the theory took flesh and was incarnate in the cavaliers of the Civil War, and is not, therefore, in an antiquarian and romantic sense, quite so absurd as it is in reference to the convictions and the tendencies of the present time. It is this personal supremacy, independent of all courts and all law—for Mr. Disraeli does not attempt to preserve the Ecclesiastical Courts or Canon Law,—which he besought the Government to leave to the Anglican Church in Ireland.

It is evident that no statesman could accede to so romantic a proposal. Mr. Disraeli had given new meanings to the words Establishment and Royal Supremacy unknown to our present Constitution or to our past history. Establishment never was the union between Church and State. But it was the confirmation by the State of the ecclesiastical laws, and the guarantee that the decisions of ecclesiastical tribunals should have civil effect, together with the recognition of the Church as a corporate person or number of persons, constituting a separate and independent estate in the realm. The notion of Royal Supremacy was originally that in all civil causes, whether tried by civil or ecclesiastical laws and judges, the ultimate appeal should be to the Crown, not



to the Pope. Afterwards, when heresy and other ecclesiastical offences were punished with the severest civil penalties, all these causes, however spiritual in essence, became civil in effect, and the Crown claimed a direct decision in them all. This it secured at the Reformation, and exercised its powers with the old machinery in separate ecclesiastical and civil courts. The division of courts is not in the least necessary for the supremacy of the Crown; but it is necessary that it should be exercised through some court or other, otherwise it has no organ through which to act. Mr. Disraeli's imagination of a supremacy independent of courts can only be a sentimental supremacy,—an appeal to feeling and faith without compulsory power,—a supremacy which belongs to a saint, or a prophet, or an impostor, but which is a preposterous addition to a hereditary and constitutional Crown.

In the political philosophy of Mr. Disraeli's speeches Endowment shares with Establishment the dignity of being raised into an abstraction, and, indeed, both are intimately mixed up with the question of the supremacy of the Crown. As the civil validity given to the laws of an Establishment gives it a certain power over the personal liberties of the subject, so does its endowment give it a certain power over the possessions of the subject; hence by virtue both of Establishment and of Endowment, causes purely ecclesiastical, and in their essence touching only faith or morals, become civil causes, and as such subject to the civil authority. With the best will in the world to avoid all appearance of deciding in religious cases, the temporal Courts must from time to time be called upon, in deciding who is entitled to an endowment, to decide also what present opinions are the legitimate equivalents of those for which the endowment was originally made. With the convenient fiction that the Courts are merely interpretative, that the Prayer-book and Articles are the full code of the Establishment, the ecclesiastical tribunals have hitherto been able to avoid the appearance of deciding on the legality or otherwise of new points of doctrine. But it is certain that religious thought has changed since the Reformation; neither the Ritualist body nor the Church Association really represents the mind of the framers of the Anglican Church law. There is a development of opinion, and the Courts are called upon to decide, not whether this development is true or false in itself, but whether it is a legitimate development of the opinions legalized in the sixteenth century. All bodies, whether established or

not, enjoying endowments, are liable to this inquisition of the temporal Courts. The Courts may at any time be called upon to judge, not whether an inculcated doctrine is true *in rerum natura*, but whether it forms a legitimate development of that creed to which endowment was originally given. And this in matter of fact is ultimately to give the Civil Courts power to decide on the orthodoxy or otherwise of religious ministers, not in their aspect of ministers of common Christianity, but in that of holders of endowments for specific religious teaching. The machinery of the Irish Church Bill, as originally put together, was calculated to put off as long as possible any such ultimately inevitable interference of the State, and to constitute the new Church as far as possible a free Church in a free State. The Bill as originally drawn went so far in this direction as not even to protect the vested interests of a clergyman who should decline to follow the new Church body in the changes they may please to make in doctrine or ritual, and should accordingly cease performing his functions. As the Bill now stands such a clergyman would forfeit his annuity. Sir Roundell Palmer discovered this blot, and both in Committee and on the Report proposed an amendment to obviate it. The amendment is accepted to a certain extent, and has been left for discussion in the House of Lords. But the extreme caution of the Government in this matter is a sure index of their fixed determination to remove the controversies of the Church as far as possible from the interference of the State, and to leave all ecclesiastical bodies as free as they can be to settle all their disputes among themselves. It is this aspect of the Bill which seems to make it attractive to Lord Carnarvon. Yet while endowments last, the question must at last, and in some form, arise, whether such a minister, holding such opinions, ought or ought not to continue in the enjoyment of his endowment. Endowments left to special bodies, defined by certain opinions, and described in deeds, must sooner or later give birth to lawsuits concerning the compatibility of certain new opinions with the old. The method by which Continental States have freed themselves from the responsibility of making this distinction, is, while keeping their legitimate supremacy, to suppress endowments and to substitute salaries. If religious ministers are paid not according to their opinions, but according to the numbers to whom they minister, or, it may be partly by such a scale as this, partly in proportion to the salary provided for them from private sources, according to the old plan



for giving State support to primary schools, the question who has the right to the salary would be one for the statistician, not for the theological lawyer; it would be a problem of arithmetic, not of orthodoxy. Since the French Revolution the clergy all over Europe have been gradually becoming a salaried instead of an endowed class; they have been cut loose from their territorial and feudal associations, and have become linked with the class which lives upon wages. The experiment has not been specially successful: the Catholic clergy at least have shown a much smaller nationalism, and a much greater disposition to centralize all their power in the Pope. But, on the other hand, it has been found possible, under these conditions, for the State, in conjunction with the ecclesiastical authorities, to arrange tables of maximum charges for personal ministrations and functions, such as marriages and funerals, and thereby to obviate all those scandals of spiritual extortion which have been referred to by many speakers in the late debates; and if the experiments, as they have been made, are not found otherwise satisfactory, they cannot be said to be conclusive, since the lay element has been hitherto quite excluded from all action, and the transaction has been a bargain between two despotic powers—an autocratic State hiring its spiritual labourers from an autocratic Pontiff, as the German Princes used to let out their armies. This is different from a State voting so much money for the spiritual care of the people, and distributing it scrupulously in proportion to the numbers of persons instructed, and the amount of instruction offered to them, and accepted by them. If the lay element is to be admitted to have such weight as is now claimed for it, some great change must probably take place in richly endowed religious societies. Independent associations, authorized to revise their own formularies, and in which the decision of the majority binds the whole body, may from time to time cast adrift a minority, till at last, by continual cutting off of fractions, the residue itself, though a majority as compared with the last secessionist body, may be only a small minority in comparison to the aggregate representatives, orthodox and heterodox, of the body to which the endowment was first left. In such case questions would soon arise about the right of the minority to the whole endowment. It would seem then that the development of the lay influence in religious corporations is likely gradually to militate against endowment, and in favour of the principle of congregational salaries, sup-

plement by State grants. And so, perhaps the whirligig of time will bring it about that the revolutionary doctrines of Wiclif, who was accused of teaching that it is against Scripture to endow the clergy, that emperors and princes were seduced by the devil into giving temporal possessions to the Church, and the like, will come to be cardinal opinions with those who most desire to see religion, the highest exercise of man's individual free-will, emancipated from State control, and freedom secured to Church and State alike.

It must be owned that Mr. Disraeli and his party have reason for wishing the principle of Endowment to be kept as sacred as that of Establishment, for it is the very pivot of the system by which the Church becomes a department of the State, and is made political. Hence arises their wish for concurrent endowments by means of levelling up, or in any other way by which religion can be permanently paid by the State. They have the same objection to the separation of Church and State which the Italian bishops have expressed. But these last would keep up the union, it order that the Prince might govern at the good pleasure and patience of the priest; the other party that the priest might minister at the pleasure and patience of the Prince. But, besides these political reasons for endowments, there is a wide-spread sentiment that whatever is once given for religious purposes is sacred for ever, and cannot be alienated to secular uses without sacrilege. This feeling rests sometimes upon the teaching of Canon Law, and sometimes upon a long tradition, upon texts of Scripture, and upon legends of the evil fortune of Church-robbers. To this feeling Mr. Disraeli appealed in his speech against the second reading of the Bill. But the distribution of the surplus, as provided for by the Bill, had taken all its sting out of this great sentimental topic; it was impossible to deny, as Mr. Bright pointed out in his most eloquent and telling speech, that the purposes to which the surplus was applied were as spiritual, as charitable, and as divine as the endowment of a clergy, especially when the very life of that clergy consisted not so much in teaching religion, as in keeping alive religious controversy. To argue, as the Bishop of Peterborough argued, that since blind and mutes would be educated religiously, part of the surplus would be devoted to religious teaching, and to assert that such an appropriation was contrary to all the promises of the majority of the House of Commons to the nation on the hustings, will not command much assent. The religious endowment abjured was a de-



finite payment made to a definite body of religious teachers, in order to enable them to exist, and to set them up as teachers in the nation. The religious payments which will follow in the wake of the appropriation clauses of the Bill will be made to existing teachers for work which they may be called on to perform. To urge that because the surplus is not to be devoted to religious purposes, therefore no clergyman of any denomination is to be employed in the services set on foot by the application of that surplus, is to carry rigid literalism beyond all reasonable bounds.

The new ecclesiastical body set up by the Bill in Ireland, is totally distinct from an established and endowed Church, though it is set up by the State and receives a great deal of property through the State. For although the Bill confers upon it a legislative power, and provides that only those shall receive its pay who perform the functions which it prescribes, and submit to its legislation, yet as the body is left entirely free from State control in fixing the terms of its communion, and as with respect to its payments to ministers it will be only under the same control as other unestablished bodies, its incorporation and the gifts made to it, if they are made in the manner prescribed by the Bill as it passed the House of Commons, are totally different from establishment and endowment by the State. The Church body has no power except such power as is voluntarily conceded to it by those who choose to obey it. It cannot be considered a creation of the State, for it exists already in germ; and the clauses which seem to create it are really only clauses which recognise this embryo life, and provide that the execution of the Bill should not go further than was intended, and that the process of disestablishment and disendowment should not be also the death of the inner living Church. They are saving clauses, not creative. There can be no doubt, whatever has been said by Bishops in the House of Lords, that the ecclesiastical body and the communion it represents is treated with great, perhaps over great, tenderness, in respect of the churches and burial-grounds. That it should keep the greatest part of the churches is reasonable enough. But there are some, like the Cathedrals of Dublin and Limerick, and the Abbey Church at Galway, which the next generation will see with discontent in the hands of a minority which is not of the religion of the founders of those churches. The sacrifice may probably not be a great one for the present generation of Catholics; but the lasting dedication of

those churches to an alien worship, on the convenient fiction that they are valueless, will be, it is to be feared, like leaving the flags of ascendancy still flying on the high places of the land. The same considerations apply to the burial-grounds; after the first gush of satisfaction at the measure is over, will the majority be satisfied that their cemeteries still in great part are left in the custody of the minority? But this is an inequality which can easily be remedied by legislation. The present importance of these matters is slight. If they prove to be wounds only skinned over, not healed, they may be treated hereafter at no great cost. The facilities for purchasing glebes which are given to the ecclesiastical body would be invidious, were it not that they are only the pledges of equal facilities to be given to other creeds for the acquisition of ministers' residences, and in some more remote degree the promises and precursors of a general system which will encourage a greater division of landed estates among the inhabitants of Ireland. But this generosity of the Bill towards the Church body has not been appreciated by the recipients. The amendments which Mr. Disraeli proposed, would, after disendowing the richest Church in Christendom, have piled it up with gifts that would have left it richer by some thirteen or fourteen hundred thousand pounds. Sir Roundell Palmer pleaded for the property of the Church; it had already, he said, lost four-fifths of its wealth, and what remained to it was not more than enough for the needs of a body of Christian clergymen ministering to a flock as numerous as the Irish Protestants. Lord Granville has replied that French Protestants, twice as numerous, subsist on 1-17th part of the sum. It might also have been said that a body which had so precarious a tenure of its property, or which had proved so careless a trustee of the national endowments for religious purposes, could offer neither security nor reason for being trusted with the custody of what was left. If a life-tenant with sole custody of, but only joint interest in, a property, has been weak or dishonest enough to let it dwindle till it is barely sufficient for himself, that fact would be but a poor plea for his keeping all that remained of it, and leaving the residue for his babes. Dr. Ball also pleaded for an institution that had had its roots in the country for 300 years. It was precisely because these roots had been roots of bitterness; because the tree had not grown, but dwindled gradually away; because neither its fruit nor its leaves had been for the healing of the nation, that it was at last acknowledged to be not



only just but politic to lop it and prune it—not to cut it down, but to remove from it the soil in which it could not prosper, and to admit to it the healthy action of free air and voluntary association.

In the arrangements for the employment of the surplus, the ultimate application of the fund is unquestionably one founded on the Divine law of charity. But the payment of Maynooth and of the *Regium Donum* out of the fund, the extinction of the tithes after fifty-two years in favour of the landlords, and even the relief of the county cess by the payment to hospitals and asylums now mainly supported by that rate, have all been subjects for animadversion. Sir Roundell Palmer, followed by a full chorus in the Upper House, thought that the cutting the curates out of the incumbents, as Sydney Smith would have called it, was an injustice. Travelling, as such arguers do, between the vested rights of individuals, which the Bill professes to protect, and those of congregations, which the Bill professes to abolish, they consider that the curate had an individual right to compensation, and the congregation a right to his services, but that the incumbent also had a right to his full stipend, and that it should be paid to him without any deduction, while the salary of the curate should be otherwise provided for. As Mr. Disraeli wished disendowment to result in enriching the Church, so Sir Roundell Palmer would have made its first result the enriching of the incumbent. The idea that Maynooth should be compensated from Imperial and not from Irish funds was grounded on an argument which lost sight of the fact that both it and the *Regium Donum* were buttresses of the Establishment, which the Parliament would never have erected except to redress some of the religious inequalities of Ireland, and that they were in this sense part of the Establishment, as the outworks are a portion of the fort. With regard to the relief of the landlords by the extinction of the tithe-rent charge after fifty-two years, two opposite objections have been raised: first, that tithe is a sacred obligation, the tenth part of the produce being due to religious uses; secondly, that the measure is a direct bribe to the landlords, and a simple sacrifice in their favour of so much money due by them to the State. As to the first argument, it has been practically swept aside years ago. No one in these kingdoms has paid tithe for many years; it has been commuted into a fixed charge, which only conventionally represents the tithe. Tithe meant a tenth of the produce of the land. If a man had no produce, he paid no tithe. It was a tax, not upon the land, but

upon the labour expended in making the land productive. It fell upon personal, not upon real property. Whatever sacred character belonged to the tithe must surely have taken its departure when so substantial a change was effected as to make it, not the first-fruits of increase, but a vulgar property-tax. With regard to the alleged gift of the rent-charge to the landlords, there is, in the first place, no gift, but merely a redemption of the charge on easy terms; next, when all the tithe is redeemed, and there is nothing more to be paid, a capital will remain, the interest of which will go far to supply the deficiency caused by the cessation of the payments; and lastly, when the rent-charge applicable to special purposes has ceased, the land will remain the first and most conspicuous object to be taxed for all the needs of the kingdom. Whatever becomes of personal property, the land cannot be dissipated; on it ultimately must fall the chief charges of keeping up religion, feeding the poor, maintaining hospitals, and doing the rest of the things which are now done, or will be done, by means of the tithe-rent charge while it lasts. Whether it is financially good, amidst the shifting taxation of years of prosperity and years of deficiency, to keep up a fixed charge on certain classes of property, seems to be decided in the negative by our greatest financial statesman. It was for this cause, Mr. Gladstone seems to assert, that Pitt encouraged the redemption of the land-tax for a capital in the funds paying equal interest. The land is so natural and obvious a taxable quantity, and is in fact so variously taxed, that to charge it with a small fixed rent over and above the varying rates and taxes to which it is liable, is a matter of but small consequence to the Exchequer, as is shown by the small and decreasing amount of the product of the tax. The income derived from land is so unprotected, so open to the attacks of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that it is certain never to pay less than its fair share of the public expenditure, especially now that the country is no longer governed by the landlords. And the progress of democratic ideas will probably make it much more difficult for the land to escape taxation fifty years hence than it is now, when its owners are already complaining, however unreasonably, of being made to contribute more than their fair share to the general and local taxation of the country, unless, indeed, a new tendency towards a division of the soil should once more make the landowners the most powerful class in the country.

With respect to the general justice of this measure, which in its parts is so well orga-



nized and put together, no one pretends to doubt, who does not close his eyes upon Ireland as a whole, and look simply on the 700,000 members of the Establishment. It is hard for men to lose a privilege, to be cast down from a position of ascendancy, and to have henceforth to pay for that which hitherto they have received gratuitously; it is hard for a regiment to be disbanded, or for a firm to have its contract cancelled. But when we consider that these 700,000 are but the eighth part of the population of Ireland, and that they alone, to the prejudice of the rest, enjoy the monopoly of privilege, sit on the steeple of ascendancy, and are gratuitously provided with the ministrations and trappings of religion; that if they are a regiment, there is now no war except that which they provoke, and that the country wishes to be at peace; that if the Government has contracted with their Church to furnish Ireland with clerical ministrations, it has clearly contracted with the wrong firm,—then it is plain that we are compelled by the commonest principles of equal justice to be negatively hard on this minority, in order to cease being positively unjust to the majority. But there are politicians who recognise this claim of justice, but seek to stop it, or modify it by a counter plea of policy. To disestablish and disendow the Irish Church is, they say, an example of ill omen to the English Church; it destroys the loyalty of the Irish Protestants, who have hitherto been the garrison which has preserved that island to England; and it fails to conciliate the Irish Catholics. It is just, they say, but inexpedient to pass the Bill.

There are others, of whom Lord Grey may be taken as the representative, who at once own to the justice and expediency of disestablishing and disendowing the Irish Church, yet declare that in all its circumstances and details this measure has been and will be simply mischievous. They trace its origin, not to principles of policy, but to party motives. Forgetting the declarations of all parties last year, that Ireland was the question of the hour, they declare that before the matter was mooted in the last Parliament religious animosity was quiescent in Ireland, moderate counsels gaining ground, and minds becoming disposed to listen to proposals for an arrangement—on one side men becoming convinced of the impossibility of keeping things as they were, on the other no expectations or desires of extreme or violent changes being entertained. Now, they tell us, things are different. Agrarian outrages have burst out with new vigour and frequency, insubordination and religious exasperation are, they say, rampant. These

imaginary calamities are traced to the language and conduct of those who conducted the movement against the Irish Church in the last Parliament. But these considerations have very little point. The most unfavourable view of the present state of Ireland would not disprove the expediency of passing the Bill. It is not only Ireland that is concerned; it is England and Scotland too. The conscience of the majority of the people has at last come to see that the principles on which Ireland has been governed are unjust. Our duty is then to change those principles. The great obstacle to this change is the existence of the Establishment, and the political ascendancy connected with it. We owe it to ourselves as much as to the Irish nation to remove this obstacle. The injustice, having been borne so long, might be borne a little longer; but it would be abominable to morality to translate this passive proposition into an active one—we have been unjust so long that we may as well go on being unjust. To do injustice is a greater evil than to suffer it. It is more an obligation to cease doing evil than to cease enduring evil. We might then receive as true all the false pictures which have been painted of the increase of Irish discontent under the influence of this new hope, without altering our convictions of duty; and when we consider the mere expediency of the Bill, it does not seem very rational to condemn it because it does not conciliate the agitators whose occupation it takes away, the assassins, who can hardly be thought very accessible to moral influences, or the Orangemen whose ascendancy it destroys. The authors of the Bill never thought it would conciliate those classes, or intended it to do so. Every removal of an abuse tends to destroy the occupation of the agitator and grievance-monger. Every removal of a privilege tends to destroy the interested loyalty of the favoured classes. But the mass of the population in Ireland lies between these two extremes. It is to this mass that the policy addresses itself; and it ought to be most interesting to inquire how the national mind has been affected by the change of policy which has already been made; for the Bill is no isolated measure,—its value is greater as a symbol and promise than as a piece of legislation. It is part of a great organic whole which is nothing less than a new policy, a new spirit of administration, a new method of government for the Irish nation. And it has generally been so accepted in Ireland.

The first division on the project of disestablishment, and the spectacle of so considerable a majority in its favour, made the



great body of the Irish nation feel as if a load beneath which its back was bent had been lifted off. Irish Catholics, unused to such a moral attitude, could stand upright and look their neighbours in the face with a new sense of freedom. Without this feeling it is vain to hope for prosperity in Ireland. Between men who suffer wrong, and men who flourish on their depression, or gain from their loss, there can be no cordiality. Human nature gives scanty examples of a magnanimity which forgives the wrong and the wronger whilst the injury lasts, and the injurer daily parades his triumph and boasts of his act.

The generation which rejoiced over the Relief Act which O'Connell gained has passed away, and another now occupies the stage. The present generation has grown up without gratitude for the concession of rights which could not be withheld without crime, and which it has enjoyed as its birth-right, but it feels acute resentment for the disabilities which remain. The spread of education, and the increased intercourse with the outside world, especially with America, have taught the Irish people that men have a right to equality before the law, and that disabilities are an injustice; and they feel them all the more irksome from being gratuitous and unprovoked.

If the House of Commons by its majorities has relieved this Irish feeling, there is one special Irish appointment which has greatly furthered the good impression. Among the disabilities which grieved the Catholics of Ireland there were some which were not the less irksome, because they were seemingly theoretical. Thus, though it was perfectly possible for a Lord Chancellor to be both Protestant and just, yet so long as it was necessary he should be of a creed alien to the majority of the population, so long were they made to feel the ascendancy of aliens. If a Protestant Lord Chancellor rendered justice equally between Protestants and Catholics, it seemed a thing rather contrary to the intentions of the law, which compelled him, in the interests of Protestantism, to be a Protestant,—something to be surprised at, and to be welcomed as a grace, but not to be expected. The continuance of the phenomenon could not be relied on as a certainty, nor perhaps as a very great probability, at least in cases where the Chancellor's judgments were not between man and man, but between opposite classes of Irishmen, in questions arising out of Orange disturbances, or the abuse of power by Orange magistrates. Much of this feeling might have been relieved by the appointment of any Catholic as Chancellor. Such

a fact, by its very nature, would soon become known in every cottage, for it would be discussed by the groups round every chapel-door on Sundays; and the thought would tend to elevate them, to reconcile them with the law, and to blot out the bitter feeling that the law was neither made nor administered in their behalf, but only for the protection of the ascendant minority. Still the effect of the appointment would have been very limited if the Chancellor had been chosen from the class known as Castle Catholics. Such a choice would not have been regarded as a symptom that the reign of equality was about to be set up, but rather that the people had sold themselves for the elevation of a place-hunter nominally of their creed. Among the class referred to there were not wanting ostentatious proceedings which were well understood both by Government and people; if these proceedings had succeeded, the success might have done immense harm; the people would have argued, if the first-fruits of the promised equality were thus worthless, what would the crop be? This danger was happily avoided by the appointment of Judge O'Hagan, a man who had the sympathies of the people, both as an Irishman and as a Catholic. Or, again, a Catholic might have been found in whom religion had superseded patriotism, who was only a Catholic, and not a citizen at heart, who looked for his inspiration from ecclesiastical centres, and devoted himself to ecclesiastical aims. Such an appointment might have been popular with the priests, but scarcely so with the people. The Lord Chancellor has already given one striking example of his firmness by the proclamation of Londonderry, where a very serious riot occurred on the occasion of Prince Arthur's visit. There is an association there, exclusively Protestant, and of late years intensified to Orange, which is known as the Prentice Boys, and celebrates every year certain local festivals. When the Prince visited the town, the band of the Prentice Boys entertained him with some tunes, and with shouts of "No Surrender!" which indicated their objection to the Irish Church Bill. After them the Catholic "Hibernian band" serenaded him. Their audacity, as it was considered, induced a party of opponents to attack this band, whom they drove, with stones and shots, into the square, which is in the centre of the city. But in the square the police had been drawn up to protect the unarmed Catholics, and they replied to the rioters with a few scattered shots. Such a proceeding was unprecedented. Catholics had before that time been shot down, especially when the local police hap-



pened to be Orangemen; but for the police to return the shots of the "Prentice Boys" was an outrage. An investigation into the conduct of the police was set on foot and dropped. On the other hand, the Lord Chancellor and the Viceroy "proclaimed" Londonderry; every one in the place had to give up his arms. This was a shock to the "Prentice Boys," who ever since the success of the Liberal candidate at the election had been swaggering about with their revolvers. But besides these weapons they had their notorious "armoury" of historical cannons. The proclamation made it necessary for them to convey these pieces away, or to deliver them up. The former alternative was preferred. It will be easily understood how great is the moral effect of this act of the Government—an effect not limited to the city, or even its immediate neighbourhood. Of course it is not to be supposed that this equitable and bold line of action is due to the Chancellor alone, who, however, gets the chief credit for it. To Irishmen it does not seem likely that under the late Government any such step would have been taken. Such facts as this were necessary to enlist the Catholic majority on the side of law and order; to make them feel that they are no longer outlaws, no longer in the position of scarcely tolerated intruders in their native land.

Against the belief that this feeling is gaining the bulk of the population of Ireland, it is usual in England to point to various late events, of which the agrarian murders, threatening notices, and other outrages are the chief. Now of these murders, some of the most startling were not agrarian at all. It is conceivable that when a man is not of a strict moral character, other reasons for shooting him may exist besides the Land question. Two famous trials have lately taken place, one in Canada and one in the United States, in which assassins in like cases have been acquitted in the face of demonstration of their deed, and with a very general moral approbation of the public. The stationmaster who was shot, against whose moral character no imputations are made, was in no way connected with land. Not long since the stationmaster at Dover was murdered by a vindictive boy. We have no right to wonder at a similar deed in Ireland. It has been pointed out by Archbishop Leahy, and it is true, that Mr. William Scully of Ballycohey is to blame for much that has occurred of late. The monstrous lease\* which he forced on his tenants

has been published. There was, of course, after the outrage at Ballycohey, a general disapproval of the lease, and of the attempt to enforce it. But the pivot of the question lies here: how was that disapproval shown by the laws or the executive government of the day? It was shown by sending a detachment of police to aid Mr. Scully to enforce his lease, by issuing placard after placard, offering rewards for the apprehension of those who resisted, and by laying a police-tax upon the district. Such acts as this make the people despair—not the acts of the bad landlord, but the acts of the law-courts and of the executive government in aiding him to carry out his unjust acts. It is not words, but acts, on which they reason. Mr. Bright's promises and Mr. Gladstone's declarations are very shadowy things in the eyes of the Irish farmer; the substantial facts are Mr. Scully's lease, the police, the placards, and the police-tax. From the landlord's side they see no hope; on the other side they have seen successive Governments by their acts supporting the extremest abuses of landlordism. And with all this solid basis of real causation, it is pretended, forsooth, that a misty promise or indefinite declaration is the true cause of acts which it is rather calculated to allay. English statesmen must not forget that the first feeling they have to conquer is the universal deep-rooted and reasonable disbelief in political promises which is permanent in Ireland. How could it be otherwise? Just now there is an honest intention to redeem a promise. But for twenty years, year after year, the peasantry have been promised tenant-rights of some kind, and none have been given them. So far from Mr. Bright's promises having caused the late outrages, it may rather be surmised that if the peasantry knew of them, and believed that he could and would carry them out, discontent would be much allayed, while its revival would be made very difficult if there was a speedy performance of the things promised. Delay exasperates. Irishmen who rely on legislative ameliorations, and would persuade others to do so, are met and silenced by such phrases as the sarcastic proverb, "Live, horse, and you'll get grass." The people are no longer so patient as they were when O'Connell was preaching to them to hope in "moral suasion." The notices posted by the secret societies, and notably one lately posted by order of a "congress" in Meath, giving notice to "landlords and oppressors" that, "since we cannot find protection by constitutional means, we must have recourse to the revolver to protect ourselves," make no allusion to any politicians except to dis-

\* See *Modern Ireland*, by an Ulsterman (Longmans, 1868), Appendix I. p. 406.



claim them all. In the rural parts of Ireland Mr. Bright is little, if at all, heard of or known. The ex-Mayor of Cork and some others may "believe in him," but the bulk of the population, who live by the land, require something more than hearsay to attract their confidences. Hitherto the opposition to landlords has been carried on by isolated acts of revolted serfs, without connexion or system. The despotism of the landlords has been, like the Russian, tempered by assassination. If the Meath threatening notice, which speaks of a congress of eighty-five members, in which each county of Ireland was represented, is not a mere myth, it would almost look as if Fenianism, which in its beginnings was decidedly opposed to landlord-shooting, and intended to divert people from assassination by giving them "hope of deliverance," had changed in this respect, and had removed the check. There are three causes capable of staying assassination in Ireland:—(1.) The cessation of evictions; (2.) Hope of redress through Fenianism; and (3.) Hope of redress through the Government. But this last hope must have acts to rest upon. The most repressive measures, unaccompanied with measures of redress, will not end the evil; rather they intensify it by deepening the despair. On the other hand, there is some hope that evictions will not be persisted in. The landlords appear to have received such a shock that both provocation and revenge are likely to be suspended for a season. If names of English statesmen must be assigned as fomenting causes of Irish discontent, many more likely ones can be assigned than those of Mr. Gladstone or Mr. Bright. The Fenians used two names to conjure with—so hateful had they become,—that of Lord Russell, for his famine management, and that of Lord Carlisle for his provision about cattle. These names, with those of Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli, would serve Fenianism better, and more potently promote war against landlords than a thousand names like Mr. Bright's. A few years ago the Fenians complained that they could make no progress in the diocese of a "patriotic bishop," whereas they flourished in that of a loyal prelate. The names of men who give any reason to Irishmen to hope for consideration at their hands, do not excite but soothe feelings of disaffection.

It would then be a fallacy to suppose that the tide of Irish feeling is governed by the words of any statesman, however eminent. A few politicians may put faith in phrases, but a population is only moved by palpable and visible facts and deeds. Yet it has been absurdly assumed by journalists and

legislators, first, that there has been of late a great increase of agrarian crime, and next, that this increase is due to the words of Mr. Bright and Mr. Gladstone. The hypothetical influence of certain words over the minds of a few Irish criminals, who are not proved to have known anything whatever of the words inorinated, and whose whole lives and modes of thought are thoroughly unknown to the persons who reason about them, is a congruous theme for rhetoricians who enlarge upon what may be, without caring to know what is. The contrast of the message of peace to Ireland with the outrages of the desperadoes which happened at the same time, was too tempting a theme for such speakers to neglect. They have cited the very words of Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Bright which are supposed to have excited so wild a hope, that it could only have its fulfilment in blood. We have had no account how it is that the hope of a peaceful and equitable reform of a secular grievance can so act upon the nerves of rational beings as to aggravate their impatience, to make them too fervid to bide their time, and to goad them to desperate acts which can only retard the fulfilment of their hopes, alienate their friends, and exasperate their foes. The wild justice of revenge is usually the resource of those from whom the calm flow of legal justice is cut away, or for whom its clear stream is polluted. When a powerful Ministry promises that within a year or two a measure shall be proposed calculated to reform the grievance without injustice to any, and without violating the principles of political economy, it might naturally be supposed that such a promise is the most present means for calming wild desires, soothing exasperation, and allaying the thirst of revenge with the hope of legal justice. But according to Lord Grey and those who think with him, there has lately been a fresh outbreak of agrarian outrages and threats, which shows a renewal of strength in those who hope to get the land into their possession by lawless murder and legal confiscation. They see before them a good time, when assassination and outrage shall goad on the Legislature to legalize robbery and spoliation in their favour. But now, if these hopes exist, who has encouraged them? who has told the quick-witted peasantry that the Government will connive at, nay will encourage, such deeds? Who but those who have been preaching and teaching that the Irish Church Bill, supported as it has been not more by the voices than by the consciences of the whole Liberal party, is nothing but a measure of iniquity, moral turpitude, sacrilege, robbery, confiscation, spoliation?



If you tell the criminal classes that robbery is being legalized, is it not a direct inducement to them to rob? We would put no bridle on freedom of speech, nor under those who think the disendowment of the Irish Establishment to be robbery from saying what they think. But we submit that they should accept, and not throw upon their neighbours, the responsibility of the logical consequence of their speeches. Instead of this, they pore into Mr. Gladstone's and Mr. Bright's speeches for sparks to account for a conflagration, when their own hands wave the blazing torches. The Irish peasant learns from the Tory both these facts,—that the Irish Church measure is robbery, and that the nation has decided in its favour. The preaching of the Tory party is, that robbery is to be. How much robbery there is to be is only a question of degree, which each man's personal interests will prompt his hope to determine for itself. It is not those who promise a Land law, consistent in all points with justice and political economy, who raise wild hopes of confiscations; but it is those who habitually call that injustice which the conscience of the nation declares to be just, who are confounding the ideas of right and wrong, and obliterating the distinctions between justice and injustice, good and evil. It is they who, to prevent or put off the doom of the sentenced Establishment, are generating an atmosphere of unwholesome vapours, in which the unclean spirits of robbery and murder chiefly delight to dwell.

When the Government deliberately abstained from liberating all the Fenian prisoners, it is idle to suppose that they can be disappointed at not having gained all the popularity which might have resulted from so dramatic a stroke. They have, however, gained much by the limited measure adopted. It is not generally true that those who were set free began at once to denounce and threaten. There were only two who did so; and these two were naturalized American citizens. They belonged to the expedition which sailed from America in the "Jackmel," or "Erin's Hope," under the command of a native American, Colonel Nagle, who was the leader, and on whom the chief responsibility of the affair rested. Now, if there is one feature of Fenianism on which the late Government insist, it is its foreign origin. "I had the opportunity," said Mr. Disraeli, on the 31st of May last, "of making myself well informed on the subject. Honourable gentlemen know now a great deal about it; but something never will be known, except by those who at that moment incurred the responsibility of

conducting affairs; and I will express my conviction that the Fenian conspiracy was an entirely foreign conspiracy." With this idea, right or wrong, the late Government must have known what to do with a foreign leader of this foreign conspiracy when they could catch him. And they exhibited their wisdom by releasing Nagle. Subsequently, members of that Ministry, no longer in office, attacked the present Government for releasing Nagle's two subordinates; and when these two subordinates, Warren and Costello, made violent speeches, the indignation of Mr. Disraeli's friends at the Government knew no bounds. We have not been told why, if the late Government was justified in releasing Nagle, the present Government is to blame for releasing his sub-officers. If any harm has been done in Ireland by release of prisoners, such harm must chiefly be put to the account of the late Government in releasing Nagle. The cause was naturally supposed to be Nagle's American nationality. Even the Conservative *Dublin Evening Mail* declared that it seemed to be done for fear of America. Hence arose the popular notion that the Government would yield to fear. The Government organs were then declaring, what Mr. Disraeli has recently repeated, that Fenianism was a foreign importation, and depended for its being on foreign emissaries; that these filibusters were the great culprits, and ought to be taught a severe lesson. The Irish, they said, had some excuse; the foreign agitators none. And then, while all this was being impressed on the public mind, the captured American leader was released, and the men who had served under him were detained in prison. Now, joining the two things, the declaration and the fact, what explanation could be found other than this, that the then Government acted upon some secret and potent reason, the only imaginable one being that the man was released because he was an American citizen, and because the then Government feared to give umbrage to America by keeping him? The Irish, reasoning thus, saw the Government concede to the fear of another nation what it would not concede to conciliate Ireland, liberating the guiltiest of all, and keeping in prison those whom it acknowledged to be comparatively innocent.

The liberation of the prisoners by the present Government did, to some extent, soften asperity of feeling; but certain drawbacks have limited its effect. One is the treatment to which it is believed in Ireland the prisoners had been, and still are, subjected in their prisons. There was lately a debate on this point in the House of Com-



mons, and an opinion was expressed there that not enough distinction was made between seditious convicts and felons. If this is felt in the House of Commons, it is certainly felt more strongly in Ireland. Still, the partial liberation produced an effect, and the people have not failed to make allowance for the difficulties of Government. That which has really produced no effect, though it has been so often referred to as a symptom and cause of danger, is the talk of Warren and Costello. They have given no fresh impulse to rebellion; they have simply disgusted the people. The reason of the banquet given to them at Cork was a protest on the part of some of their friends against the criticism upon their previous speeches in the newspapers of their party. At the banquet they did not fail to justify their censurers, and they have lost credit with the Fenian body both in Ireland and America. For even with them a belief is beginning to be entertained that the present Government has a real honest intention of acting justly to Ireland, and they considered it both unfair to the Government, and inhuman to the remaining prisoners, to do anything calculated to thwart this intention. In the treatment of the remaining prisoners it should be remembered that when a large section of the population sympathizes with the aims and acts of the convicts, their punishment cannot even tend to disgrace them in the popular eye. Rather it elevates them into martyrs. In Ireland especially, legal punishments and disabilities have for centuries been associated with religion and patriotism. There is in that country a great gulf fixed between the idea of law and that of right. The people do not accept the teaching of the Statute-book and the Bench. To be a malefactor before the law is rather a recommendation in the eyes of the people. It is an unfortunate but inveterate evil, which will require years to eradicate, and can at last only be eradicated by a practical demonstration of the identity of the law with natural right and justice. The whole island must now be considered as cast into a chaotic state from which nothing fixed can be expected immediately to arise, without taking time for its organization and consolidation. The law and the people may be reconciled, if justice is seen everywhere to precede or to accompany repression. But if repression precedes justice, the old tradition is strengthened and prolonged. This is an elementary truth, which no man has stated more vividly than Mr. Gladstone.

If we shift our view from the discontented Catholic population of the south of Ireland to the Protestant population of the

north, it cannot be denied that demonstrations against the Church Bill on a great scale have taken place amongst them. But if we analyze the elements of these demonstrations, we shall see that they cannot be so important as they are made to look. In the first place Ulster is not so Protestant a province as it is generally represented. Out of a population of 1,914,000, nearly 970,000 are Catholics. Of the remaining moiety, there are 55 Presbyterians to 40 Episcopalians. The Presbyterians are certainly not opposed to the Bill; their General Assembly now a session has confirmed its previous decision and has determined to confine its action to the interests of its own body, and only a protest against the endowment of antichristian error. Not above 20 or 25 members out of 550 in the Assembly are Conservative, and its moderator is Professor Smyth, who proposed Mr. Dowse, the member for Derry. In the beginning, when meeting against the Bill commenced, they were generally "got up;" they arose not from the spontaneous action of the population, but from the special agitation of clergymen and lay zealots. And at first they were comparatively failures. It was not till the aristocratic landlords and clergy could get rid of their prejudices, and invite the democratic Orangemen to join with them, that these demonstrations assumed anything like importance. Now, the Orange democracy of the north, consisting of two Episcopalian to one Presbyterian member, like the Fenian democracy of the south, has no special ecclesiastical question in view; both factions are more or less built upon the desire for land entertained by a peasantry which feels that it has not all the freedom or all the rights to which it is entitled. But the Orange lodges, though originally political, have become also social, like clubs, or the lodges of English Oddfellows or Druids. A holiday and treat given to these lodges, by means of which men with their families could enjoy a gratuitous railway excursion, and a gathering in some pleasant spot, would naturally collect a grand demonstration, and purchase enthusiastic cheers. The Orangemen are willing enough to try what talking will do, and to hear speakers blow off the steam with any amount of fume and fury. At some of these meetings there has been a great cry for repeal. Nothing can be more palpably insincere and hollow than such a cry, resounding at a meeting convened for the purpose of securing the interests and privileges of the Protestant aristocracy of Ireland. It is not their interest to have the Land question solved by a native parliament. But they hoped, and they said, that the



Government would be frightened by the cry, and would relinquish the Bill—just as Chinese troops fancy that their barbarian opponents may be put to flight by painted shields, terrible as Medusa's head, but harmless as any other compound of pasteboard and paint. With a kind of Chinese logic, the leaders of the agitation in Ireland have adopted the Repeal cry, considering it as the most effective form of protest. And probably the Orange democracy is more to be influenced by such a cry than by the danger of a Church to whose doctrines and discipline they are notoriously indifferent. In crying "Repeal" when they do not mean it, the Protestant aristocracy is playing with edge-tools, or rather playing into the hands of the Orange and Fenian democracy.

It would be but reasonable if the same considerations which induced the Lords to affirm the principles of the Irish Church Bill by a majority of 33, should induce them also not to make or not to insist upon amendments which are subversive of those principles. One of the principles, indeed, that of disestablishment, has the advantage of such simplicity and unity that it can scarcely be modified. Even the Bishops own that the national verdict for disestablishment is positive and irrevocable. With this it is manifest that disendowment follows, so far at least as it is absolutely necessary to disestablishment. Of course it may be argued that disestablishment requires only a partial disendowment. But this difficulty will then arise: disestablishment is in its very nature disendowment; when the nation disestablishes its Church, ecclesiastical funds cease to be vested in the Church, which ceases to exist as a recognised corporation, and come into the hands of Commissioners. Partial disendowment, then, is technically impossible; properly speaking, anything left to the Church will be a re-endowment. Mr. Gladstone in his Bill happily got over this difficulty by a series of clauses which in matter of fact were instructions to the Commissioners to sell at half their real value, to the new Church body, a great quantity of property in houses and land, part of which would remain as parsonages and glebes for the clergy, while part might be sold and the proceeds invested. He also, by several excellent financial contrivances, showed the way in which the Church body might capitalize the annuities for life-interest, and so save out of them a considerable endowment. The consequence of all this would be that the new "free Church in the free State" would hold its endowments, not as gifts, but as purchases from the State. With such property the State could not have any pre-

tence to interfere. But the amendments in the notices of the House of Lords point quite another way. The omission proposed by Lord Grey in the preamble suggests that the surplus is to be used for religious purposes, that is, for the re-endowment of the disestablished Church. Now, either this new endowment must be given to the disestablished Church only, or to all the Irish confessions proportionately. In the first alternative, the old injustice and inequality are offensively preserved; in the second, the verdict of the people at the hustings, and the promise made to the last Parliament, are set at nought, or eluded. And in both alternatives the endowments are made to be direct gifts from the State, with which the State must retain its right to interfere at pleasure, instead of being assimilated to private corporate property by the medium of sale and purchase. Moreover, if glebes and houses are sold to the Church body, that body would have the right to sell again, and would naturally sell the houses and glebes in places where it could not see its way to planting a self-supporting Church. But if these glebes and houses are granted directly by the State, the same option to sell can hardly be expected; and then in the most Catholic parts of Ireland we may see the rudiments and nucleus of proselytizing missions founded by the State. Now, however excellent missions and missionaries may be in themselves, they ought to be backed by their own charity, their own convictions, and the voluntary support of their own fellow-believers, and not by the forces or gold of the Government. Moreover, one of the features of the Irish Establishment most offensive to Irishmen generally has been its position in the Catholic provinces, where if it did anything in the way of religion, it could only be by proselytism. It never could appear just that the Government should stud the land with agents charged to take advantage of poverty, misery, and the pity of parents for their starving children, and commissioned to buy souls for a mess of pottage, in order to recruit the ranks of the Establishment. And yet this evil would be continued if houses and glebes were given by the State in every parish to the disestablished Church, whether or not the gift was balanced by equivalent donations to the Catholics and Presbyterians. Such a measure would result in the State's appearing to set up missionary centres where they are not wanted. The principle of sale and purchase, as embodied in the Bill in its present form, avoids all these evils. It saves the State from all suspicion of interference with religious teaching. It allows the supply to be regulated by the demand, and instead of blindly giving a



house and garden where perhaps no minister is required, it permits those conveniences to be had just where they are wanted. And it saves the property thus given for ecclesiastical purposes from the direct and constant control of the State, thus leaving the Churches free, instead of making them Erastian appendages to the State.

It is to be hoped, then, that the Lords will respect the principle of disendowment as well as that of disestablishment, that they will not let the Erastian ideas which characterize the Tory party generally infect the endowment which they leave to the disestablished Church; and that if they insist upon treating the disestablished Church with more generosity than they say the House of Commons has treated it with, they will remember that there is one principle which comes before generosity, and that is justice. Whatever distribution of gifts they make, they ought to be equal; that is proportionately, not absolutely, equal. And if amendments which do not observe these conditions do not stop the Bill, if the House of Commons accepts as much of the Lords' amendments as it can, they will mar the Bill, make it certain that a fresh agitation will be raised upon the subject, and will necessitate fresh legislation upon it within a very little time. It was only in 1867 that the personal payment of rates was considered by the Tories the one condition which made household suffrage tolerable. Now there is a Bill introduced by the Government into the House of Commons to destroy that fanciful safeguard, because of the enormous grievan-

ces which it has caused. The representation of minorities is in nearly as bad a plight. It is not worth while to tack on the present Bill any similar appendages, only to disappear within a few years, the sole effect of which will be to cause an act of conciliation to be done in the most unconciliatory way. For the peace and good government of the Empire, it is most important that this great question should be settled at once in a permanent and thorough way. For the advantage of the Liberal party it is not so important. It is not against their interests that there should still be grievances to abolish, or that their opponents should make themselves unpopular with the nation. Whatever the House of Lords may do, the nation has testified by its acts its desire to be just to Ireland. The men whom we wish to conciliate are our fellow-citizens; they have taken part with us in the whole political action of the session, and with us they are watching what is now taking place. They see as well as we can see where the good-will lies, and as well as we can they can place their finger upon that which hinders its perfect embodiment. It is patent to Ireland and to the whole Empire that it is not the fault of the people, of the Commons, or of the Liberal party, if a great act of reconciliation between united but antagonistic nations, should be accompanied by hostile feeling against an order which does not scruple to interfere in the work in a spirit inimical to the expressed will of all the three nations concerned.



THE  
NORTH BRITISH REVIEW.

OCTOBER, 1869, AND JANUARY, 1870.

VOLUME LL

---

AMERICAN EDITION.

---

NEW YORK:  
PUBLISHED BY THE LEONARD SCOTT PUBLISHING COMPANY.

140 FULTON STREET, BETWEEN BROADWAY AND NASSAU STREET.

---

1870.



---

**S. W. GREEN,**  
**PRINTER, SCHEFFTER, AND BINDER,**  
**16 and 18 Jacob St., N. Y.**

---



## INDEX TO VOLUME LI.

- ALBERTI (Dr. E.),** Sokrates: ein Versuch über ihn nach den Quellen, 118.
- American State Rights,** The Origin of, 188-200; the relation of the States to each other, 189; the origin of State rights, ib.; the Federal Convention of 1787, ib.; the two parties in the Convention, 190; the Virginia and New Jersey theories as to the legislature of the Union, ib.; the contest in the Convention regarding them, 191; arguments used on either side, 191-193; the result of the debate, 193-196; action of the several States when the Constitution was submitted to them, 197, 198; narrowness of the issue directly raised, 198; the love of independence as manifested by the voting on the Constitution, 199; mutual deference exercised between the Federals and Nationals, ib.; the want of this among the representatives of these political parties precipitated the recent civil war, ib.; a representative equality accorded by the Constitution to State sovereignty, 200.
- Angström (A. J.),** Recherches sur le Spectre Solaire, 815.
- Arneth (A. von),** Joseph II. und Katharina von Russland—Ihr Briefwechsel, 184.
- Asselineau (C.),** Charles Baudelaire, sa Vie et son Œuvre, 801.
- Assyrian Libraries;** see Libraries.
- Austria,** The Constitutional Development of, 72-92; the situation at the close of 1846, 72; its political resurrection since that date, ib.; Count Beust, the author of recent reforms, 72, 73; obstacles he had to contend with, 73; political history of its various nationalities, 73, 75; Schwarzenberg, 75; administration of Bach, 76; war with Italy, 77; federal theories of Goluchowsky, 77, 78; Schmerling, 78; situation in which Hungary and its annexes, in their relations with Austria, were placed by the diploma of October 1860 and the patent of February 1861, 78-80; difficulty of Austria's relations with Prussia and Germany, 80; Count Bismarck and the Schleswig-Holstein question, ib.; difficulties of Austria with Hungary, Croatia, and Bohemia, 81; administration of Belcredi, 82; position of Hungary after the war, 83; Baron Beust, ib. et seq.; negotiations of the provincial parliaments, 84; and their results, ib.; the western portion of the Empire, ib.; the Emperor crowned King of Hungary, 85; results of the session of the Reichsrath after the consolidation of the Empire, 85, 86; the Concordat, 86, 87; progress of Constitutionalism, 87; the Czechs, 88, 90; Baron Beust's Red-book, 89; the Reichsrath under the new ministry, 90, 91; present position of the monarchy, 91.
- Autobiographies,** 200-217; motives alleged by men for writing the histories of their own lives, 200; in no case do such go unrewarded, 200, 201; three principal groups of autobiographies, 201; conditions of literary success, 202; Pepys's diaries, ib.; Giraldus Cambrensis, 203; points essential to good autobiography, 204; Cellini and Michel Angelo, 204, 205; William Lilly—Jung Stilling, 205; Michel de Marolles, 206; autobiographies in French literature, ib.; lives of mediocre interest, ib.; incompatibility of humour and autobiography, 207; Montaigne, 207, 208; memoirs of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, 208; Charles Goldoni, 209, 210; Marmontel, 210, 211; Rousseau, 211; Alfieri, 212; autobiography of Heinrich Jung, ib.; religious autobiographies, 212, 213; Byron and Shelley, 213; characteristics of the sentimental pseudo-autobiographies, 214; Goethe, 214, 215; F. W. Newman's Phases of Faith, 216; Dr. Newman's Apologia, ib.; works of fiction, 216, 217.
- BABYLONIAN Libraries;** see Libraries.
- Bacon, Francis,** Letters and Life of, by J. Spedding, 124.
- Baratos (M. de),** Trois Documents de l'Eglise du xv. Siècle, 283.
- Bartholomew (St.),** the massacre of; see Massacre.
- Baxmann,** Die Politik der Päpste von Gregor I. bis Gregor VII., 116.
- Benfey (Th.),** Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft und orientalischen Philologie in Deutschland seit dem anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts, 213.
- Beust, Baron von,** 72, 83, 89.
- Bibra, (Dr. von),** Die Bronzen und Kupferlegirungen der alten und ältesten Völker, mit Rücksichtnahme auf jene der Neuzeit, 158.
- Bismarck, Count,** 80.
- Blankenburg (H.),** Die innern Kämpfe der Nord-amerikanischen Union bis zur Präsidentenwahl von 1868, 144.
- Bond (E. A.),** Chronica Monasterii de Melsä, vol. iii., 123.
- Booth's (A. J.)** Robert Owen, the Founder of Socialism in England, 298.
- Boutetière (Comte de la),** Le Chevalier de Sapi-naud et les Chefs Vendéens du Centre, 185.
- Brace (C. L.),** The New West; or, California in 1867-1868, 306.
- Briefe von Alexander von Humboldt an Bunsen,** 306.
- Broglie (M. de),** Nouvelles Etudes de Littérature et de Morale, 155.
- Browning's (Mr.) Latest Poetry,** 51-67; the title of his new poem, 51; his previous obscurity and unintelligibility, 52; the criticism of poetry, ib.; his characteristics as a poet, 53; incompleteness of his similes, 55; indirectness of his metaphors, 56; the satirical element, 57; his historical characters, 57, 58; the form into which the story of this poem is moulded, 59; its hybrid character, ib.; the monologues, 59, 60; lyric love, 60, 61; his representations of popular opinion, 61, 62; his own running commentary, 62; the materials of the poem, 62, 63; the characters introduced, 64-66; his style, 66, 67.
- Büdinger (Max),** Wallington: ein Versuch, 140.



- Burrows (Prof.), Constitutional Progress: in Seven Lectures, 307.
- CALIFORNIA in 1867-68, 306.
- Calverley (C. S.), Theocritus translated into English verse, 310.
- Campbell (A. G.), The Life of Fra Paolo Sarpi, 125.
- Carayon (Père A.), Le Père Ricci Général des Jésuites à l'Epoque de leur suppression (1773), 290.
- Caro (E.), Nouvelles études morales sur le temps présent, 312.
- Chemistry, Outlines of, by W. Odling, 319.
- Cherrier (C. de), Histoire de Charles VIII., Roi de France, 281.
- Clermont-Ganneau (C.), Histoire de Calife le Pêcheur et de Calife Haroun er Rechid, Conte inédit des Mille et Une Nuits, 309.
- Cobbe (Thos.), History of the Norman Kings of England, 276.
- Cockburn (Sir A.), Nationality: or the Law relating to Subjects and Aliens, considered with a view to future Legislation, 305.
- Constitutional Progress, Lectures on, by Prof. Burrows, 307.
- Cosel (E. von), Geschichte des Preussischen Staates und Volkes unter den Hohenzollern'schen Fürsten, i. ii. 135.
- Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland, edited by A. W. Haddan and W. Stubbs, 116.
- Crétineau-Joly (J.), Bonaparte, le Concordat de 1801, et le Cardinal Consalvi, 139.
- Cucheval-Clarigny (A.), Histoire de la Constitution de 1852, son développement et sa transformation, 303.
- DE FOE, Daniel, 131.
- Disraeli, B., political career of, 253-267.
- Drake, (W. R.), Notes on Venetian Ceramics, 132.
- Droysen (J. G.), Gustaf Adolf, 286.
- Droysen (J. G.), Friedrich Wilhelm I., König von Preussen, 290.
- Duruy (M.), Statistique de l'Enseignement supérieur, 157.
- Dürnichen (Dr. J.), Resultate der auf Befehl Sr. Majestät des Königs Wilhelm I. von Preussen im Sommer 1868 nach Aegypten entsendeten Archäologisch-photographischen Expedition, 269.
- EASTLAKE (Sir C. L.), Materials for a History of Oil-Painting, 148.
- Edwards (H. S.), The Life of Rossini, 142.
- Egyptian Chrestomathy, 106.
- Elementary Logic (The Different Schools of), 38-51; logic and metaphysics, 38; the two schools of logicians, ib.; Sir William Hamilton, Archbishop Whately, and Mr. Mill, 38, 39; the subject and province of logic, 39; the science and the art, 40; its relation to the several sciences, ib.; the practical employment of logic, 41; the distinction and relation between logic and metaphysics, 42, 43; Mill on the difference between the two, 53, 44; the account as given by Kant and his followers, 44; truth and falsehood, ib.; the three primary laws of logic, ib.; the syllogism, and its different forms, 44, 45; induction, 45; combination of syllogism and induction, ib.; "the substitution of similars," and "the association of ideas," 46; improvements in the theory of logic by the rival school, 47; wherein it differs from Mill, ib.; its analysis of the reasoning mind, and names of men-  
tal attitudes and operations, 48; illustrations, 48, 49; the "Concepts," 49, 50; Judgments, and Reasonings, 50; Mill's charge against Hamilton, ib.; inquiries which lie immediately before the logician, 51.
- Erdmannsdörfer (B.), Graf Georg Friedrich von Waldeck, ein preussischer Staatsmann im 17ten Jahrhundert, 288.
- Ewald (H.), Die zwei Wege in Deutschland, 145.
- FÉLIS (F. T.), Histoire générale de la Musique depuis les temps les plus anciens jusqu'à nos jours, 312.
- Foster (J. W.), The Mississippi Valley: its Physical Geography, 319.
- Foubert (L.), De l'impôt sur les Valeurs mobilières, 157.
- France and Prussia (Decentralization in), 217-227; the theory of municipal monads, 217; French legitimists and Prussian conservatives, ib.; fictitious communes of the Revolution period in France, 218; changes under the Restoration, 218, 219; administrative organization, 219; broad distinction in Germany between the towns and the rural districts, 220; its historical cause, ib.; subsequent amendments of the Städte-ordnung, 220, 221; the idea of the commune in Germany formerly confused with that of the town, 221; law as to rural communes in Prussia analysed, 222; the Prussian Kreis and the French arrondissement, ib.; the three kinds of authority in the Kreis, 223; inconveniences arising from centralization of authority, 224; what has been done for self-government in France, 224, 225; municipal administration in France, 225, 226, and in Prussia, 226; administration of police in France, 226, 227, and in Prussia, 227; recent progress in both countries in the extension of self-government, 227.
- Frederick-William I., of Prussia, 290.
- French (G. R.), Shakespeariana Genealogica, 235.
- Friedmann (P.), Les Dépêches de Giovanni Michiel, Ambassadeur de Venise en Angleterre pendant les années de 1554 à 1557, 123.
- Friedrich (J.), Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands (vol. ii. first half), 273.
- Froissart's Chronicles, 290.
- GACHARD (M.), La Bibliothèque des Princes Corsini, à Rome, 233.
- Gaedertz (Th.), Adrian van Ostade: sein Leben und seine Kunst, 130.
- Gaffarel (P.), Etude sur les rapports de l'Amérique et de l'ancien continent avant Christophe Colomb, 122.
- Gardiner (S. R.), Prince Charles and the Spanish marriage, 1617-1623; a Chapter of English History, 127.
- Gardiner (S. R.), Narrative of the Spanish Marriage Treaty, 286.
- Garnett (R.), Idylls and Epigrams: chiefly from the Greek Anthology, 152.
- Gibbon, Edward, 1.
- Gillett (R. H.), Democracy in the United States, 144.
- Gladstone, W. E., 1-16, 263.
- Goethe, 214, 215.
- Gratian's Decretals, 69.
- Greeley (Hor.), Recollections of a Busy Life, 141.
- Guerrier (Prof. W.), Officium et Miracula Sancti Willigisi (975-1011), 117.
- Gustavus Adolphus, 286.



- HADDAN (A. W.); see Councils.  
Hallahan, Life of Mother Margaret Mary, by her Religious Children, 301.  
Hamilton, Sir William, 88 et seq.  
Hardy (Sir T. Duffus), Syllabus of Rymer's Foedera, vol. i., 289.  
Hiatus: The void in Modern Education, its Cause and Antidote, by Outis, 146.  
Homeric studies, 1-16.  
Honegger (J. J.), Grundsteine einer allgemeinen Kulturgeschichte der neuesten Zeit, vols. i. and ii., 299.  
Hovedene, Roger de, 277.  
Hüffer (K.), Die Politik der Deutschen Mächte im Revolutionskriege, 186.  
Humboldt, Alex. von, 300.  
Hungary, and its political history, 78 et seq.  
Hymans (L.), Histoire politique et parlementaire de la Belgique de 1814-1830, vol. i., 296.  
ICELANDIC-ENGLISH Dictionary, chiefly founded on the Collections made from Prose Works of 12th-14th Centuries. By the late Richard Cleasby. Enlarged and completed by Gudbrand Vigfusson. Part I., 314.  
Immortality, Lectures on, by J. J. S. Perowne, 156.  
Ireland, Literature of the Land question in, 92-104; the literature of Ireland, 92; early indications in it of the land-grievance, 92-93; causes alleged for discontent, 93; county of Donegal as divided among the planters on Sir John Davis's scheme after the flight of the Earl of Tyrconnell, ib.; Anglo-Irish and native Irish oppression, 94; coigne and livery, ib.; "Irish exactions," 94, 95; similar exactions, recently or still existing, chargeable against the plantation scheme, 95; entries in Pynnar's survey, ib.; the "rundale" system, 96; Lord George Hill and his efforts to improve the condition of his tenantry, 96, 97; Mr. Coulter and Mr. Holland, two recent writers, quoted on tenants' grievances, 97, 98; objectionable clauses in leases as noticed by John M'Evoy in the Statistical Survey of Tyrone in 1802, 99; landlords and tenants as depicted by Mr. Allingham in his poem, Lawrence Bloomfield, 100; poverty and rack-renting, ib.; the Ulster custom of tenant-right, 101; land literature in reference to county Kerry, ib.; tenantry on the Kenmare estate—absolutism of the agent, ib.; serious cases of oppression, 102; arbitrary regulations on the estate of Cahirciveen, 103; "uncertain rents" and fines, ib.; case showing why the granting of leases is not always welcome, ib.; the complaints in every province essentially identical, 104.  
Irish Land Tenures (History of), 227-250; the land question can be understood only by a careful study of Irish history, 228; different grades of people recognized in the ancient laws, 228, 229; O'Curry's lectures, 229; land-nobles and the cultivators of land, 229, 230; the Bothachs, the Sencleithe, and the Fuidirs, 230; influence of the colonies that entered Ireland from Britain, ib.; extension of Magna Charta to Ireland, 231; the first case of collision between landlord and tenant, ib.; the first agrarian outrage, 232; the Statute of Kilkenny, ib.; this period an inauspicious one for the cultivators, 233; Jack Cade, ib.; the English Pale, ib., 233, 237; Henry VIII. acknowledged sovereign, 234; the "Composition" of Connaught, 234, 235; the Plantation of Munster, 236; state of the interior of the country described at this time by Robert Paine, 236, 237; essential points of the Plantation scheme, 239; the undertakers, 240; did English settlers contribute anything to the formation of what is now known as the Ulster custom? 241; land-customs carried to Ireland by the English tenantry, ib.; Thomas Blenerhassett cited, 242; the Plantation schemes intended to exclude tenants-at-will, 243; origin of the Ulster custom, 244-246; the Irish rebellion of 1641, 247; the change effected, and the principles established, by the Cromwellian settlement, 247, 248; important Acts in the reign of William III., 249, and their results, 250; the Octennial Bill of 1768, ib.; subsequent legislative enactments, ib.  
JAFFÉ (P.), Bibliotheca Rerum Germanicarum, tom. v., 118.  
Jobez (A.), La France sous Louis XV., tome v., 133.  
Johnson (S. W.), How Crops Grow; revised, with numerous Additions, and adapted to English use, by A. H. Church and W. T. T. Dyer, 159.  
Joyce (P. W.), Origin and History of Irish Names of Places, 111.  
Juventus Mundi, 1-16; Edward Gibbon, 1; Gladstone's place in literature, ib.; his picture of Homeric life, 2; episode of the five ages, ib.; his claims on behalf of his author, 2, 3; his speculations on Greek ethnology, 6-8; the title "Lord of men," 8; Minos and Aiolos, 9; Greeks and Orientals, 9, 10; the Homeric Pantheon, 10 et seq.; Aphrodite and Hephaestus, ib.; Apollo and Athene, 11, 12; Mr. Gladstone's treatment of the theomachy, 12, 13; Pelasgic and Hellenic deities, 13; theory regarding Poseidon, 13, 14; general account of the Olympian system, 14; the chapters on Homeric ethics and polity, 15; analysis of the characters, ib.; analysis of the contents of the poems in contemplation, 16.  
KEBLE (Rev. J.), Miscellaneous Poems, reviewed, 150.  
Keinz (F.), Indiculus Arnonis, und Breves Notitiae Salzburgenses, 274.  
Ketschendorf (M. de), Recueil complet des discussions législatives et des débats résultant des grands procès politiques jugés en France de 1792 à 1840, 294.  
Klippel (G. H.), Das Leben des Generals von Scharnhorst, nach grösstentheils bisher unbenutzten Quellen dargestellt, vol. i. ii., 295.  
Köpke (Rudolf), Ottonische Studien zur deutschen Geschichte im zehnten Jahrhundert, (II. Hrotsvit von Gandersheim), 275.  
Krenkel (Max), Paulus der Apostel der Heiden, 270.  
LACROIX (Paul), Les Arts au Moyen Age et à l'Epoque de la Renaissance, 311.  
Ladenburg (Dr. A.), Vorträge über die Entwicklungsgeschichte der Chemie in den letzten Hundert Jahren, 318.  
Lavollée (R.), Portalis, sa Vie et ses Œuvres, 295.  
Lee (W.), Life and Newly Discovered Writings of Daniel De Foe, 181.  
Lefébure (E.), Traduction comparée des Hymnes au Soleil composant le XV<sup>e</sup> chapitre du Rituel Funéraire Egyptien, 107.  
Leroy-Beaulieu (Paul), Recherches économiques, historiques et statistiques sur les guerres contemporaines (1858-1866), 304.  
L'Estrange (Rev. A. G.), The Life of Mary Russell



- Mitford, related in a Selection from her Letters to her Friends, reviewed, 300.
- Libraries, Babylonian and Assyrian, 161-169 ; two races in Babylonia in the early Semitic period,—the Sumiri or Kassî, and the Akkadi, 161 ; the language of the Akkadi, *ib.* ; cuneiform inscriptions, *ib.* ; character of the earliest collections of Babylonia, 162, 163 ; period of mixed texts (Akkad and Semitic), 163 ; literary works belonging to the period following the Semitic conquest, *ib.* ; colonization of Assyria, 164 ; inscriptions found in the city of Assur, *ib.*, and at Kalakh, 163 ; Chaldean work on astrology, *ib.* ; the Nineveh literature, *ib.* ; cylinders containing historical records deposited by the Assyrians and Babylonians at the four corners of new or repaired buildings, and examples of these records, 166 ; tablet in the British Museum from one of the Nineveh libraries, 166, 167 ; tablets from Nineveh called Syllabaries, 167 ; readings from tablets found in the record chambers, *ib.* ; forms of prayer, 168 ; establishment of observatories,—astronomical reports, *ib.* ; foreign works known to have been kept at Nineveh, *ib.* ; the annals of Nebuchadnezzar still unrecovered, 168, 169.
- Lindner (Dr. T.), Anno II. der Heilige, Erzbischof von Köln, 1056-1075, 117.
- Liverpool, Lord (Robert Banks), 139.
- Löher (F. von), Jacobäa von Bayern und ihre Zeit, 281.
- Longman (W.), The History of the Life and Times of Edward III., 120.
- Luard (H. R.), Annales Monastici, vols. iv. and v., 120.
- Lubbock (Sir J.), Pre-Historic Times, as illustrated by Ancient Remains, and the Manners and Customs of Modern Savages, 820.
- Luce (S.), Chroniques de J. Froissart, vol. i., 280.
- Lucretius, the De Rerum Natura of, 114.
- MACCOLL (N.), The Greek Sceptics from Pyrrho to Sextus, 270.
- MacLaren (Charles), Select Writings, Political, Scientific, Topographical, and Miscellaneous, edited by R. Cox and J. Nicol, 155.
- Madden (Sir F.), Matthæi Parisiensis Historia Anglorum, vols. i.-iii., 119.
- Marryat (J.), A History of Pottery and Porcelain, Medieval and Modern, 149.
- Martha (G.), Le Poème de Lucrèce : Morale, Religion, Science, 114.
- Martin (Th. H.), Les Sciences et la Philosophie. Essais de critique philosophique et religieuse, 813.
- Martineau (J.), Essays, Philosophical and Theological, vol. ii., 156.
- Maspero (G.), Translation of Hymne au Nil, 108.
- Massacre (The) of St. Bartholomew, 16-38 ; state of the evidence as to the origin and motives of the tragedy, 16 ; the despatches of Ferralz and Salviati, *ib.* ; position of Protestantism in the summer of 1572, *ib.* ; state of parties immediately preceding the massacre, 17 ; Coligny and the Huguenots, 18 ; number of the victims, *ib.* ; was the massacre premeditated ? *ib.* ; evidence that it was so, 18 et seq. ; the conference of Bayonne, 19 ; testimonies of Petrucci, Contarini, Cavalli, and Michiel, 19, 20 ; of Cardinal Salviati, 20 ; the Cardinal of Lorraine, 21 ; and the Cardinal of Alessandria, *ib.* ; testimony of Aldobrandini (afterwards Clement VIII.), 21, 22 ; sketch of events during twelve months before the massacre, 22 ; explanations of the Government after the event, 23 ; plan of operations in the provinces, 23, 24 ; reception of the news in foreign countries, 24 ; Charles seeks to appease the resentment of the Protestant powers, *ib.* ; the materials for an official history of the event suppressed by him, *ib.* ; the motives of the crime, 25 ; congratulations of Philip II., 26 ; the Duke of Alva, *ib.* ; the seven Catholic cantons of Switzerland, *ib.*, and Italy, 26, 27 ; joy of the French churches, 27 ; encouragement of the assassins by Sorbin, the king's confessor, and Edmond Auger, a Jesuit preacher at Bordeaux, *ib.* ; the question as to the sanction of the massacre by the Court of Rome, 28 ; the Capilupi family, *ib.* ; tract showing what was believed at Rome, 28, 29 ; reception of the news by Gregory XIII. 30 ; his reply to the announcement of the massacre, 31 ; Cardinal Orsini, 32 ; Gregory XIII. and Pius v., 32, 33 ; congratulations from the Sacred College, 33 ; an alleged dissident, Montalt (afterwards Sixtus v.), 34 ; theory framed to justify these practices, *ib.* ; Charles and his successor urged to follow up what had been begun, 34, 35 ; how the massacre was viewed by the Catholic world, 35 ; opinion of Lutheran divines, 36 ; sentiments of Theodore Beza, *ib.* ; Catholic apologists, 36, 37 ; modern attempts to conceal the truth, 37, 38.
- Mayor (J. E. B.), Ricardi de Cirencestris Speculum Historiale, vol. ii., 278.
- Mendelssohn (Prof.), Der Rastatter Gemandtemord, 187.
- Mercator, Gérard, 285.
- Merivale (C.), Homer's Iliad in English Rhymed Verse, 153.
- Meynard (C. Barbier de), Maçoudi : Les Prairies d'Or, tom. v., 274.
- Micé (Prof.), Rapport Méthodique sur les Progrès de la Chimie Organique pure en 1868 avec quelques détails sur la marche de la Chimie physiologique, 818.
- Mill, J. S., 88 et seq.
- Mississippi valley, physical geography of, 319.
- Mitford, Mary Russell,—Life of, 300.
- Montégut (E.), Les Pays Bas : Impressions de Voyage et d'Art, 145.
- Müller, Professor Max, 10 et seq.
- Murphy (J. J.), Habit and Intelligence in their Connection with the Laws of Matter and Force, 815.
- NETELER (B.), Die Gliederung des Buches Isaïas als Grundlage seiner Erklärung und insbesondere der Auslegung einer für die Zukunft wichtigen Weissagung, 249.
- Newman (Edward), An Illustrated Natural History of British Moths, 822.
- Newman's (Dr.) Apologia, 216.
- Niebuhr, 5.
- Nineveh literature and libraries, 165-168.
- Norris (Edwin), Assyrian Dictionary. Part i., 108.
- ODLING (W.), Outlines of Chemistry, or Brief Notes of Chemical Facts, reviewed, 819.
- Ouseley (Rev. Sir F. A. G.), A Treatise on Counterpoint, Canon, and Fugue, based upon that of Cherubini, 154.
- Owen, Robert, the Founder of Socialism in England,—Life of, by A. J. Booth, 298.
- PASINI (L.), Disparci di Giovanni Michiel, 284.
- Polasgians, the, 6 et seq.
- Perkins (C. C.), Italian Sculptors : being a History of Sculpture in Northern, Southern, and Eastern Italy, 147.
- Perowne (J. J. S.), Immortality : the Hulsean Lectures for 1868, 156.



- Perrens (F. P.), *Les Mariages Espagnols*, (1602-1615), 125.
- Pertz (G. H.), *Monumenta Germaniæ historica* (Scriptorum Tomus xxi.), 275.
- Peter (Carl), *Geschichte Roms*, vol. iii. pt. 2, 115.
- Phillips (J.), *Vesuvius*, 159.
- Pope (The) and the Council, 67-72; parties in the Church of Rome, and their views of the Papacy, 67; the Jesuits, *ib.*; position of the bishops as respects the dogma of the Pope's infallibility, 67, 68; the question as to whether the faith of Catholics is liable to be changed at will by their Church authorities, 68; argument of a recent work on this subject, 68, 69; Gratian's Decretals, 69; the methods and motives which have reared the Popish system, 69, 70; The Pope and the Council the manifesto of a great party, 70; defects in the work, 70, 71; questions avoided by the author, 71; Möhler and Dollinger, 71, 72.
- Pottier (André), *Histoire de la faïence de Rouen*, 311.
- Prévost-Paradol (M.), *France*, 305.
- Prussia, Decentralization in; see *France and Prussia*.
- RAEMDONCK (Dr. T. van), *Gérard Mercator, sa Vie et ses Œuvres*, 285.
- Ranke (L. von), *Zur Deutschen Geschichte vom Religionsfrieden bis zum dreissigjährigen Krieg*, 126.
- Ranke (L. von), *Geschichte Wallensteins*, 287.
- Reimann (E.), *Geschichte des Bairischen Erbfolgekrieges*, 133.
- Rembrandt, 146, 288.
- Renan (Ernest), *Saint Paul*, 114.
- Renouf (P. Le Page), *The Case of Pope Honorius reconsidered with reference to recent Apologies*, 273.
- Riehl (W. H.), *Wanderbuch*, 307.
- Riley (H. T.), *Gesta Abbatum Monasterii S. Albani*, vol. iii., 279.
- Ritt (Olivier), *Histoire de l'Isthme de Suez*, 304.
- Rosen (Baron), *Aus den Memoiren eines Russischen Dekabristen. Beiträge zur Geschichte des St. Petersburger Militäraufstandes vom 14 (26) December 1825 und seiner Theilnehmer*, 296.
- Rossini, *Life of*, by H. S. Edwards, 142.
- Rougé (M. de), *Chrestomatie Egyptienne*, second part, 106.
- Rozière (E. de), *Liber Diurnus ou Recueil des Formules usitées par la Chancellerie Pontificale du V<sup>e</sup> au XI<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, 115.
- Rymer's *Fœdera*, 289.
- SAINT-BEUVE (C. A.), *Nouveaux Lundis*, eleventh vol., 309.
- Sanders (W. C.), *Poems of Ludwig Uhland translated into English Verse, with a short Biographical Memoir of the Poet*, 153.
- Sarpi, Fra Paolo, 125.
- Schelling's *Leben in Briefen*, edited by Prof. Plitt, 292.
- Schlirren (C.), *Livländische Antwort an Herrn Juri Samarian*, 304.
- Sclopis (Fred.), *Le Cardinal Jean Morone*, 284.
- Sculpture, Italian, 147.
- Secession, war of, in America, 144.
- Simcox (G. A.), *Poems and Romances*, 150.
- S... n (G. von), *Geschichte Oesterreichs vom Ausgange des Wiener October-Aufstandes*, 1848, 142.
- Spedding (James), *The Letters and Life of Francis Bacon*, vols. iii. and iv., 124.
- Stillings, Jung, 205, 212.
- Strehlke (E.), *Tabulæ Ordinis Theutonici*, 278.
- Stubbs (Prof.), *The Chronicles of Roger de Hovedene*, vols. i. and ii., 277.
- Swift, 169-188; estimate which has been formed of his works, 169; his personal character less favourably judged, *ib.*; his characteristics through life, 170; correspondence with Mr. Kendall, *ib.*; Sir William Temple, 170, 171; becomes for a short time incumbent of Kilroot, *ib.*; publication of the *Tale of a Tub*, 172; the *Battle of the Books*, *ib.*; becomes chaplain to Lord Berkeley, *ib.*; opposition to his appointment as Dean of Derry; is at last presented to the two livings of Laracor and Rathbeggan, 172, 173; intimacy with Miss Jane Waring, 173; Stella and Vanessa, *ib.*; his life at Laracor, 174; visit to London in 1710, when he abandons the Whigs and supports the policy of the Tories, 175; the Tory ministers, 176; Miss Vanhomrigh, 177; appointment to the Deanery of St. Patrick's, 178; his relations with Stella, 178, 179; death of Vanessa, 180; his resistance to Wood's copper coinage, *ib.*; was he a sincere Irish patriot? 180, 181; publication of *Gulliver*, 182; and of the *Voyage to Laputa*, *ib.*; Stella's last illness and death, 183; Swift's declining years, 184; his death, 185; his character, 185, 186; strictures of Thackeray, 186, 187; the reproach of coarseness in his writings, 188; summary, *ib.*
- Synesius, the rhetorician, and Bishop of Apollonia, 278.
- TAINE (H.), *Philosophie de l'Art dans les Pays Bas*, 146.
- Telasier (O.), *Histoire de Toulon au Moyen Age*, 281.
- Theiner (Aug.), *Histoire des deux Concordats*, 138.
- Thirlwall, Dr., 6.
- Tory Party (Repentance of the), 251-267; Tory tactics for the last twenty years a failure, 251; real Toryism finally defeated at the Revolution, *ib.*; Bolingbroke's Neo-Toryism, *ib.*; confusion of parties consequent on the French Revolution, 252; the Tory-Conservatism of the period between 1790 and 1830 broken up by the Reform Bill of 1832, *ib.*; Peel as leader of the disorganized party, *ib.*; Disraeli's early criticism of Conservatism, 253; publication of *Vivian Grey*, 253, 254; his letter to Lord Lyndhurst in 1835 intended as a programme of his own performances, 254-256; his view of politics, 256, 257; his political novels, 257, and their distinctive object, *ib.*; his theories, as enunciated in them, 257-259; sketch showing how far they have been carried out, 259; his view of parliamentary parties, 259, 260; the grand centre round which all his political opinions are grouped—himself, 261; the three qualities of a great statesman—according to Mr. Disraeli,—all claimed for himself, *ib.*; the attraction between disorganized Conservatism and a man of his opinions and character, *ib.*; to have revenge on Peel, he became champion of the Protectionists, 262; became leader of the Conservatives in 1849, *ib.*; is made Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1852, 263; Lord Derby's ministry of 1858, 264; the Reform struggle of 1867, 265; the conflict between the three schools of Liberalism, Toryism, and Conservatism during the passage of the Irish Church Bill, *ib.*; the sterility of Toryism, 266; Conservatism merely a sentiment, *ib.*; what the opposition have yet to learn, 267.



- Typical Selections from the best English Authors, 308.
- UHLAND, LUDWIG, 153.
- Ulster custom of tenant-right, 101, 241, 244-246.
- United States, Democracy in the, by R. H. Gillett, 144.
- VARNHAGEN VON ENSE (K. A.), Blätter aus der Preussischen Geschichte, 140.
- Venetian ceramics, 132.
- Vesuvius, 159.
- Vivenot (Dr.), Thugut, Clerfayt, und Wurmser, 186.
- Volkmann (Dr. R.), Synesius von Cyrene, 22.
- Vosmaer (C.), Rembrandt, sa Vie et ses Œuvres, 288.
- WATTENBACH (W.), Eine Ferienreise nach Spanien und Portugal, 145.
- Wellington, Duke of, 140.
- Whately, Archbishop, 88.
- Williams (F.), Memoirs and Correspondence of Bishop Atterbury, 130.
- Wright (Dr.), The Homilies of Aphraates the Persian Sage (vol. i. The Syriac Text), 27.
- YONGE (C. D.), The Life and Administration of Robert Banks, second Earl of Liverpool, 12.



THE  
NORTH BRITISH REVIEW.

NO. CL.

OCTOBER, 1869.

ART. I.—*JUVENTUS MUNDI*.\*

GIBBON thought it worth while to record his belief that his experience in the Hampshire militia was a qualification for narrating the campaigns of Roman armies, and to suggest that his political life as a silent member of Lord North's party qualified him to appreciate the spirit of Roman administration, and to unfold the intrigues of the city and the palace which determined the fate of the Empire. Compared with Tillemont, Gibbon was a man of action: compared with Tacitus, he was a man of letters. Tacitus had lived at the centre of public life: Gibbon had only set one foot within the circle. Tacitus has faults which Gibbon escapes, and merits which he does not reach; and both are due to his training as a great official. He despised the Jews as an administrator too much to read the Septuagint; and accordingly he disfigured the fifth book of his Histories with the malevolent and incoherent fables of their neighbours. But only a statesman could have written his account of the fall of Galba, or of the collapse of the imposing power of Vitellius. Even writers so far inferior to Gibbon as Mr. Helps and Mr. Finlay show us that they have seen events close: their narrative is less impressive and less masterly, but it is easier to realize. Gibbon's generalizations are always firm and clear and accurate; but it is impossible to penetrate behind them to the facts. For the author had generalized from books, and not from life.

Mr. Gladstone is a man of letters in a

much more serious sense than Gibbon was a man of affairs. He carries into literature the whole of his purely intellectual faculties. All the intellectual graces of his greatest speeches are reproduced in his *Studies on Homer*; there is the same power of making details interesting, of making subtlety clear, of making paradoxes all but self-evident. And all this splendid activity is entirely disinterested, in a way in which the works of professed scholars often are not. Mr. Gladstone loves Homer for his own sake: Mr. Grote loves Athens because she was a witness against the policy of the Holy Alliance. It is unfortunate, but perhaps it is inevitable, that intellectual sympathies so keen and so delicate should be somewhat exclusive, and, it must be added, capricious, in their object. A man who cared less for one department of scholarship, and who had done less for his favourite department, would have found it easier to accept at second-hand the results to which the general movement of scholarship tends; and the results which he himself reached would have been more readily admitted, and would have advanced knowledge more, when they were offered, not as a substitute, but as a supplement, to the investigations of other scholars.

There were at one time people who imagined that, in politics, Mr. Gladstone was destined to be the ornament of a lost cause: in literature, he is the ornament of a decaying school. He carries us back to the days when Keble discussed, in his delightful *Prælectiones Academicæ*, what Homer would have thought of the Whigs. In *Juventus Mundi* we do not find the same anxiety to condemn the author's enemies by the sentence of his favourite. Instead of bringing English statesmen to the bar of Homer, he

\* *Juventus Mundi. The Gods and Men of the Heroic Age.* By the Right Honourable William Ewart Gladstone. (London: Macmillan).



brings Homer to the bar of English virtue in order to a triumphant acquittal. He has much that is valuable to say on Homer's place in human history; but his first thought seems still to be Homer's place in English education. This want of perspective gave an unscientific appearance to many parts of his earlier work, which did injustice to its substance; the author appeared to be wavering between the higher forms of the literature of dilettantism and the lower forms of the literature of edification. Even now, it is doubtful whether a book which contains enough fresh knowledge, clearly put, to make it a valuable text-book on the early history of Greece, will be accepted by English scholars. If *Juventus Mundi* is relegated to the indiscriminate admiration of half-educated readers, the blame will not fall entirely on the exclusiveness of professional students, or their jealousy of amateur co-operation. The author's picture of Homeric life is, with some slight drawbacks, much the fullest and clearest that we know; within these limits he is always solid, consistent, and clear. When he leaves the ground of political and social life to speculate on mythology and ethnology, he is still ingenious, still interesting, still full of views and suggestions, which are sometimes fruitful and often brilliant; but he is no longer trustworthy. He catches at all sorts of hints, in all sorts of writers, ancient and modern, whether they agree or disagree; and a single hint is a foundation for an extensive theory. Thus, though he has supplied models of the most laborious and cautious investigation, he can be exhibited to the sober-minded public as a mere builder of critical card-castles, with, no doubt, a plausible and interesting style, and considerable, but undigested, reading. But equitable judges will remember that, in a subject which touches so many others, he would have needed more learning than is to be required from a busy man, and more timidity than is to be desired from an able man, simply to avoid entangling himself.

At the same time, *Juventus Mundi* represents an unmistakeable advance in clearness and sobriety; the outlines of the author's thought gain in connection and distinctness, now that the mass of detail which was accumulated round them has been brought within its proper limits. Mr. Gladstone no longer insists upon doubtful and invisible points which contribute some grains of cumulative plausibility to the ancillary evidence of some secondary proposition. He is satisfied to give his less important conjectures for what they are worth; and they do not seem less plausible when they are no longer encumbered with unconvincing proof. His new arguments, too, are of a more posi-

tive and prosaic order. In both *Studies of Homer* and *Juventus Mundi*, he discusses the comparative age of Homer and Hesiod, in both the discussion turns upon the episode of the Five Ages. In the earlier work, it was very ingeniously argued that the Heroic age, which interrupts the symmetrical progress of degeneracy, must be simply the reflection of the halo thrown by Homer over the generation that fought at Troy, and that Homer must have been already an ancient poet when those who heard his lays gave sacredness to his heroes which he does not possess. In the later work, the genuineness of the episode is no longer assumed: its date is conclusively fixed. In the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, iron is a much rarer and more valuable metal than copper or bronze: at the time of Hesiod or pseudo-Hesiod, it was now, iron was much cheaper and more abundant than copper; and this condition has been established long enough to allow it to be regarded as a type of worthlessness.

There is room, perhaps, for as much difference of opinion about the date and manner of the composition of the *Iliad*, as about the authorship of the touching episode of the Five Ages. But Mr. Gladstone's scepticism has not yet extended to Homer. His claims on behalf of his author become the more exalted, though they are a shade less exclusive and less absolute. Homer he claims to be, not merely the mirror of early Greek society, but the mould in which Greek society was cast, the creator of a literature of a religion, of a nation. On the other hand, he no longer discards with indifference the testimony of later writers when it is at variance with what Homer says or leaves unsaid. Instead of finding a Sipyle in Greece to discredit the post-Homeric legend that a great Greek hero had come from Phrygia, he now admits the legend to supplement the reticence of Homer and to prove that the great Greek poet is an unwilling witness to the foreign origin of a great Greek house. Perhaps it is carried too far deference to Homer's antiquity rather far to assume that he knew all that was worth knowing in later poets and mythographers, though he did not always choose to say what he knew. Pindar points to a distinction between the general legends circulated by irresponsible rhapsodists and the local legends which were in the custody of States and individual houses, and were often connected with special and immemorial rites. Such legends, of course, would be liable to a special kind of embellishment and a special kind of perversion; but there is no reason to think that they are post-Homeric in origin. The Athenians were in a condition to point out the spot where the sons of



Tyndareus rescued their sister from Theseus; and it is really frigid to suggest that the Athenians attributed an inchoate abduction to their national hero in a spirit of servile imitation. Such an hypothesis is too high a price to pay for the privilege of accepting Homer's chronology, with its internal harmony and its arbitrary framework. Argive Helen may have been historical, for mythical traits do sometimes accumulate upon historical characters; but her abductions by Theseus and by Paris must be regarded as parallel myths, since they cannot be regarded as successive legends.

One admission cannot be made—that Achilles and Helen, and Agamemnon himself, may never have existed, and that yet the *Iliad* may have had a lofty historical purpose. According to Mr. Gladstone, Homer intended to instruct his contemporaries by recalling a not remote and glorious past, and the only question is whether he chose to do this by a history of the turning-point of the war of Troy, or by a historical romance founded upon that war. If the *Iliad* is a historical romance, it is assumed that its author observed the conditions of local colour and internal harmony as they have never been observed before or since. Mr. Gladstone prefers the first view, on the whole; but he weakens the force of his vigorous advocacy, by offering to fall back on an unmeaning and indefensible compromise. He consents to give up a view for which there is very much to be said, out of deference to opponents whom he expects to accept a view for which there is nothing to say. If the author of the *Iliad* invented Achilles and Helen and Agamemnon, as Tasso invented Rinaldo,—if he took them as Virgil took Dido, as ready-made themes for poetical embellishment,—then the author of the *Iliad* had nothing but the most fragmentary knowledge of the Trojan war, and of the then state of Greek society. It is more than improbable that, knowing so little, he had a didactic purpose in telling what he knew; and the manners of his heroes and the wounds of his gods must be relegated together to the past which was never present. There is something in the argument that Nestor's long stories must be valuable from the historical point of view, because they are inopportune from the poetical; it may be admitted that the mare of Menelaos may be historical, because it is too insignificant to repay invention. But, after arguing to the trustworthiness of the whole from the fidelity of the parts, it is impossible to maintain that the most prominent parts may show the license of invention, but that the general aspects of the whole have been faith-

fully reproduced. Even apart from this paralogism, it is not worthy of Mr. Gladstone's intellect and courage to write as if the evidence which makes a large proposition probable must be sufficient to make a small proposition certain. But this kind of infelicity appears throughout the book. The author displays great subtlety and flexibility of mind in support of opinions which are often sound and original, but are crudely and inflexibly conceived. His treatment of Homer's personality is a characteristic, though not a solitary, instance. He believes that our *Iliad* and our *Odyssey* have come to us from a single mind; the belief is supported by the evidence of antiquity, and probably by the evidence of the poems. But it does not follow that because the Homeric poems are not the arbitrary compilation of Peisistratos or Hipparchos, they are the work of a single individual Homer, in the same sense as the *Æneid* is the work of Virgil, or as *Hamlet* is the work of Shakespeare. Mr. Gladstone does not mention Mr. Paley's brilliant but tantalizing theory, which satisfies all the internal conditions so completely, without a shred of external support, and seems to be passing as silently into oblivion in our own age as Mr. Paley supposes our Homer to have risen into glory in the age of Pericles. But this cross-light on the intricacies of the Homeric question is not needed to show that, under the circumstances in which the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* have come to us, we are not justified in reasoning from them to the mental peculiarities of their authors, and then reasoning again from those peculiarities. Again, there are many intermediate stages between the painstaking good faith of Herodotus, and wilful, conscious, deliberate invention. Mr. Gladstone has collected many details which are real indications of Homer's intention to tell the tale of Troy as it was told to him; but it is impossible to accept Homer as the oldest, and not the least trustworthy, of Greek historians. Even now, a narrative which simply embodies the evidence is difficult to an untutored mind: such a narrative would have been more difficult when all minds were untutored, and the habit of submission to educated judgment had not been transmitted through a long succession of generations. Even now we substitute our reflections for facts; primitive poets did more. Their reflections took the concrete form of fresh facts, sometimes substituted for the genuine narrative, sometimes appended to it. Mr. Gladstone is, without intending it, unjust to his author, when he refers everything that is visibly unhistorical to Homer's art or Homer's manner, in terms



which imply, and perhaps are meant to imply, that Homer was at liberty to invent what he liked, and that, under these circumstances, he considered what would be edifying to his countrymen, and creditable to his country.

The controversy whether Homer's aim was amusement or instruction is at least as old as Strabo. The Introduction to *Juventus Mundi* is chiefly directed to a not unsuccessful revival of a half-forgotten side of a familiar question. The author's speculations on Greek ethnology, especially in their latest form, are much more original, though, at the same time, more questionable. The point of departure is well chosen. He recapitulates Mure's proof that the received theory of Hellen and his four sons, as it was accepted by Thucydides, is an *ex post facto* fiction, and that the Hellenes are the men, not of Hellen, but of Hellas, the land of the Helloi, whom it is almost inevitable to identify with the Selloi of the prayer of Achilles. From this example of the worthlessness of conventional tradition, we are led straight to the "Three great Appellatives," — Homer's names for Homer's Greeks. These are, as Mr. Gladstone's readers will remember, Danaoi, Argeioi, Achaioi. The application of these names is traced with admirable and not unrewarded diligence, especially in the case of Argeioi. The oldest of the names is naturally the least suggestive. There is little to be said about Danaoi, except that it is the oldest, and that it is used in an exclusively military sense. It is rather more interesting to connect them with Danaos, the ancestor of Perseus and his house, whom local tradition represented as an immigrant who introduced the art of irrigation into Argolis. The tradition brought him from Egypt; and it is disappointing to find that nothing has yet been added to the tradition. In his first work, Mr. Gladstone had already been struck by the similar sound of Tuatha De Danann: in his second, he has been struck in the same way, like Mr. Renan, by Danniè or Dyan-niyeh, the name of a district in Phœnicia. But these coincidences are still too isolated to be fruitful. Perhaps simplification is carried rather too far when it is proposed to identify Danaos with Akrisios, because Homer omits an opportunity of including them in the same genealogy. They are quite distinct in later tradition; and there is no positive reason for refusing to distinguish them in Homer. The dynastic name of Danaoi becomes in a way significant by its contrast with the territorial name of Argeioi, the men of Argos, which is plausibly referred to the class of roots which apply to

cultivation. The analogy of the Lowlands is more questionable, if it is intended to have an etymological bearing. It is certainly true, as Mr. Gladstone points out, that we speak of the Lowlands of many countries, and that the Greeks spoke of the Argos of many races; and that there was only one district in each case where the descriptive name passed into a proper name. But if we are to translate Argos into Lowlands, we ought to be put in a position to translate Arkades into Highlanders; for it was the neighbourhood of the Highlands, in Scotland, that gave by the force of contrast, a definite geographical sense to the Lowlands. If we regard Argos as simply the name of the habitable land, the regions fit for human use and tillage, it would be tempting to translate Argeioi as "people of the land," though of course it is never possible to substitute the etymological meaning of a proper name for the name itself in all the passages where it occurs. There would be no difficulty, if this meaning were otherwise admissible, in accounting for the more restricted application of the name to the inhabitants of the peninsula south of the Isthmus of Corinth. The leading dynasties of that district, the house of Perseus and the house of Pelops, are constantly represented by tradition as foreign immigrants who brought the natives under their power. These natives would be known to the rest of Greece, not by the name they used among themselves, but by the name their rulers found it convenient to use of them. "The people of the land" would be quite a sufficient name for the rulers' purposes; and, if it satisfied them, it was easy to efface the national names of their subjects first among foreigners, and then among the subjects themselves. In this way it might become a valuable distinction for the Helots to be called an Argive—to receive back from a Dorian master the name which his ancestors had accepted from Achaian princes. This explanation of the name would suit the other proverbial phrases collected by the author, which seem to point to a race of rude, yet crafty and formidable, boors.

Whatever theories may be held as to the meaning of Argos, and the causes which determined the application of its derivatives, Mr. Gladstone's induction to fix the chief divisions of Homeric Greece is incontestably sound and valuable. We find (beside general expressions like "through Hellas and Middle Argos") the Argos of the Pelasgoi, which corresponds to Northern Thessaly, the Argos of the Achaioi, which seems to include the eastern half of Peloponnese, and lastly, Iason Argos, which represents, for the sons of Penelope, the mainland of civilized



Greece. Mr. Gladstone nowhere mentions Dr. Curtius's *Ionians before the Ionian Migration*, which was published at Berlin in 1851, nor his *History of Greece*, which contains the same view in a more popular form. They would have suggested to him the completion of a theory which is much too good to be left in a fragmentary condition. Iason Argos is obviously the Argos of the Iacones, not the Argos of Iasos. If the western half of Southern Greece had been named after him, it would have been Iasion Argos. As the last two syllables of Iacones are treated in Greek as a termination, though they may have belonged originally to the root, there can be no danger in connecting Iason Argos with the Ionian sea, or in supposing that the love of Demeter for the child of Iasos is a legend of the beginnings of Ionian agriculture. If Hesiod did not lay the scene of the amour in Crete, there would be rather more reason for identifying the favourite with Erechtheus, than for identifying Acrisios with Danaos. As Dr. Curtius thinks it permissible to connect Iasos and Iason, those who follow his authority will find it difficult to accept Mr. Gladstone's contemptuous estimate of the Ionians of the Homeric age. If Iason is an Ionian leader, the powerful and civilized Minuoi must have been intimately connected with the Ionians, if they were not the first-fruits of the Ionian race. Even Homer bears a singular testimony to early Ionian civilization, though his latest commentator depreciates its value. The Athenian general had no superior in "getting his men into line," as Mr. Gladstone puts it, which was then a high and difficult accomplishment. Before quitting Argos, it may be well to point out an "undesigned coincidence" in support of the traditional juxtaposition of Ion and Achæis in the Hellenic family. When the suitors tell Penelope that she would be better seen in Iason Argos than in Ithaca, they add that she would be seen by Achæioi.

The Achæioi of Homer are perhaps the most important, and certainly the most perplexing, portion of his ethnology. They fill the whole foreground of his poems; yet it is not known whence they come. In later traditions they have practically disappeared, it is not known whither. Mr. Gladstone has done nearly all that is possible. He has brought out some primary facts of capital importance: that the Achæioi of the Homeric age were a ruling race spread over Greece, everywhere apparently homogeneous among themselves, and apparently in many places, as in Ithaca, distinct from the mass of the common people: and that, according to the indications in Homer, they

were at home in Homer's Hellas, and, less certainly, rose into importance together with the house of Pelops. Their predominance, therefore, would naturally mark the commencement of the Hellenization of Greece, if it is necessary to assign a date for the commencement of a somewhat indeterminate process. If it should be established, by the consent of competent judges, that the Akaiusha-u appear in Egyptian inscriptions of an older date than those which mention the Danæ, and that the district in which they are succeeded by them is really the Peloponnese, the accession of the Pelopidai would be a curious counterpart of the return of the Herakleidai. In one case we should have an old element of the population regaining its supremacy in conjunction with a foreign dynasty, as in the other we have an invading population availing itself of the claims of an ancient ruling house. As we do not know the original seat of the Achæioi, or the course by which they came to Hellas or Peloponnese, Mr. Gladstone repeats his former suggestion that they came from Persia, chiefly, it seems, because Achæios sounds like Achaimenes. If the royal family of Persia went back to the days of Thothmes III., or were even as old as Homer, the coincidence would certainly be startling, though, in the utter absence of connecting links, it would be still improbable that it was more than a coincidence; but, as there is not a particle of evidence that the house of Achaimenes is older than the eighth century, no serious connection is possible. Mr. Gladstone himself obviously attaches little importance to this conjecture. He does not insist on its imaginary evidence; and he does not repeat a second time to an unbelieving world that the Persians are the ancestors of the Hellenes and the Germans, and the Medes the ancestors of the Pelasgians and the Celts.

It is not surprising to meet the Pelasgians again: the world will never be rid of them till it knows who they were. While scholars refuse to appreciate Niebuhr's theory by the light of subsequent discoveries, they will always be liable to be affronted by finding that laymen of real and high intelligence still accept it in its original form. As a theory of the connection of Greece and Italy, Niebuhr's system has been discredited by the diffusion of the results of Sanskrit scholarship. There never was any direct evidence that any population in Italy was called Pelasgian; and to attempt to establish this by linguistic argument only discredits the direct evidence for admitting a Pelasgian population in Greece. As the Aryan race has been differentiating itself



slowly for more than thirty centuries, and as the process is not over yet, it is difficult to attribute each stage of it to the irruption of a new tribe. This presumption is not overthrown by the interesting fact that the vocabulary of the family, the farm, and the fold, is substantially identical in Greece and Italy, while the vocabulary of the chase, the camp, and the city, offers few and uncertain resemblances. The fact would have arisen if Greece and Italy had been occupied by a homogeneous Pelasgian population, and if this population had been subdued by Oxaus in Italy and Hellenes in Greece. But two objections were obvious, even when the theory was fresh: there had never been any Pelasgians in Italy, and in the time of Homer there were very few left in Greece, and yet the Hellenes had scarcely begun to arrive. Since then, it has been discovered that a change of scene and a change of habits necessarily involve a change of vocabulary, and that foreign influences may tell upon language, though they do not extend to conquest. The best informed Greeks in the fifth century B.C. believed that the national armour was an importation from Caria. But the collapse of this part of the theory does not affect the independent evidence which proves that the Pelasgians once occupied the greater part of Greece. Mr. Gladstone has given an effective *résumé* of all the scattered testimony in Homer and later writers which confirms the belief of Æschylus and Herodotus; and so far his results, though not very novel, have an incontestable value, as enforcing a view which has been discredited with the general public rather by authority than by legitimate discussion. When we come to the question who the Pelasgians were, his speculations have a fresher interest, though we cannot follow them with implicit confidence. All theories on the subject must be provisional; for we do not know what light may be thrown on the subject by the Oriental sources already within reach, or what fresh lines of enquiry may be opened by fresh discoveries. And Mr. Gladstone rather complicates matters by heaping up presumptions that one tribe after another had Pelasgian affinities, before he has made it clear what Pelasgian affinities mean. He is haunted by the traditional antithesis of Hellenes and Pelasgians; though he is familiar with the proof that one term of the antithesis is no better than a fiction, the only fruit of his knowledge is the substitution of some visionary Hellic tribes for the conventional Hellenes. We know of two great races that came out of Hellas, the Achæians and the Dorians; and there is reason to believe that

the ascendancy of the latter spread the Hellic name over Greece. There is no reason to believe that either race differed materially, in either blood or culture, from the races among whom they came. But if any writer chose to exaggerate their influence, at least there would be something to exaggerate. "The Hellic tribes" do not supply any groundwork to the imagination. No doubt there must have been one to give its name to Hellas; but that one was most probably the Selloi; and it would be preposterous to trace Hellenic civilization to the horde of sacred savages who congregated at Dodona, and perhaps left their name as a trace of their presence at Sellasia, in a part of Greece too poor and backward to be ever thoroughly "Hellenized."

The pursuit of this shadowy antithesis has led Mr. Gladstone to overlook the evidence that the Achæioi of the mainland were substantially on a level with the Danaoi and Iæones, who came over sea, as well as the close connection which Greek antiquaries recognised between the Achæioi and Iæones. He refers to the perfectly authentic tradition of the conflict between the Ionians of the city and the Pelasgians of the open country. The Pelasgians complained that they were treated as intruders in a land which they had found a desert and left a garden. The Athenians complained that their daughters when they went out to draw water, were insulted by the older and more brutal natives. These data cannot be set aside by the *ipse dixit* of Herodotus, that the Ionians were a Pelasgian race. His error is easily to be explained by the fact that the Ionians certainly did not come from Hellas, properly so called, and in that sense were not Hellenes. As they were not Hellenes, and claimed to be autochthonous, it followed, by a primitive process of exhaustion, that they must be Pelasgians, as it was known that there had been Pelasgoi before there were Hellenes in Greece. Perhaps also, as the Dorians were undeniable representatives of Hellenism, it was assumed that their antipodes, the Ionians, must savour of Pelasgianism.

As it must be admitted that the Hellenes are an aggregate of kindred tribes, rather than a single race with a common centre in Thessaly, it is not improbable that the same will hold of the earlier populations of Greece. Dr. Thirlwall judiciously says that "in all likelihood the name of Pelasgians was a general one, like that of Saxons, Franks, or Alemanni, but each of the Pelasgian tribes had also one peculiar to itself." If the analogy is carried a step further, it suggests an instructive contrast. All the names selected for comparison were the self-chosen



names of extensive confederacies formed in historical times; as we know nothing of the peculiar names of the tribes out of which they were formed, it is safe to suppose that they were formed of broken tribes. The Pelasgians are prehistoric; but we know many tribal names which we include, on more or less convincing evidence, under the Pelasgian name. It is natural to suppose that that name was imposed by strangers on an aggregate of kindred tribes. If the general name was the national name of the race, it would be curious that the parts should be better known than the whole. The Jews were known to their neighbours, sometimes as the Hebrews, the men who came over, sometimes by their national name of Israelites; but we never find that any individual tribe was known by its own name to neighbours who did not know the general national name of Israel. The Israelites were named by men who came before them: the Pelasgians were named by men who came after them, moving along many routes. In the pre-Homeric period it cannot be said that in all the country between Lebanon and Hæmus, between Memphis and Ambrecia, there was any race in exclusive possession of a definite territory. On the outskirts of this country the population was comparatively homogeneous aggregates. Thrace was Aryan on the whole, in spite of the strong Phœnician settlements on the coast; Asia Minor was Aryan on the whole also. The great people of the Phrygians, who knew of no race older than themselves, held the central plateau, from whence their chiefs wandered down to establish dynasties in the fertile mountain valleys of the coast. It seems that the Semitic Lydians had not yet broken through to the valley of the Hermus; but another Semitic tribe, the Solymi, still disputed the valley of the Xanthus with the Aryan race who gave their name to the land. To the east all the coast was more or less Semitic; but the rich island of Cyprus was already divided between Greeks and Phœnicians. There were Greeks in the Delta; but the character of Egyptian civilization was fixed. There were Greeks upon the east of the Ægean; but its waters were disputed by Carians and Phœnicians.

It would enable us to give a very simple and satisfactory arrangement of Greek ethnology, if we could suppose that the Ionians and the Achæans, like the Danaans, entered the mainland of Greece by sea, and found it occupied on their arrival by tribes related to themselves, who had moved by land round the head of the Ægean; and that they classified these tribes, who were still unacquainted with the richer life of the eastern coast, as

Thrakes and Pelasgoi, men of the hills and men of the plain, Highlanders and Lowlanders. If this tempting theory should ever be established, much of the honour will be due to Mr. Gladstone for suggesting for Πελαγος an etymology which suits so perfectly the extent and application of the name. It is probable that he would have given it all the development of which it is capable, if he had not been hampered by his adherence to the unsupported theory of a "Pelasgic race." If he had set clearly before himself the meeting of his two lines of speculation, one or other must have been abandoned. Pelasgoi cannot mean Lowlanders, if it is the national name of a great race which branched into tribes with special names, like Aones, Huantes, Arkades, Kaukones, and so on. It is much to be regretted that this latent contradiction prevented him from supporting a very promising hypothesis by the industrious illustration which it peculiarly needs, and which he is peculiarly fitted to supply. At present it remains a mere suggestion: we are not even prepared to say that it is admissible etymologically. If it were proved that Πελαγος, or any of its derivatives, might, in accordance with Greek analogies, be transformed into Πελασγος, it would still need something more than the solitary example of Pelagonia to show satisfactorily that roots connected with Πελαγος, in the sense of plain, entered largely into the nomenclature of Greek geography. There is another preliminary difficulty. The Thrakes of Homer are found in the heart of Greece, and apparently separated by a very sharp line from the Greeks themselves; it is natural to suppose that Thrakes is a general name given by the Greeks to all the hill tribes from Parnassus to Rhodope, who held their ground in the wild country north of the Ægean, but were absorbed by the higher civilization of Greece. But here comes the difficulty. It is hard not to connect the Biblical Tiras with Thrace: are we to suppose that the writer of the tenth chapter of Genesis derived that part of his information, we do not say from Greece, but from the Ionians of the Ægean? Again, if the Pelasgians were to be identified with the Pulisata of some Egyptian monuments, the same difficulty would recur in a somewhat stronger form. Egyptologists are disposed to fix the Pulisata in Crete; now the Egyptians, if we suppose that they were never a maritime people, were decidedly more likely to hear of Crete from Phœnicians than from Greeks. M. Lenormant does not enable the readers of his *Histoire Ancienne de l'Orient* to refer to the original memoirs on which he bases his vague and startling account of a Liby-Pelasgic confed-



Attica; one from Asia Minor established itself as paramount in Greece. Whether these dynasties were founded by Grecised Orientals or by Orientalized Greeks is a secondary question; if Greeks and Orientals had not still been able to blend readily, these dynasties could not have been founded at all. The foreign elements in Greek civilization and mythology were absorbed through these channels while Greece was making: they were not infused by irresponsible mariners after Greece was made, in order to scare Greek seamen from ranging beyond the Archipelago. The extravagance of the fables of the outer geography of the *Odyssey* admits a simpler explanation, if they are viewed as reminiscences of a wider world, in which the Greeks had mingled with many other races, who became stranger and stranger to their descendants as they concentrated themselves within the limits of historical Greece, and as their national character crystallized into a harmonious unity.

Mr. Gladstone's recent ethnological theories have naturally influenced his treatment of Homeric religion. In *Studies on Homer* the deities were classified mainly as Hellenic or Pelasgian. In *Juventus Mundi*, a Phœnician class is confidently introduced; its leading members are Aphrodite, Hermes, Hephaistos, and Poseidon. The claims of Aphrodite cannot be seriously disputed; those of Hermes are too slight to be refuted; about Hephaistos, Mr. Gladstone is possibly right; about Poseidon, we think he is wrong.

The worship of Aphrodite must be Phœnician in its origin, since it centres in Phœnician settlements; and the evidence about Hephaistos is of the same kind, though very perceptibly weaker. As Mr. Gladstone points out, it is conceivable that he was united with Aphrodite in Phœnician worship, and with Charis in Greek mythology. At the same time, he is aware that Aphrodite herself is not exclusively Phœnician. Her mother Dione is, in the old national worship of Dodona, a female reflection of Zeus, which gives Aphrodite a better title to naturalization in Greece than the etymology of her name, to which Professor Max Müller assigns his favourite meaning, "the Dawn." There is a certain monotony in a school which finds the Sun in almost every god and hero, and the Dawn in almost every goddess and heroine, which sees nothing in the tale of Troy divine but the daily siege of the East by the West to recover the Light; but the mythological speculations of the Oxford Professor of Comparative Philology, though somewhat one-sided in their development, are too valuable to be dismissed with the perfunctory notice which is all they receive

from the author of *Juventus Mundi*. Even this, however, is an advance upon *Studies on Homer*. There, all comparative mythology was repudiated to make room for the hypothesis of primeval revelation, presented in a form which implied that all the descendants of Noah had a traditional knowledge of the abstraction from Christianity known in the eighteenth century as Natural Religion, and that some favoured descendants of Japhet had also a traditional knowledge of the mysteries of the Trinity and the Incarnation. This assumption made it necessary to explain all false religions either by the gradual degradation of the one primeval faith or by downright wilful invention. The theory was worked out with so much graceful fervour, and so much reverent ingenuity, that it would have commanded wide acceptance if put forward fifteen or twenty years earlier. As it was, the general theory of the origin of false religions, which its author has silently discarded, only served as scaffolding to another hypothesis, to which he still attaches special value. But the discarded theory has always hindered Mr. Gladstone from appreciating the only school of scientific mythology in England, and from following what has been done in Germany since the days of Ottfried Müller. It is true, we are told parenthetically, that, according to Professor Max Müller, the Charites are the same as the Harits, and that Erinus is the same as Saranyu; but we are never told that the Dioskouroi are the same as the Açvins. Yet this identification is more generally accepted, more interesting in itself, and more important for the interpretation of Homer, than those which Mr. Gladstone cites. If the Dioskouroi of later tradition are purely mythical creations, embodying the double twilight of dusk and dawn, the sons of Leda and their sister can scarcely belong to purely human legend. It is a subject quite open to discussion, whether the Homeric version of the story represents the gods of one tribe passing into the heroes of another, or the activity of popular belief beginning to invest historical princes with mythical and elemental attributes. A commentator of Homer is free to decide the question either way—to lean to the text of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, or to the traditions embodied in the cultus of Amuklai and Therapne—but not to ignore the question altogether. Again, there is much to be said for and against the view that the Homeric Hermes is identical with the Vedic Sarameyas, and that they both mean the morning wind. The view may very possibly be untrue; but, if it is true, it would be a strong additional reason for accepting the obvious etymology of Leto. This



etymology bears directly on a favourite theory of Mr. Gladstone's; and therefore he was bound to dispose of it exhaustively. In order to prove that Leto is the mystical Woman, the mother of the Promised Seed, it is necessary to prove that she is not night, and that the Hermes of the theomachy is not the morning wind, powerless to dispel her darkness.

Readers of *Studies on Homer* will be prepared to find that Apollo and Athene are still the central figures of the Pantheon in *Juventus Mundi*. Though the Preface to the latter work states that the author has "endeavoured to avoid a certain crudity of expression in some sections of the 'Olympos,'" which led to misapprehension of his meaning, there is no substantial change in his conception of either. Apollo is still a reminiscence of the Seed of the Woman, the Son of the Father. Athene is still an attempt to embody a tradition of the Uncreated Wisdom, the Eternal Word. This time the expression of this surprising theory is faultless; it was never very faulty. The evidence in its favour is collected with the author's usual care, and arranged with his usual clearness. The necessary assumptions are stated with perfect simplicity and modesty. There is not the slightest tendency to make earnestness or strength of feeling do the work of argument. Mr. Gladstone advocates his Messianic theories without any dogmatic arrogance; and, when unfounded theories are put forward reasonably, there is no need to regret the cost of their construction and demolition. It is certainly extremely singular that two Homeric deities have exactly the attributes which they ought to have had if a traditional knowledge of the two natures of the Incarnate Word had reached the author of the Homeric poems. But these attributes admit another and an easier explanation; and they are not sufficiently decisive to warrant the inference, which is really indispensable to the theory, that the Greeks on this subject had received a much larger deposit of tradition, and preserved it much more faithfully, than the Jews. The whole theory about Athene might have been given up when the author found that he had to lay as much stress upon the Book of Wisdom as upon the Proverbs of Solomon. There is no reason to think that the theosophy of the earlier work represents any primitive tradition. If that of the later work is to be said to represent any tradition at all, it is only the esoteric one of a comparatively recent school. The theological value of such a tradition may be high: its historical value is null. It is rather worse to quote the Book of Wisdom

for the primitive belief of the Jews than to quote the *Timæus* for the primitive belief of the Greeks. About Apollo, the author has almost a plausible case. This time, the Jewish form of the tradition is really traditional. Instead of being later than Plato, it is older than Solomon; and the coincidence is certainly very striking. The promised deliverer, the conqueror of the dragon, is an ideal which meets so many desires, that, when the promise which belonged to all the race was forgotten, it is not strange that the ideal should have been reconstructed in Greece. Professor Curtius has shown that the worship of Apollo spread after the age of Homer, because it favoured the spiritual elevation of the nation, and corresponded to its spiritual needs. As the promise given in Genesis exercised no appreciable influence upon the development of the Messianic idea among the people chosen to preserve it, and as it was forgotten in Greece, it is superfluous to credit the Greeks with an obscure remembrance of an object which they were perfectly capable of imagining. Besides, Apollo is certainly the sun; his constant epithets, bright, far-darting, silverbow, are quite decisive even by themselves; and Mr. Gladstone knows Homer far too well to insist on the superficial objection that the Homeric system contains another personification of the sun, which maintained a sort of shadowy separate existence till the fifth century B.C., when a taste for rationalism made it possible to blend the two conceptions on terms of something like equality. As the sun, Apollo is pure; he abolishes pollution as the sun abolishes the vapours of darkness. As the sun is the revelation of heaven, Apollo is the revelation of Zeus. As there can be no contradiction between the bright sun and the brightness of heaven, so Apollo is always obedient to his father, and the willing instrument of his purposes. As the black, rent storm-cloud is the expression of the wrath of Heaven, so when the sun in his strength looks forth from behind its blackness, it is the expression of his anger too. Hence Apollo is armed with the Aegis of his father. He is the Angel of Death, to borrow Mr. Gladstone's application of a beautiful phrase, because a sunstroke seems the type of mysterious and happy decease. All the attributes relied on to establish the Messianic character of Apollo really tend more or less directly to confirm his solar character, already established by attributes which have no meaning on the Messianic hypothesis, and are too familiar to the author to attract his attention as they deserve.

It is easy to say what Apollo is: it is



easy to say what Athene is not. She is not the Shechinah, she is not the Eternal Word. It is doubtful whether she is the Dawn, or the Queen of the Air. If the identification of Athene with Ahana were certain, and if Ahana were demonstrably the Dawn, of course the former view would be sufficiently proved. But the Homeric Athene bears in herself no trace of any character which indicates that she is the Dawn; and her prerogative of the Aegis tells the other way, unless we could insist on the view which explains Medusa of Night. Again, the rosy-fingered Eos can scarcely be the same as the clear-eyed goddess whose eyes are between grey and blue; the conceptions are disparate, if not quite incompatible. It would be decidedly simpler, so far as Homer goes, to regard Athene simply as a female reflection of Zeus, the brightness of his glory, the express image of his person. It is natural that she should be his daughter rather than his bride, for she is too magnificent to be relegated to a secondary rank; and in the Homeric Pantheon, the fruitful Earth of Argos is the undisputed Queen of Zeus, while the marriage of Heaven and Earth is itself too august to be thrown into the shade. Accordingly, Athene is born of her father without mother (which is itself suggestive,—Why should not the Dawn, like the Sun, be the child of Night?), and Here is queen without a rival. Her ethical and ideal superiority to her father is even more unmistakable than Apollo's; and its explanation is the same. The parts are purer than the whole, because the whole is greater than its parts. The sensuality and caprice of Zeus are the simple results of his anthropomorphic omnipotence. All manner of persons and things were naturally conceived as children of Heaven; but they could not all be conceived as children of the Earth, of Argos. So when Heaven came to be conceived as a king who lived in a palace on the top of a mountain, among "the gold clouds metropolitan," he became famous for the variety of his amours, and incurred the risk of telling one personification of Earth that he preferred her to several others. Then whatever happened was the will of Heaven; and much that happened was foolish and wrong. In those days men had not imagined either the growing multitude of secondary causes on which we discharge the responsibility of Providence, or the coarser expedient of an impersonal Fate. So the Zeus of Homer pays the full penalty of his omnipotence, in his visible self-indulgence and indecision, and his ineffectual and unmerited goodwill to losing causes. The partial functions of the Heaven, the Sun which

is the organ of its brightness, the clear radiance whether of noon or dawn, are capable of being more perfectly idealized, because they are partial, and possess the remoteness and the unity which are favourable to dignity. This is the reason why Apollo and Athene are so detached and immaterial, and yet are able to exercise the most intimate spiritual influence on the lower world, with which they have no sensible or degrading contact.

If it is necessary sometimes to differ from Mr. Gladstone's views of the rest of the Pantheon, the difference does not extend to first principles. Perhaps the most questionable point is his treatment of the theomachy, which he examines as seriously, and quotes as confidently, as if it stood on a level with the Catalogue of the Ships. Now the theomachy, in its present form, is simply a scenic display, magnificent as a whole but rather tasteless in its parts, which serves to adorn and delay the final triumph of Achilles. No part of the poems bears more traces of arbitrary invention, unless we suppose that solar myths have gathered round the legend of the Trojan war; even this leaves room for the interpretation of frigid rationalists, that the triumph of the Greeks was retarded by storms and floods. There is also a tendency to push the theory of conflicting races and successive worships rather far. There is some plausibility in the conjecture that each member of the ruling triad—Zeus, Poseidon, and Aidoneus—was originally the supreme god of some element of the Greek nation. Though the tripartite division of visible nature might easily establish such a division of the supremacy among the anthropomorphic deities of Olympus, it would not be quite an adequate explanation of the title of Infernal Zeus not unfrequently given to Aidoneus, or of the practical supremacy of Poseidon in the sphere of the outer geography. It is not merely that the Sea-god can do what he wills with a seafaring man, but that where a minstrel in Scherie has to describe an assembly of the gods he represents Poseidon taking the lead, as a matter of course, without thinking it necessary to account for the absence of Zeus. The presumption that arises from these circumstances is hardly strengthened by Poseidon's rhetorical assertion of equality in the fifteenth *Iliad*, or by a very euphemistic statement in a late geographer, that Pluto was once king of the Molossians. Of course this last is connected with the backwardness of the Pelasgians, who, it is suggested, may at one time have been incapable of any higher conception than a deification of earth; for, in accordance with the general scheme of the



ethnology, Mr. Gladstone supposes a Pelasgian nature-worship, superseded by an Hellenic anthropomorphism. The supreme god of the general Pelasgian system was, it is assumed, Okeanos, from whom, even in Homer, is the generation of the gods, though Zeus is their father. No attempt is made in *Studies on Homer* or in *Juventus Mundi* to find a place in Homer's system for Hesiod's golden age under the presidency of Kronos. The author very wisely takes Homer's Titans simply as he finds them, as rebels against the order of Olympus, and does not try to make them the dethroned rulers of a happier world, because their leader is represented as the father of the reigning sovereign. Their rebellion may or may not be an echo of the rebellion of the angels, or the war in heaven, or the tower of Babel; probably it is none of them, being simply a rude way of expressing a belief that order has to be brought out of confusion. But Mr. Gladstone is justified in proclaiming by his eloquent silence that it is not an obscure reminiscence of the worship of a conquered race. If so, may not the conception of Okeanos be found in the same way, by working backwards from the existing order? The Titans no doubt are in bondage and darkness: Okeanos is in honour and peace. But this is only because the Titans represent the wild forces, which are bridled by the order of the world, and Okeanos represents the calm element out of which that order arose. The same considerations make it difficult to accept a canon to which Mr. Gladstone attaches considerable importance—that whenever we hear of the birth or infancy of a deity that deity was only recently introduced into Greece. When cosmical phenomena, as the production of a natural force, were conceived under the form of the infancy of a deity, it was a necessary result of anthropomorphism that they should be thrown back into the past, and that the ordinary conception of the deity should represent him in his maturity. We hear of the infancy of Dionysos, because the vintage cannot be conceived without a beginning. If we are to regard him as an imported deity, it is because his orgies are always connected, through the whole of antiquity, with Thrace, and because, as Mr. Gladstone observes, the Greeks proper were familiar with the rational use of wine. If Hephaistos is Phœnician, it is not because we read of his being cast down from heaven, and nursed in a sea-cave, but because his worship centres at places where we seem to trace Phœnician settlements.

On the general question, if there is reason to think that the difference between Pelasgians and Hellenes was a difference of stage

and not of race, it will be unreasonable to draw a sharp line of division between their religious tendencies. For instance, the goddesses which Mr. Gladstone designates Hellenic are chaste, because they are so completely anthropomorphic that what is offensive in a woman is offensive in them. But the amour of Demeter and Iasion does not prove that she was a goddess of a sensual race: the legend is only a naïve way of expressing the bounty of the earth when she yields herself to tillage. We seem, but only seem, to be on surer ground in contrasting parallel deities, Gaia and Here, Apollo and Helios, Poseidon and Nereus. Here indeed is a much more developed personification than Gaia; and the points of similarity and contrast are worked out in *Juventus Mundi* with a patient ingenuity and sober originality that could not but lead to a valuable result. But it adds nothing to our knowledge, or to the force of the argument, to surmise that Here is Hellenic and Gaia is Pelasgic. Here is a pre-eminently local deity in Homer; she is the goddess of the Argive plain, where she appears, as we learn from Plato (*Rep. Lib. ii.*) as a priestess gathering "alms for the life-giving children of Inachos, river of Argos." In the Argonautic legends, which have come to us through later channels, she appears as the familiar spirit of the Ionian, or half Ionian, Minuiai. Now, in Mr. Gladstone's terminology, the Danaans certainly, and probably the Minuans, would figure as pre-Hellenic. How then can they be favourites of an Hellenic goddess? Again, it suits his argument to dwell upon the strong possibility that, in the ordinary worship of Troy, Helios had the same place as Apollo in the ordinary worship of Greece. As Helios is elemental, and Apollo anthropomorphic, it is tempting to infer that Apollo is Hellenic, and Helios Pelasgic. Unfortunately the cultus of Apollo centres at Parnassos and at De'os. At Parnassos he is surrounded by the Muses, who are almost certainly Thracian: the worship at Delos proves to demonstration that he is not Hellenic in the technical sense. Delos is an Ionian sanctuary: before it was Ionian it was held by *Καπῆς Βαβυλωνίους*. Whether Apollo is Thracian, Karian, or Ionian, he is not Hellenic.

Poseidon forms the subject of a much more elaborate theory; indeed, the theory is so elaborate that its author regards it as certain. He starts with the fact that Poseidon overshadows Nereus, who, it is assumed, was the national water-god, because water in modern Greek is *nero* (it is nowhere assumed that Charon was once the national god of Death, superseded by Hades



and Persephone). Then the reasons already discussed are given for thinking that Poseidon was the supreme god of whatever race introduced his worship. It is shown that he was connected with far-off races in strange lands which the author supposes were accessible to the Phœnicians alone; and unquestionably some of these races, like the Phaiakes and the fairy family of Aiolos, have a strong Phœnician character, apart from their origin. There are strong, if not decisive, reasons for connecting the legendary Aiolid houses both with Poseidon and Phœnicia. Lastly, we read of the Carthaginians sacrificing to Poseidon in historical times. From all this it is inferred that Poseidon was the supreme Phœnician deity, whom the Phœnician settlers, Aiolid and others, brought with them to Greece, and maintained as a member of the supreme triad, though they were compelled to admit the primacy of Zeus. As the horse certainly seems to have come into Greece with Poseidon, and as the Phaiakes were accomplished dancers, it is further inferred that public games were introduced into Greece by the Phœnicians, as a part of the worship of Poseidon. No serious evidence is brought forward that Poseidon was worshipped in Phœnicia. The Greek authors who speak of the Carthaginians as worshipping Poseidon do not give his Phœnician title: so we cannot say if the identification is correct. The practice of the Carthaginians in the fifth century could in no case prove the Phœnician origin of an Homeric deity. The Carthaginians were quite capable of sacrificing to a Greek sea-god when about to attack Greeks over sea. The Greeks were quite capable of turning the Melkarth of Carthage into Poseidon; they had turned the Melkarth of Thebes into a sea-god already, under the name of Melikertes. Now, we know that Poseidon was the national god of the Ionians of Aigialos, who worshipped him at Helike; we know also that he was very near being the national god of the Ionians of Attica. Is it necessary to go any further? The Aiolid houses appear chiefly on the extremities of Ionian territory; Scherie and the Kuklopes are to be sought beyond the Ionian Sea. All we know of the Ionians suggests a maritime people, to whom noble foreign houses and powerful foreign races would naturally present themselves as children of the sea.

Mr. Gladstone's general account of the Olympian system is the most valuable part of the section he gives to mythology, except perhaps the felicitous identification of Here. If it does not add very much to our knowledge, it throws a new light upon knowledge

in a way that was not unneeded. It has almost been forgotten what a unique and wonderful creation the Homeric Pantheon really is. Other mythologies have been more profound, and have embodied higher conceptions; but they have all been confused and obscure, and there is not one among them, not even the religion of Walhalla that attains the intelligible forms, the fair humanities, of Olympus. They retain too many traces of their origin: their gods are always beginning. Homer's began once for all; and thenceforward they are complete and unchangeable together. They serve not as cumbrous symbols of the life of the world, but as a glorious mirror of the better life of man. They have all things men live for: they need none of the things men live by. Their inferiority to those they rule shows no corruption in the imagination which created them, and bowed before its own creation. Being made in the image of man, they could not be made nobler or purer, if duty and danger and effort were to be suppressed from their lives of perfect ease. When we compare the human polity of the Olympus of Homer with the dreary genealogies of Hesiod, who belongs to an ancient though a later period, it seems difficult to refer the contrast entirely to the different character of the poets. If it cannot be admitted that Homer founded the Greek religion, neither can it be denied that the Homeric poems mark a decisive, perhaps the decisive, step in its transformation from a cosmogony to a mythology. The author has not exaggerated the moral influence of the Homeric religion; but he is rather unfair to the ordinary piety of later Greece, when he calls it superstition, because it was ridiculed. The general absence of a priesthood in Homer, and its occasional appearance, is noticed with the tentative explanation that probably the Pelasgians easily yielded to priestcraft, and that *ἱερός* is probably connected with *ῥέπου*, which leaves *ἱερός* unexplained. Perhaps the Homeric priest is simply the worshipper of a strange god, whose neighbours desire to take part in the benefits of his worship. His commonest name is *ἀπότης*, which means the prayer to such and such a god, and comes nearer to "worshipper" or "servant" than to priest; and this notion would agree very well with the tradition which assigned a Thracian origin to the great priestly family of Eleusis, the Eumolpidae. It would be interesting if the most famous mysteries of the ancient world could be traced to the curiosity of the Ionians to witness the wild ceremonies of the Thracian harvest-home.

Neither extract nor abridgment could do



anything like justice to the rich contents of Mr. Gladstone's five chapters on Homeric ethics and polity. There are few things better of the kind in English literature; on the special subject there is nothing so good. The author's only material defect is, that his perception of the youth and rudeness of Homeric society is sometimes obscured by his perception of its real and precocious refinement. He speaks as if Paris when he built his own house, and Odysseus when he wrought his own bed, displayed something of the eccentric enterprise of Hippias when he made his own dress and jewels, and of Peter the Great when he worked in a dock-yard. The division of labour had not been carried so far in a society that was still essentially predatory, where the chief perhaps inherited house and land, but had to stock both himself, and the son inherited no goods but the booty of the father (*Od.* i. 398). The most conclusive proof that the moral delicacy of Homeric society was a recent conquest, is to be found in the short genealogies, which all end with a woman and a god. It is much more probable that these legends are relics of an earlier condition of polyandry than that they were conventional courtesies invented to screen the involuntary dishonour of high-born women.

The section which was called *Aoidos* in its original form has been retrenched with a severity not always beneficial. It was well, indeed, to omit the detailed polemic against Mr. Grote's arbitrary hypothesis of an *Iliad* expanded out of an *Achilleid*; and Mr. Gladstone's own theory, that Homer conceived colours rather as degrees than as kinds of light, gains upon the whole by the removal of its scaffolding. It would have been better if this scaffolding had been replaced by some illustrations from the deliberate, scientific arrangements of Aristotle and Goethe, which proceed on the same mistaken principle. Aristotle's authority would have shown that Homer's classification was natural to a Greek; and Goethe's, that it was attractive to a poet. But it is very decidedly to be regretted that Mr. Gladstone has excluded the charming pages in which he traced the fortune of Homer's creations in later literature; and the analysis of the characters themselves suffers grievously by compression. The author becomes cold and formal, and writes as if he had a definite list of qualities to get through. The only character which seems more accurately appreciated in the new form of the work is Diomed. The business-like element that mingles itself with his unmistakable gallantry has forced itself on Mr. Gladstone's notice. This shows itself alike in

his practical submission to Agamemnon's unpractical rebuke, in the fourth book, and in his eagerness to deprecate any offence being taken at his constitutional protest against Agamemnon's poltroonery, in the ninth. It shows itself not only in the adroit exchange of armour with Glaucus, which Mr. Gladstone evidently suspects of shabbiness, but in his anxiety to secure the horses of all the champions whom he overcomes. Hector and Paris, on the other hand, not only become comparatively lifeless under the process of abridgment, but the representation of them in the earlier work, which was already too severe, is inevitably exaggerated and distorted by the omission of details. No reader of Homer ever carried away the impression that Sarpedon was a better man than Hector, or that he did the fighting and Hector did the hectoring; yet this is almost the impression Mr. Gladstone leaves—perhaps it is not far from the impression he intended to leave. It is quite true that our interest in Sarpedon depends upon the satisfactory perfection with which he performs his part; but then his part is limited. The part of Hector would require a character vaster than the character of Achilles to perform it as perfectly; and accordingly our interest in Hector depends on his pathetic and heroic consciousness of failure. Nevertheless, in the *mêlée* and the rout, which after all were the most important parts of the battle, he was inferior to no Greek warrior but Achilles. It was their recollection of his terrible success in the *mêlée* that made the most valiant chieftains shrink for a moment from his challenge to single combat, where several of them were his superiors. In the Homeric period a man was a great warrior when his rush was as often irresistible as Hector's, even if he was easily baffled by gallant and obstinate resistance. Even Paris, though doubtless odious, is not quite so odious as Mr. Gladstone represents him: he is really, after Polydamas, the most reasonable and judicious person on the Trojan side. As his interests are separate from those of Troy, his prudence is even less profitable to his country; but it is real, and creditable in a sense. He knows exactly how much blame he must bear for the ebb and flow of his courage, and how much he may concede for the chance of buying off the Greeks: at the same time he knows how to hold his own, and to snub Hector upon occasion, in a style which is certainly calculated to prevent a repetition of the offence. His self-knowledge in fact is as unflinching as Helen's: only her self-knowledge is an instrument of self-abasement, his of self-defence. Perhaps it was not to be expected



that an author who was the first to appreciate the unworldly delicacy of Homer's portraiture of Argive Helen, should have done equal justice to the light fortitude, the easy Stoicism, the not ungentle determination, of her tempter and her master.

Mr. Gladstone tells us in his preface that he has not yet taken leave of Homer: he has undertaken an analysis of the contents of the poems, which is to be arranged in the most accessible form, resembling that of a dictionary. There are few writers who would find so much toil anything else than drudgery, even when applied to Homer; and it is to be regretted that a task which cannot be executed without trenching on most precious leisure, is not likely to be forestalled by other hands. But the work cannot fail to be valuable. Not only will it 'help to give an idea of Homer's power, by showing some part of the copious materials with which he executed his great synthesis, the first and also the best composition of an Age, the most perfect 'form and body of a time,' that ever has been achieved by the hand of man;' but if it vindicates the soundness and accuracy of the author's general method, it will secure the stability of more than one original view at present compromised by the speculations that surround it—speculations which are too plainly the fruit of eager ingenuity, uncontrolled by the *communis sensus* of those who have mastered the few data yet attainable upon such subjects.

#### ART. II.—THE MASSACRE OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW.

THE way in which Coligny and his adherents met their death has been handed down by a crowd of trustworthy witnesses; and few things in history are known in more exact detail. But the origin and motives of the tragedy, and the manner of its reception by the opinion of Christian Europe, are still subject to controversy. Some of the evidence has been difficult of access; part is lost; and much has been deliberately destroyed. No letters written from Paris at the time have been found in the Austrian archives. In the correspondence of thirteen agents of the House of Este at the court of Rome, every paper relating to the event has disappeared. All the documents of 1572, both from Rome and Paris, are wanting in the archives of Venice. In the Registers of many French towns, the leaves which contained the records of August and September in that year have been torn out.

The first reports sent to England by Walsingham and by the French Government have not been recovered. Three accounts printed at Rome when the facts were new speedily became so rare that they have been forgotten. The Bull of Gregory XIII. was not admitted into the official collections, and the reply to Muretus has escaped notice until now. The letters of Charles IX. to Rome, with the important exception of that which he wrote on the 24th of August, have been dispersed and lost. The letters of Gregory XIII. to France have never been seen by persons willing to make them public. In the absence of these documents the most authentic information is that which is supplied by the French ambassador and by the Nuncio. The despatches of Ferras, describing the attitude of the Roman court, are extant, but have not been used. Those of Salviati have long been known. Chateaubriand took a copy when the papal archives were at Paris, and projected a work on the events with which they are concerned. Some extracts were published, with his consent, by the continuator of Mackintosh; and a larger selection, from the originals in the Vatican, appeared in Theiner's *Annals of Gregory XIII.* The letters written under Pius V. are beyond the limits of that work; and Theiner moreover has omitted whatever seemed irrelevant to his purpose. The criterion of relevancy is uncertain; and we shall avail ourselves largely of the unpublished portions of Salviati's correspondence which were transcribed by Chateaubriand. These manuscripts, with others of equal importance not previously consulted, determine several doubtful questions of policy and design.

The Protestants never occupied a more triumphant position, and their prospects were never brighter, than in the summer of 1572. For many years the progress of their religion had been incessant. The most valuable of the conquests it has retained were already made; and the period of its reverses had not begun. The great division which aided Catholicism afterwards to recover so much lost ground was not openly confessed; and the effectual unity of the Reformed Churches was not yet dissolved. In controversial theology the defence was weaker than the attack. The works to which the Reformation owed its popularity and system were in the hands of thousands, while the best authors of the Catholic restoration had not begun to write. The press continued to serve the new opinions better than the old; and in literature Protestantism was supreme. Persecuted in the South,



and established by violence in the North, it had overcome the resistance of princes in Central Europe, and had won toleration without ceasing to be intolerant. In France and Poland, in the dominions of the Emperor and under the German prelates, the attempt to arrest its advance by physical force had been abandoned. In Germany it covered twice the area that remained to it in the next generation, and, except in Bavaria, Catholicism was fast dying out. The Polish Government had not strength to persecute; and Poland became the refuge of the sects. When the bishops found that they could not prevent toleration, they resolved that they would not restrict it. Trusting to the maxim "*Bellum Hæreticorum pax est Ecclesiæ*," they insisted that liberty should extend to those whom the Reformers would have exterminated.\* The Polish Protestants, in spite of their dissensions, formed themselves into one great party. When the death of the last of the Jagellons, on the 7th of July 1572, made the monarchy elective, they were strong enough to enforce their conditions on the candidates; and it was thought that they would be able to decide the election, and obtain a King of their own choosing. Alva's reign of terror had failed to pacify the Low Countries; and he was about to resign the hopeless task to an incapable successor. The taking of the Brill in April was the first of those maritime victories which led to the independence of the Dutch. Mons fell in May; and in July the important province of Holland declared for the Prince of Orange. The Catholics believed that all was lost if Alva remained in command †

The decisive struggle was in France. During the minority of Charles ix. persecution had given way to civil war, and the Regent, his mother, had vainly striven, by submitting to neither party, to uphold the authority of the crown. She checked the victorious Catholics, by granting to the Huguenots terms which constituted them, in spite of continual disaster in the field, a vast and organized power in the State. To escape their influence it would have been necessary to invoke the help of Philip ii., and to accept protection which would have made France subordinate to Spain. Philip laboured to establish such an alliance; and it was to promote this scheme that he sent his queen, Elizabeth of Valois, to meet her mo-

ther at Bayonne. In 1568, Elizabeth died; and a rumour came to Catherine touching the manner of her death, which made it hard to listen to friendly overtures from her husband. Antonio Perez, at that time an unscrupulous instrument of his master's will, afterwards accused him of having poisoned his wife. "*On parle fort sinistrement de sa mort, pour avoir été avancée*," says Brantôme. After the massacre of the Protestants, the ambassador at Venice, a man distinguished as a jurist and a statesman, reproached Catherine with having thrown France into the hands of him in whom the world recognised her daughter's murderer. Catherine did not deny the truth of the report. She replied that she was bound to think of her sons in preference to her daughters, that the foul play was not fully proved, and that if it were it could not be avenged so long as France was weakened by religious discord.\* She wrote as she could not have written if she had been convinced that the suspicion was unjust.

When Charles ix. began to be his own master he seemed resolved to follow his father and grandfather in their hostility to the Spanish power. He wrote to a trusted servant that all his thoughts were bent on thwarting Philip.† While the Christian navies were fighting at Lepanto, the King of France was treating with the Turks. His menacing attitude in the following year kept Don Juan in Sicilian waters, and made his victory barren for Christendom. Encouraged by French protection, Venice withdrew from the League. Even in Corsica there was a movement which men interpreted as a prelude to the storm that France was raising against the empire of Spain. Rome trembled in expectation of a Huguenot invasion of Italy. For Charles was active in conciliating the Protestants both abroad and at home. He married a daughter of the

\* Quant à ce qui me touche à moy en particulier, oncques que j'ayme uniquement tous mes enfans, je veulx préférer, comme il est bien raysonnable, les filz aux filles; et pour le regard de ce que me mandez de celluy qui a faict mourir ma fille, c'est chose que l'on ne tient point pour certaine, et où elle le seroit, le roy monsieur mondit filz n'en pouvoit faire la vengeance en l'estat que son royaume estoit lors; mais à présent qu'il est tout uni, il aura assez de moien et de forces pour sen ressentir quant l'occasion s'en présentera (Catherine to Du Ferrier, Oct. 1, 1572; Bib. Imp. F. Fr. 15,555). The despatches of Fourquevaux from Madrid, published by the Marquis Du Prat in the *Histoire d'Elizabeth de Valois*, do not confirm the rumour.

† Toutes mes fantaisies sont bandées pour m'opposer à la grandeur des Espagnols, et délibère m'y conduire le plus dextrement qu'il me sera possible (Charles ix. to Noailles, May 11, 1572; *Noailles, Henri de Valois*, i. 8).

\* Satiùs fore ducebam, si minus profligari possent omnes, ut ferrentur omnes, quo mordentes et comedentes invicem, consumerentur ab invicem (Hosius to Karnowsky, Feb. 26, 1568).

† The Secretary of Medina Celi to Cayas, June 24, 1572 (*Correspondance de Philippe II.*, ii. 264).



tolerant Emperor Maximilian II.; and he carried on negotiations for the marriage of his brother with Queen Elizabeth, not with any hope of success, but in order to impress public opinion.\* He made treaties of alliance, in quick succession, with England, with the German Protestants, and with the Prince of Orange. He determined that his brother Anjou, the champion of the Catholics, of whom it was said that he had vowed to root out the Protestants to a man,† should be banished to the throne of Poland. Disregarding the threats and entreaties of the Pope, he gave his sister in marriage to Navarre. By the peace of St. Germain the Huguenots had secured, within certain limits, freedom from persecution, and the liberty of persecuting; so that Pius v. declared that France had been made the slave of heretics. Coligny was now the most powerful man in the kingdom. His scheme for closing the civil wars by an expedition for the conquest of the Netherlands began to be put in motion. French auxiliaries followed Lewis of Nassau into Mons; an army of Huguenots had already gone to his assistance; another was being collected near the frontier; and Coligny was preparing to take the command in a war which might become a Protestant crusade, and which left the Catholics no hope of victory. Meanwhile many hundreds of his officers followed him to Paris, to attend the wedding which was to reconcile the factions, and cement the peace of religion.

In the midst of these lofty designs and hopes, Coligny was struck down. On the morning of the 22d of August he was shot at and badly wounded. Two days later he was killed; and a general attack was made on the Huguenots of Paris. It lasted some weeks, and was imitated in about twenty places. The chief provincial towns of France were among them.

Judged by its immediate result, the massacre of St. Bartholomew was a measure weakly planned and irresolutely executed, which deprived Protestantism of its political leaders, and left it for a time to the control of zealots. There is no evidence to make it probable that more than seven thousand victims perished. Judged by later events, it was the beginning of a vast change in the

conflict of the churches. At first it was believed that a hundred thousand Huguenots had fallen. It was said that the survivors were abjuring by thousands,\* that the children of the slain were made Catholics, that those whom the priests had admitted to absolution and communion were nevertheless put to death.† Men who were far beyond the reach of the French Government lost their faith in a religion which Providence had visited with so tremendous a judgment; and foreign princes took heart to employ severities which could excite no horror after the scenes in France.

Contemporaries were persuaded that the Huguenots had been flattered and their policy adopted only for their destruction, and that the murder of Coligny and his followers was a long premeditated crime. Catholics and Protestants vied with each other in detecting proofs of that which they variously esteemed a sign of supernatural inspiration or of diabolical depravity. In the last forty years a different opinion has prevailed. It has been deemed more probable, more consistent with testimony and with the position of affairs at the time, that Coligny succeeded in acquiring extraordinary influence over the mind of Charles, that his advice really predominated, and that the sanguinary resolution was suddenly embraced by his adversaries as the last means of regaining power. This opinion is made plausible by many facts. It is supported by several writers who were then living, and by the document known as the Confession of Anjou. The best authorities of the present day are nearly unanimous in rejecting premeditation.

The evidence on the opposite side is stronger than they suppose.

The doom which awaited the Huguenots had been long expected and often foretold. People at a distance, Monluc in Languedoc and the Protestant Mylius in Italy, drew the same inference from the news that came from the court. Strangers meeting on the road discussed the infatuation of the Admiral.‡ Letters brought from Rome to the

\* In reliqua Gallia fuit et est incredibilis defectus, quæ tamen usque adeo non pacavit immanes feræ, ut etiam eos qui defecerunt (qui pene sunt innumerabiles) semel ad internecionem una cum integris familiis trucidare prorsus decreverint (Beza, D. 3, 1572; *Ill. vir. Epp. Sel.* 621, 1617).

† Languet to the Duke of Saxony, Nov. 30, 1572 (*Arçana*, sec. xvi. 183).

‡ Vidi et cum dolore intellexi laniam illam Gallicam perfidiasimam et atrocissimam plurimos per Germaniam ita offendisse, ut jam etiam de veritate nostræ Religionis et doctrinæ dubitare inciperent (Bullinger to Wittgenstein, Feb. 23, 1573; *Fr. Länder, Beiträge zur Rel. Gesch.* 254).

§ De Thou, *Mémoires*, 9.

\* Il fault, et je vous prie ne faillir, quand bien il seroit du tout rompu, et que verriés qu'il n'y auroit nulle espérance, de trouver moyen d'en entretenir toujours doucement le propos, d'ici à quelque temps; car cella ne peut que bien servir à establir mes affaires et aussy pour ma réputation (Charles ix. to La Mothe, Aug. 9, 1572; *Corr. de La Mothe*, vii. 311).

† This is stated both by his mother and by the Cardinal of Lorraine (*Michalet, La Ligue*, 26).



Emperor the significant intimation that the birds were all caged, and now was the time to lay hands on them.\* Duplessis-Mornay, the future chief of the Huguenots, was so much oppressed with a sense of coming evil, that he hardly ventured into the streets on the wedding-day. He warned the Admiral of the general belief among their friends that the marriage concealed a plot for their ruin, and that the festivities would end in some horrible surprise.† Coligny was proof against suspicion. Several of his followers left Paris, but he remained unmoved. At one moment the excessive readiness to grant all his requests shook the confidence of his son-in-law Téligny; but the doubt vanished so completely that Téligny himself prevented the flight of his partisans after the attempt on the Admiral's life. On the morning of the fatal day, Montgomery sent word to Walsingham that Coligny was safe under protection of the King's guards, and that no further stir was to be apprehended ‡

For many years foreign advisers had urged Catherine to make away with these men. At first it was computed that half a dozen victims would be enough.§ That was the original estimate of Alva, at Bayonne.¶ When the Duke of Ferrara was in France, in 1564, he proposed a larger measure; and he repeated this advice by the mouth of every agent whom he sent to France.¶ After the event, both Alva and Alfonso reminded Catherine that she had done no more than follow their advice.\*¹ Alva's letter explicitly confirms the popular notion

\* Il me dist qu'on luy avoist escript de Rome, n'avoit que trois semaines ou environ, sur le propos des noces du roy de Navarre en ces propres termes; Que à ceste heure que tous les oiseaux estoient en cage, on les pouvoit prendre tous ensemble (Vulcob to Charles ix., September 26, 1572; *Noailles*, iii. 214).

† *Mémoires de Duplessis-Mornay*, i. 38; *Ambert, Duplessis-Mornay*, 38.

‡ *Digges, Complete Ambassador*, 276, 255.

§ *Correr, Relazione; Tommaso*, ii. 116.

¶ He said to Catherine: Que quando quisiesen usar de otro y averlo, con no mas personas que con cinco o seys que son el cabo de todo esto, los tomasen a su mano y les cortasen las cabeças (Alva to Philip ii., June 21, 1565; *Papiers de Granvelle*, ix. 298).

¶ Ci ralleghiamo con la Maestà sua con tutto l'affetto dell' animo, ch' ella habbia presa quella resolutione così opportunamente sopra la quale noi stesso l'ultima volta che fummo in Francia parlammo con la Regina Madre. . . . Dipoi per diversi gentilhuomini che in varie occorrenze habbiamo mandato in corte siamo instati nel suddetto ricordo (Alfonso ii. to Fogliani, Sept. 13, 1572; *Modena Archives*).

\*¹ Muchas vezes me ha accordado de aver dicho a Su Mag. esto mismo en Bayona, y de lo que mi ofrecio, y veo que ha muy bien desempeñado su palabra (Alva to Zuñiga, Sept. 9, 1572; *Coquerel, La St. Barthélemy* 12).

which connects the massacre with the conference of Bayonne; and it can no longer now be doubted that La Roche-sur-Yon, on his deathbed, informed Coligny that murderous resolutions had been taken on that occasion.\* But the Nuncio, Santa Croce, who was present, wrote to Cardinal Borromeo that the Queen had indeed promised to punish the infraction of the edict of Pacification, but that this was a very different thing from undertaking to extirpate heresy. Catherine affirmed that in this way the law could reach all the Huguenot ministers; and Alva professed to believe her.† Whatever studied ambiguity of language she may have used, the action of 1572 was uninfluenced by deliberations which were seven years old.

During the spring and summer the Tuscan agents diligently prepared their master for what was to come. Petrucci wrote on the 19th of March that, for a reason which he could not trust to paper, the marriage would certainly take place, though not until the Huguenots had delivered up their strongholds. Four weeks later Alamanni announced that the Queen's pious design for restoring unity of faith would, by the grace of God, be speedily accomplished. On the 9th of August Petrucci was able to report that the plan arranged at Bayonne was near execution.‡ Yet he was not fully initiated. The Queen afterwards assured him that she had confided the secret to no foreign resident except the Nuncio;§ and Petrucci resentfully complains that she had also consulted the ambassador of Savoy. Venice, like Florence and Savoy, was not taken by surprise. In February the ambassador Contarini explained to the Senate the specious tranquillity in France, by saying that the Government reckoned on the death of the

\* *Kluckhohn, Zur Geschichte des angeblichen Bündnisses von Bayonne* 36. 1868.

† Il signor duca di Alva . . . mi disse, che come in questo abboccamento negotio alcuno non havevano trattato, ne volevano trattare, altro che della religione, così la lor differenza era nata per questo, perchè non vedeva che la regina ci pigliasse resolutione a modo suo ne de altro, che di buone parole ben generali. . . . È stato risoluto che alla tornata in Parigi si farà una ricerca di quelli che hanno contravenuto all' editto, e si castigaranno; nel che dice S. M. che gli Ugonotti ci sono talmente compresi, che spera con questo mezzo solo cacciare i Ministri di Francia. . . . Il Signor Duca di Alva si satisfa piu di questa deliberatione di me, perchè io non trovo che serva all' estirpation dell' heresia il castigar quelli che hanno contravenuto all' editto (Santa Croce to Borromeo, Bayonne, July 1, 1565, ms.).

‡ *Desjardins, Négociations avec la Toscane*, iii. 786, 785, 802.

§ Io non ho fatto intendere cosa alcuna a nessuno principe; ho ben parlato al nunzio solo (Desp. Aug. 31; *Desjardins*, iii. 828).



Admiral or the Queen of Navarre to work a momentous change.\* Cavalli, his successor, judged that a business so grossly mismanaged showed no signs of deliberation.† There was another Venetian at Paris who was better informed. The Republic was seeking to withdraw from the league against the Turks; and her most illustrious statesman, Giovanni Michiel, was sent to solicit the help of France in negotiating peace.‡ The account which he gave of his mission has been pronounced by a consummate judge of Venetian State-papers the most valuable report of the sixteenth century.§ He was admitted almost daily to secret conferences with Anjou, Nevers, and the group of Italians on whom the chief odium rests; and there was no counsellor to whom Catherine more willingly gave ear.|| Michiel affirms that the intention had been long entertained, and that the Nuncio had been directed to reveal it privately to Pius v.¶

Salviati was related to Catherine, and had gained her good opinion as Nuncio in the year 1570. The Pope had sent him back because nobody seemed more capable of diverting her and her son from the policy which caused so much uneasiness at Rome.\* He died many years later, with the reputation of having been one of the most eminent Cardinals at a time when the Sacred College was unusually rich in talent. Personally, he had always favoured stern measures of repression. When the Countess of Entremont was married to Coligny, Salviati declared that she had made herself liable to severe penalties by entertaining proposals of marriage with so notorious a heretic, and demanded that the Duke of Savoy should, by all the means in his power, cause that wicked bride to be put out of the way.† When the peace of St. Germain was concluded, he assured Charles and Catherine that their lives were in danger, as the Huguenots were seeking to pull down the throne as well as the altar. He believed that all intercourse with them was sinful,

and that the sole remedy was utter extermination by the sword. "I am convinced," he wrote, "that it will come to this." "If they do the tenth part of what I have advised, it will be well for them."\* After an audience of two hours, at which he had presented a letter from Pius v., prophesying the wrath of Heaven, Salviati perceived that his exhortations made some impression. The King and Queen whispered to him that they hoped to make the peace yield some fruit that the end would more than countervail the badness of the beginning; and the King added, in strict confidence, that his plan was one which once told could never be executed.† This might have been said to delude the Nuncio; but he was inclined the whole to believe that it was sincerely meant. The impression was confirmed by the Archbishop of Sens, Cardinal Pellerin, who informed him that the Huguenot leaders were caressed at Court in order to detach them from their party, and that after the loss of their leaders it would not take more than three days to deal with the rest; Salviati on his return to France was made aware that his long deferred hopes were about to be fulfilled. He shadowed it forth obscurely in his despatches. He reported that the Queen allowed the Huguenots to pass into Flanders, believing that the Admiral would become more and more presumptuous until he gave her an opportunity of retribution; for she excelled in that kind of intrigue. Some days later he knew more, and wrote that he hoped soon to have good news for his Holiness.‡ At the last moment his heart misgave him. On the morning of the 21st of August the Duke of Montpensier and the Cardinal of Bourbon spoke with so much unconcern, in his presence, of what was then so near, that he thought it hardly possible the secret could be kept.‡

\* Oct. 14, 1570.

† Sept. 24, 1570.

‡ Nov. 28, 1570.

§ Quando scrissi ai giorni passati alla S. V. l'ho in cifra, che l'armiraglio s'avanzava troppo et che gli darebbero su l'unge, già mi ero accorto, che non le volevano più tollerare, et molto più mi confermai nell' opinione, quando con caratteri ordinarii gli scrivevo che speravo di dover haver occasione di dar qualche buona nova a Sua Beatitudine, benchè non havrei creduto la x. parte di quello, che al presente veggo con gli occhi (Desp. Aug. 24; *Theiner, Documenta*, i. 329).

¶ Che molti siano stati consasperati del fatto è necessario, potendogli dizer che a 21 la mattina essendo col Cardinal di Borbone et M. de Montpensier, viddi che ragionavano sì domesticamente di quello che doveva seguire, che in me medesimo restando confuso, conobbi che la pratica andava pagliarda, e piuttosto disperai di buon fine che altrimenti (same Desp.; *Mackintosh, History of England*, ii. 355).

\* *Alberi, Relazioni Venete*, xii. 250.

† *Alberi*, xii. 328.

‡ Son principal but et dessein estoit de sentir quelle espérance ilz pourroient avoir de parvenir à la paix avec le G. S. dont il s'est ouvert et a demandé ce qu'il en pouvoit espérer et attendre (Charles ix. to Du Ferrier, Sept. 28, 1572; *Charrière, Négociations dans le Levant*, iii. 310).

§ *Ranké, Französische Geschichte*, v. 76.

|| *Digges*, 258; *Cosmi, Memorie di Morosini*, 26.

¶ *Alberi*, xii. 294.

\* Mituit eo Antonium Mariam Salviatum, reginæ affinem eique pergratum, qui cam in officio continet (Cardinal of Veruelli, Comment. de Rebus Gregorii xiii.; *Ranké, Papste*, App. 85).

† Desp. Aug. 30, 1570.



The foremost of the French prelates was the Cardinal of Lorraine. He had held a prominent position at the Council of Trent; and for many years he had wielded the influence of the House of Guise over the Catholics of France. In May 1572 he went to Rome; and he was still there when the news came from Paris in September. He at once made it known that the resolution had been taken before he left France, and that it was due to himself and his nephew, the Duke of Guise.\* As the spokesman of the Gallican Church in the following year he delivered a harangue to Charles ix., in which he declared that Charles had eclipsed the glory of preceding Kings by slaying the false prophets, and especially by the holy deceit and pious dissimulation with which he had laid his plans.†

There was one man who did not get his knowledge from rumour, and who could not be deceived by lies. The King's confessor, Sorbin, afterwards bishop of Nevers, published in 1574 a narrative of the life and death of Charles ix. He bears unequivocal testimony that the element and magnanimous act, for so he terms it, was resolved upon beforehand, and he praises the secrecy as well as the justice of his hero.‡

Early in the year a mission of extraordinary solemnity had appeared in France. Pius v., who was seriously alarmed at the conduct of Charles, had sent the Cardinal of Alessandria as Legate to the Kings of Spain and Portugal, and directed him, in returning, to visit the court at Blois. The Legate was nephew to the Pope, and the man whom he most entirely trusted.§ His character stood so high that the reproach of nepotism was never raised by his promotion. Several prelates destined to future eminence attended him. His chief adviser was Hippolyto Aldobrandini, who, twenty years later, ascended the papal chair as Clement viii. The companion whose presence con-

ferred the greatest lustre on the mission was the general of the Jesuits, Francis Borgia, the holiest of the successors of Ignatius, and the most venerated of men then living. Austerities had brought him to the last stage of weakness; and he was sinking under the malady of which he was soon to die. But it was believed that the words of such a man, pleading for the Church, would sway the mind of the King. The ostensible purpose of the Legate's journey was to break off the match with Navarre, and to bring France into the Holy League. He gained neither object. When he was summoned back to Rome it was understood in France that he had reaped nothing but refusals, and that he went away disappointed.\* The jeers of the Protestants pursued him.† But it was sufficiently certain beforehand that France could not plunge into a Turkish war.‡ The real business of the Legate, besides proposing a Catholic husband for the Princess, was to ascertain the object of the expedition which was fitting out in the Western ports. On both points he had something favourable to report. In his last despatch, dated Lyons, the 6th of March, he wrote that he had failed to prevent the engagement with Navarre, but that he had something for the Pope's private ear, which made his journey not altogether unprofitable.§ The secret was soon divulged in Italy. The King had met the earnest remonstrances of the Legate by assuring him that the marriage afforded the only prospect of wreaking vengeance on the Huguenots: the event would show; he could say no more, but desired his promise to be carried to the Pope. It was added that he had presented a ring to the Legate, as a pledge of sincerity, which the Legate refused. The first to publish this story was Capilupi, writing only seven months later. It was repeated by Folieta,|| and is given with all details by the historians of Pius v.—Catena and Gabuzzi. Catena was secretary to the

\* Attribuisce a se, et al nipote, et a casa sua, la morte del' almiraglio, glorandosene assai (Desp. Oct. 1; Theiner, 331). The Emperor told the French ambassador "que, depuis les choses avenues, on lui avoit mandé de Rome que Mr. le Cardinal de Lorraine avoit dit que tout le fait avoit esté délibéré avant qu'il partist de France" (Vulcob to Charles ix., Nov. 8; Groen van Prinsterer, *Archives de Nassau*, iv., App. 22).

† Mariot, *Histoire de Reims*, iv. 426. This language excited the surprise of Dale, Walsingham's successor (Mackintosh, iii. 226).

‡ *Archives Curieuses*, viii. 305.

§ Egli solo tra tutti gli altri è solito particolarmente di sostenere le nostre fatiche . . . Essendo partecipe di tutti i nostri consigli, et consapevole de' segreti dell' intimo animo nostro (Pius v. to Philip ii., June 20, 1571; Zucchi, *Idea del Segretario*, i. 544).

\* Serranus, *Commentarii*, iv. 14; Davila, ii. 104.

† Digges, 193.

‡ Finis hujus legationis erat non tam suadere Regi ut fœdus cum aliis Christianis principibus iniret (id nempe notum erat impossibile illi regno esse); sed ut rex ille prætermisus non videretur, et revera ut sciretur quo tenderent Gallorum cogitationes. Non longe nempe a Rocella naves quasdam prægrandes instruere et armare coeperat Philippus Strozza prætexens velle ad Indias a Gallis inventas navigare (Relatio gestorum in Legatione Card. Alexandrini ms.).

§ Con alcuni particolari che io porto, de' quali ragguaglierò N. Signore a bocca, posso dire di non partirmi affatto mal espedito (Ranke, *Zeitschrift*, iii. 598). Le temps et les effectz luy témoignèrent encores d'avantage (Mémoire baillé au légat Alexandrin, Feb. 1572; Bib. Imp. F. Dupuy, 523).

|| De Sacro Fœdere, *Grævius Thesaurus*, i. 1038.



Cardinal of Alessandria as early as July 1572, and submitted his work to him before publication.\* Gabuzzi wrote at the instance of the same Cardinal, who supplied him with materials; and his book was examined and approved by Borghese, afterwards Paul v. Both the Cardinal of Alessandria and Paul v., therefore, were instrumental in causing it to be proclaimed that the Legate was acquainted in February 1572 with the intention which the King carried out in August.

The testimony of Aldobrandini was given still more distinctly, and with greater definiteness and authority. When he was required, as Pope, to pronounce upon the dissolution of the ill-omened marriage, he related to Borghese and other Cardinals what had passed in that interview between the Legate and the King, adding that, when the report of the massacre reached Rome, the Cardinal exclaimed: "God be praised! the King of France has kept his word." Clement referred D'Ossat to a narrative of the journey which he had written himself, and in which those things would be found.† The clue thus given has been unaccountably neglected, although the Report was known to exist. One copy is mentioned by Giorgi; and Mazzuchelli knew of another. Neither of them had read it; for they both ascribe it to Michele Bonelli, the Cardinal of Alessandria. The first page would have satisfied them that it was not his work. Clement VIII. describes the result of the mission to Blois in these words:—"Quæ rationes eo impulerunt regem ut semel apprehensa manu Cardinalis in hanc vocem proruperit: Significate Pontifici illumque certum reddite me totum hoc quod circa id matrimonium feci et facturus sum, nulla alia de causa facere, quam ulciscendi inimicos Dei et hujus regni, et puniendi tam infidos rebelles, ut eventus ipse docebit, nec aliud vobis amplius significare possum.—Quo non obstante semper Cardinalis eas subtexuit difficultates quas potuit, objiciens regi possetne contrahi matrimonium a fidele cum infidele, sitve dispensatio necessaria; quod si est nunquam Pontificem inductum iri ut illam concedat. Re ipsa ita in suspensio relicta discedendum

esse putavit, cum jam rescivisset quæ d. causa naves parabantur, qui apparatus contra Rocellam tendebant."

The opinion that the massacre of St. Bartholomew was a sudden and unpremeditated act cannot be maintained; but it does not follow that the only alternative is to believe that it was the aim of every measure of the Government for two years before Catherine had long contemplated it as her last expedient in extremity; but she had decided that she could not resort to it while her son was virtually a minor.\* She suggested the idea to him in 1570. In that year he gave orders that the Huguenots should be slaughtered at Bourges. The letter is preserved in which La Chastre spurned the command: "If the people of Bourges learn that your Majesty takes pleasure in such tragedies, they will repeat them often. If these men must die, let them first be tried; but do not reward my services and sully my reputation by such a stain."†

In the autumn of 1571 Coligny came to Blois. Walsingham suspected, and was afterwards convinced, that the intention to kill him already existed. The Pope was much displeased by his presence at Court; but he received assurances from the ambassador which satisfied him. It was said at the time that he at first believed that Coligny was to be murdered, but that he soon found that there was no such praiseworthy design.‡

In December the King knew that, when the moment came, the burghers of Paris would not fail him. Marcel, the prévôt des marchands, told him that the wealth was driven out of the country by the Huguenots: "The Catholics will bear it no longer. . . . Let your Majesty look to it. Your crown is at stake, Paris alone can save it."§ By

\* Vuol andar con ogni quiete et dissimulatione fin che il Rè suo figliolo sia in età (Santa Croce Desp. June 27, 1563; *Lettres du Card. Santa Croce*, 243).

† La Chastre to Charles ix., Jan. 21, 1570; *Raynal, Histoire du Berry*, iv. 105; *Lavallée, Histoire des Français*, ii. 478. Both Raynal and Lavallée had access to the original.

‡ Il Papa credeva che la pace fatta, e l'aver consentito il Rè che l'Ammiraglio venisse in corte, fosse con disegno di ammazzarlo; ma accortosi come passò il fatto, non ha creduto che nel Rè Nostro sia quella brava risoluzione (*Letter of Nov. 28, 1571; Desjardins*, iii. 732). Pour le regard de M. l'Admiral, je n'ay faillly de luy faire entendre ce que je devois, suivant ce qu'il a pleu à V. M. me commander, dont il est demeuré fort satisfait (Ferrals to Charles ix., Dec. 25, 1571; Bib. Imp. F. Fr. 16,039, Walsingham to Herbert, Oct. 10, 1571—to Smith, Nov. 26, 1572; *Digges*, 290).

§ Marcel to Charles ix., Dec. 20, 1571; *Cabaret Historique*, ii. 253.

\* *Catena, Vita di Pio V.* 197; *Gabutus, Vita Pii V.* 150, and the Dedication.

† D'Ossat to Villeroy, Sept. 22, 1599; *Lettres*, iii. 503. An account of the Legate's journey was found by Mendham among Lord Guildford's Manuscripts, and is described in the Supplement to his *Life of Pius V.* 13. It is written by the master of ceremonies, and possesses no interest. The *Relatio* already quoted, which corresponds to the description given by Clement VIII. of his own work, is among the Manuscripts of the Marquis Capponi, No. 164.



the month of February 1572 the plan had assumed a practical shape. The political idea before the mind of Charles was the same by which Richelieu afterwards made France the first power in the world: to repress the Protestants at home, and to encourage them abroad. No means of effectual repression was left but murder. But the idea of raising up enemies to Spain by means of Protestantism was thoroughly understood. The Huguenots were allowed to make an expedition to aid William of Orange. Had they gained some substantial success, the Government would have followed it up, and the scheme of Coligny would have become for the moment the policy of France. But the Huguenot commander Genlis was defeated and taken. Coligny had had his chance. He had played and lost. It was useless now to propose his great venture against the King of Spain.\*

Philip II. perfectly understood that this event was decisive. When the news came from Hainaut, he sent to the Nuncio Castagna to say that the King of France would gain more than himself by the loss of so many brave Protestants, and that the time was come for him, with the aid of the people of Paris, to get rid of Coligny and the rest of his enemies.† It appears from the letters of Salviati that he also regarded the resolution as having been finally taken after the defeat of Genlis.

The court had determined to enforce unity of faith in France. An edict of toleration was issued for the purpose of lulling the Huguenots; but it was well known that it was only a pretence.‡ Strict injunctions were sent into the provinces that it should not be obeyed; § and Catherine said openly to the English envoy, "My son will have exercise but of one Religion in his Realm." On the 26th the King explained his plan to Mondoucet, his agent at Brussels: "Since it has pleased God to bring matters

to the point they have now reached, I mean to use the opportunity to secure a perpetual repose in my kingdom, and to do something for the good of all Christendom. It is probable that the conflagration will spread to every town in France, and that they will follow the example of Paris, and lay hands on all the Protestants. . . . I have written to the Governors to assemble forces in order to cut to pieces those who may resist."\* The great object was to accomplish the extirpation of Protestantism in such a way as might leave intact the friendship with Protestant States. Every step was governed by this consideration; and the difficulty of the task caused the inconsistencies and the vacillation that ensued. By assassinating Coligny alone it was expected that such an agitation would be provoked among his partisans as would make it appear that they were killed by the Catholics in self-defence. Reports were circulated at once with that object. A letter written on the 23d states that, after the Admiral was wounded on the day before, the Huguenots assembled at the gate of the Louvre, to avenge him on the Guises as they came out.† And the first explanation sent forth by the Government on the 24th was to the effect that the old feud between the Houses of Guise and of Chatillon had broken out with a fury which it was impossible to quell. This fable lasted only for a single day. On the 25th Charles writes that he has begun to discover traces of a Huguenot conspiracy;‡ and on the following day this was publicly substituted for the original story. Neither the Vendetta of the Guises nor the conspiracy at Paris could be made to explain the massacre in the provinces. It required to be so managed that the King could disown it. Salviati describes the plan of operations. It was intended that the Huguenots should be slaughtered successively, by a series of spontaneous outbreaks in different parts of the country. While Rochelle held out, it was dangerous to proceed with a more sweeping method.§ Accordingly no written instructions from the King are in existence; and the Governors were expressly informed that they were to

\* Le Roy estoit d'intelligence, ayant permis à ceux de la Religion de l'assister, et, cas advenant que leurs entreprises succédassent, qu'il les favoriserait ouvertement . . . Genlis, menant un secours dans Mons, fut défait par le duc d'Alve, qui avoit comme investi la ville. La journée de Saint-Barthélemi se résolut (*Bouillon, Mémoires*, 9).

† Si potria distruggere il resto, maxime che l'admiraglio si trova in Parigi, popolo Catholico et devoto del suo Rè, dove potria se volesse facilmente levarselo dinanzi per sempre (*Castagna, Desp. Aug. 5, 1572; Theiner*, i. 327).

‡ *Mémoires de Claude Haton*, 687.

§ En quelque sorte que ce soit ledit Seigneur est résolu faire vivre ses subjectz en sa religion, et ne permettre jamais ny tollérer, quelque chose qui puisse advenir, qu'il n'y ait autre forme ny exercice de religion en son royaume que de la catholique (Instruction for the Governors of Normandy, Nov. 3, 1572; *La Mothe*, vii. 390).

\* Charles IX. to Mondoucet, Aug. 26, 1572; *Compte Rendu de la Commission Royale d'Histoire*, 2<sup>e</sup> Série, iv. 327.

† Li Ugonotti si ridussero alla porta del Louvre, per aspettare che Mons. di Guisa e Mons. d'Aumale uscissero per ammazzarli (*Borso Trotti, Desp. Aug. 23; Modena Archives*).

‡ L'on a commencé à descouvrir la conspiration: que ceux de la religion prétendue réformée avoient faicte contre moy mesmes, ma mère et mes frères. (Charles IX. to La Mothe, Aug. 25; *La Mothe*, vii. 325).

§ *Desp. Sept. 19, 1572.*



expect none.\* Messengers went into the provinces with letters requiring that the verbal orders which they brought should be obeyed.† Many Governors refused to act upon directions so vague and so hard to verify. Burgundy was preserved in this way. Two gentlemen arrived with letters of recommendation from the King, and declared his commands. They were asked to put them on paper; but they refused to give in writing what they had received by word of mouth. Mandelot, the Governor of Lyons, the most ignoble of the instruments in this foul deed, complained that the intimation of the royal wishes sent to him was obscure and insufficient.‡ He did not do his work thoroughly, and incurred the displeasure of the King. The orders were complicated as well as obscure. The public authorities were required to collect the Huguenots in some prison or other safe place, where they could be got at by hired bands of volunteer assassins. To screen the King it was desirable that his officers should not superintend the work themselves. Mandelot, having locked the gates of Lyons, and shut up the Huguenots together, took himself out of the way while they were being butchered. Carouge, at Rouen, received a commission to visit the other towns in his province. The magistrates implored him to remain, as nobody, in his absence, could restrain the people. When the King had twice repeated his commands, Carouge obeyed; and five hundred Huguenots perished.§

It was thought unsafe even for the King's brother to give distinct orders under his own hand. He wrote to his lieutenant in Anjou that he had commissioned Puygailhard to communicate with him on a matter which concerned the King's service and his own, and desired that his orders should be received as if they came directly from himself. They were, that every Huguenot in Angers, Saumur, and the adjoining country, should be put to death without delay, and without exception.¶ The Duke of Montpensier himself sent the same order to Brit-

tany; but it was indignantly rejected by the municipality of Nantes.

When reports came in of the manner in which the event had been received in foreign countries, the Government began to waver, and the sanguinary orders were recalled. Schomberg wrote from Germany that the Protestant allies were lost unless they could be satisfied that the King had not decreed the extermination of their brethren.\* He was instructed to explain the tumult in the provinces by the animosity bequeathed by the wars of religion.† The Bishop of Vence was intriguing in Poland on behalf of Anjou. He wrote that his success had been made very doubtful, and that, if further cruelties were perpetrated, ten millions of gold pieces would not bribe the venal Poles. He advised that a counterfeit edict, at least, should be published.‡ Charles perceived that he would be compelled to abandon his enterprise, and set about appeasing the resentment of the Protestant powers. He promised that an inquiry should be instituted, and the proofs of the conspiracy communicated to foreign governments. To give a judicial aspect to the proceedings, two prominent Huguenots were ceremoniously hanged. When the new ambassador from Spain praised the long concealment of the plan, Charles became indignant.§ It was repeated everywhere that the thing had been arranged with Rome and Spain; and he was especially studious that there should be no symptom of a private understanding with either power.¶ He was able to flatter himself that he had at least partially succeeded. If he had not exterminated his Protestant subjects, he had preserved his Protestant allies. William the Silent continued to solicit his aid; Elizabeth consented to stand godmother to the daughter who was born to him in October; he was allowed to raise mercenaries in Switzerland; and the Polish Protestants agreed to the election of his brother. The promised evidence of the Huguenot conspiracy was forgotten; and the King suppressed the materials which were to have served for an official history of the event.¶

\* Il ne faut pas attendre d'en avoir d'autre commandement du Roy ne de Monseigneur, car ils ne vous en feront point (Puygailhard to Montsoreau, Aug. 26, 1572; Mourin, *La Réforme en Anjou*, 106).

† Vous croirez le présent porteur de ce que je lui ay donné charge de vous dire (Charles ix. to Mandelot, Aug. 24, 1572; *Corr. de Charles IX. avec Mandelot*, 42).

‡ Je n'en ay aucune coulpe, n'ayant sceu quelle estoit la volonté que par ombre, encores bien tard et à demy (Mandelot to Charles ix., Sept. 17, p. 73).

§ Floquet, *Histoire du Parlement de Normandie*, iii. 121.

¶ Anjou to Montsoreau, Aug. 26; Mourin, 107; Falloux, *Vie de Pie V.* i. 358; Port, *Archives de la Mairie d'Angers*, 41, 42.

\* Schomberg to Brulart, Oct. 10, 1572; *Copie figure, La Réforme*, iii. 264.

† Instructions for Schomberg, Feb. 15, 1573; Noailles, iii. 305.

‡ Monluc to Brulart, Nov. 20, 1572, Jan. 20, 1573, to Charles ix., Jan. 22, 1573; Noailles, iii. 218, 223, 220.

§ Charles ix. to St. Goard, Jan. 20, 1573; *Gram.* iv. App. 29.

¶ Letter from Paris in Strype's *Life of Parker*, iii. 110; Toccaïn contre les Massacreurs, *Archives Curieuses*, vii. 7.

¶ Afin que ce que vous avez dressé des choses



Zeal for religion was not the motive which inspired the chief authors of this extraordinary crime. They were trained to look on the safety of the monarchy as the sovereign law, and on the throne as an idol that justified sins committed in its worship. At all times there have been men, resolute and relentless in the pursuit of their aims, whose ardour was too strong to be restricted by moral barriers or the instinct of humanity. In the sixteenth century, beside the fanaticism of freedom, there was an abject idolatry of power; and laws both human and divine were made to yield to the intoxication of authority and the reign of will. It was laid down that kings have the right of disposing of the lives of their subjects, and may dispense with the forms of justice. The church herself, whose supreme pontiff was now an absolute monarch, was infected with this superstition. Catholic writers found an opportune argument for their religion in the assertion that it makes the prince master of the consciences as well as the bodies of the people, and enjoins submission even to the vilest tyranny.\* Men whose lives were precious to the Catholic cause could be murdered by royal command, without protest from Rome. When the Duke of Guise, with the Cardinal his brother, was slain by Henry III., he was the most powerful and devoted upholder of Catholicism in France. Sixtus V. thundered against the sacrilegious tyrant who was stained with the blood of a prince of the church; but he let it be known very distinctly that the death of the Duke caused him little concern.†

Catherine was the daughter of that Medici to whom Machiavelli had dedicated his *Prince*. So little did religion actuate her conduct that she challenged Elizabeth to do to the Catholics of England what she herself had done to the Protestants of France, promising that if they were destroyed there

would be no loss of her good-will.\* The levity of her religious feelings appears from her reply when asked by Gomicourt what message he should take to the Duke of Alva: "I must give you the answer of Christ to the disciples of St. John, 'Ite et nuntiate quæ vidistis et audivistis; cæci vident, claudi ambulant, leprosi mundantur.'" And she added, "Beatus qui non fuerit in me scandalizatus."†

If mere fanaticism had been their motive, the men who were most active in the massacre would not have spared so many lives. While Guise was galloping after Ferrières and Montgomery, who had taken horse betimes and made for the coast, his house at Paris was crowded with families belonging to the proscribed faith, and strangers to him. A young girl who was amongst them has described his return, when he sent for the children, spoke to them kindly, and gave orders that they should be well treated as long as his roof sheltered them.‡ Protestants even spoke of him as a humane and chivalrous enemy.§ Nevers was considered to have disgraced himself by the number of those whom he enabled to escape.|| The Nuncio was shocked at their ill-timed generosity. He reported to Rome that the only one who had acted in the spirit of a Christian, and had refrained from mercy, was the King; while the other princes, who pretended to be good Catholics, and to deserve the favour of the Pope, had striven, one and all, to save as many Huguenots as they could.¶

The worst criminals were not the men who did the deed. The crime of mobs and courtiers infuriated by the lust of vengeance and of power is not so strange a portent as the exultation of peaceful men, influenced by no present injury or momentary rage, but by the permanent and incurable perversion of moral sense wrought by a distorted piety.

passées à la Saint Barthélemy ne puisse être publié parmi le peuple, et même entre les étrangers, comme il y en a plusieurs qui se mêlent d'écrire et qui pourraient prendre occasion d'y répondre, je vous prie qu'il n'en soit rien imprimé ni en français ni en Latin, mais si en avez retenu quelque chose, le garder vers vous (Charles IX. to the President de Cély, March 24, 1573; *Revue Rétrospective*, 2 Série, lii. 195).

\* Botero, *Della Ragion di Stato*, 92. A contemporary says that the Protestants were cut to pieces out of economy, "pour afin d'éviter le coust des exécutions qu'il eust convenu payer pour les faire pendre;" and that this was done "par permission divine" (*Relation des troubles de Rouen par un témoin oculaire*, ed. Pottier, 36, 46).

† Del resto poco importerebbe a Roma (Card. Montalto to Card. Morosini; *Tempesti, Vita di Sisto V.*, ii. 116).

\* Quand ce seroit contre tous les Catholiques, que nous ne nous en empescherions, ny altérerions aucunement l'amitié d'entre elle et nous (Catherine to La Mothe, Sept. 13, 1572; *La Mothe*, vii. 349).

† Alva's Report; *Bulletins de l'Académie de Bruxelles*, ix. 564.

‡ Jean Diodati, *door Schotel*, 88.

§ *Œuvres de Brantôme*, ed. Lalanne, iv. 38.

|| Otros que salvò el Duque de Nevers con harto vituperio suyo (*Cabrera de Cordova, Felipe Segundo*, 722).

¶ Il Re Christianissimo in tutti questi accidenti, in luogo di giudicio e di valore ha mostrato animo christiano, con tutto habbia salvato alcuno. Ma li altri principi che fanno gran professione di Cattolici et di meritar favori e gratie del papa hanno poi con estrema diligenza cercato a salvare quelli più di Ugonotti che hanno potuto, e se non gli nomino particolarmente, non si maravigli, per che indifferente tutti hanno fatto a un modo (Salviati, *Disp.* Sept. 2, 1572).



Philip II., who had long suspected the court of France, was at once relieved from the dread which had oppressed him, and betrayed an excess of joy foreign to his phlegmatic nature.\* He immediately sent six thousand crowns to the murderer of Coligny.† He persuaded himself that the breach between France and her allies was irreparable, that Charles would now be driven to seek his friendship, and that the Netherlands were out of danger.‡ He listened readily to the French ambassador, who assured him that his court had never swerved from the line of Catholic policy, but had intended all along to effect this great change.§ Ayamonte carried his congratulations to Paris, and pretended that his master had been in the secret. It suited Philip that this should be believed by Protestant princes, in order to estrange them still more from France; but he wrote on the margin of Ayamonte's instructions, that it was uncertain how long previously the purpose had subsisted.|| Juan Diego de Zuñiga, his ambassadors at Rome and at Paris, were convinced that the long display of enmity to Spain was genuine, that the death of Coligny had been decided at the last moment, and that the rest was not the effect of design.¶ This opinion found friends at first in Spain. The General of the Franciscans undertook to explode it. He assured Philip that he had seen the King and the Queen-Mother, two years before, and had found them already so intent on the massacre that he wondered how anybody could have the courage to detract from their merit by denying it.\*<sup>1</sup> This view generally prevailed in Spain. Mendoza knows not which to admire more, the loyal and Catholic inhabitants of Paris, or Charles, who justified his title of the Most Christian King by helping with his own hands to

slaughter his subjects.\* Mariana witnessed the carnage, and imagined that it must gladden every Catholic heart. Other Spaniards were gratified to think that it had been contrived with Alva at Bayonne.

Alva himself did not judge the event by the same light as Philip. He also had distrusted the French Government; but he had not feared it during the ascendancy of the Huguenots. Their fall appeared to him to strengthen France. In public he rejoiced with the rest. He complimented Charles on his valour and his religion, and claimed his own share of merit. But he warned Philip that things had not changed favourably for Spain, and that the King of France was now a formidable neighbour.† For himself, he said, he never would have committed so base a deed.

The seven Catholic Cantons had their own reason for congratulation. Their countrymen had been busy actors on the scene: and three soldiers of the Swiss guard of Anjou were named as the slayers of the Admiral.‡ On the 2d of October they agreed to raise 6000 men for the King's service. At the following Diet they demanded the expulsion of the fugitive Huguenots who had taken refuge in the Protestant parts of the Confederation. They made overtures to the Pope for a secret alliance against their Confederates.§

In Italy, where the life of a heretic was cheap, their wholesale destruction was confessed a highly politic and ingenious act. Even the sage Venetians were constrained to celebrate it with a procession. The Grand Duke Cosmo had pointed out two years before that an insidious peace would afford excellent opportunities of extinguishing Protestantism; and he derived inexpressible consolation from the heroic enterprise.¶ The Viceroy of Naples, Cardinal Granvelle, received the tidings coldly. He was surprised that the event had been so long postponed; and he reproved the Cardinal of Lorraine for the unstatesmanlike delay.¶

\* Estque dictu mirum, quantopere Regem exhilaravit nova Gallica (Hopperus to Viglius, Madrid, Sept. 7, 1572; *Hopperi Epp.* 360).

† Ha avuto, con questa occasione, dal Rè di Spagna, sei mila scudi a conto della dote di sua moglie, e a richiesta di casa di Guise (Petrucchi, Desp. Sept. 16, 1572; *Desjardins*, iii. 838). On the 27th of December 1574, the Cardinal of Guise asks Philip for more money for the same man (*Bouillé, Histoire des Ducs de Guise*, ii. 505).

‡ Siendo cosa clara que, de hoy mas, ni los protestantes de Alemania, ni la reyna de Inglaterra se fiaran del (Philip to Alva, Sept. 18, 1572; *Bulletins de Bruzelles*, xvi. 255).

§ St. Goard to Charles IX., Sept. 12, 1572; *Groen*, iv. App. 12; *Raumer, Briefe aus Paris*, i. 191.

|| Archives de l'Empire, K. 1530, B. 34, 299.

¶ Zuñiga to Alva, Aug. 31, 1572: No fue caso pensado sino repentino (Arch. de l'Emp. K. 1530, B. 34, 66).

\*<sup>1</sup> St. Goard to Catherine, Jan. 6, 1573; *Groen*, iv. App. 28.

\* *Comment. de B. de Mendoza*, i. 344.

† Alva to Philip, Oct. 13, 1572; *Corr. de Philippe II.* ii. 287. On the 23d of August Zuñiga wrote to Philip that he hoped that Coligny would recover from his wound, because, if he should die, Charles would be able to obtain obedience from all men (Archives de l'Empire, K. 1530, B. 34, 65).

‡ *Bulletins de la Société pour l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français*, viii. 292.

§ *Eidgenössische Abchiede*, iv. 2, 501, 503, 505, 510.

¶ Cosmo to Cambrani, Oct. 6, 1570 (*Cambrani, Gli Eretici d'Italia*, iii. 15). Cosmo to Charles IX., Sept. 4, 1572 (*Gachard, Rapport sur les Archives de Lille*, 199).

¶ *Grappin, Mémoire Historique sur le Card. de Granvelle*, 73.



The Italians generally were excited to warmer feelings. They saw nothing to regret but the death of certain Catholics who had been sacrificed to private revenge. Profane men approved the skill with which the trap was laid; and pious men acknowledged the presence of a genuine religious spirit in the French court.\* The nobles and the Parisian populace were admired for their valour in obeying the sanctified commands of the good King. One fervent enthusiast praises God for the heavenly news, and also St. Bartholomew for having lent his extremely penetrating knife for the salutary sacrifice.† A month after the event the renowned preacher Panigarola delivered from the pulpit a panegyric on the monarch who had achieved what none had ever heard or read before, by banishing heresy in a single day, and by a single word, from the Christian land of France.‡

The French churches had often resounded with furious declamations; and they afterwards rang with canticles of unholy joy. But the French clergy does not figure prominently in the inception or the execution of the sanguinary decree. Conti, a contemporary indeed, but too distant for accurate knowledge, relates that the parish priests went round, marking with a white cross the dwellings of the people who were doomed.§ He is contradicted by the municipal Registers of Paris.¶ Morvilliers, bishop of Orleans, though he had resigned the seals which he received from L'Hôpital, still occupied the first place at the royal council. He was consulted at the last moment; and it is said that he nearly fainted with horror. He recovered, and gave his opinion with the rest. He is the only French prelate, except the Cardinals, whose complicity appears to be ascertained. But at Orleans, where the bloodshed was more dreadful in proportion than at Paris, the signal is said to have been given, not by the bishop, but by the King's preacher, Sorbin.

Sorbin is the only priest of the capital who is distinctly associated with the act of the Government. It was his opinion that God has ordained that no mercy shall be shown

to heretics, that Charles was bound in conscience to do what he did, and that leniency would have been as censurable in his case as precipitation was in that of Theodosius. What the Calvinists called perfidy and cruelty seemed to him nothing but generosity and kindness.\* These were the sentiments of the man from whose hands Charles ix. received the last consolations of his religion. It has been related that he was tortured in his last moments with remorse for the blood he had shed. His spiritual adviser was fitted to dispel such scruples. He tells us that he heard the last confession of the dying King, and that his most grievous sorrow was that he left the work unfinished.† In all that blood-stained history there is nothing more tragic than the scene in which the last words preparing the soul for judgment were spoken by such a confessor as Sorbin to such a penitent as Charles.

Emond Auger, one of the most able and eloquent of the Jesuits, was at that time attracting multitudes by his sermons at Bordeaux. He denounced with so much violence the heretics and the people in authority who protected them, that the magistrates, fearing a cry for blood, proposed to silence or to moderate the preacher. Montpezat, Lieutenant of Guienne, arrived in time to prevent it. On the 30th of September he wrote to the King that he had done this, and that there were a score of the inhabitants who might be despatched with advantage. Three days later, when he was gone, more than two hundred Huguenots were murdered.‡

\* Pourront-ils arguer de trahison le feu roy, qu'ils blasphèment luy donnant le nom de tyran, veu qu'il n'a rien entrepris et executé que ce qu'il pouvoit faire par l'expresse parole de Dieu . . . Dieu commande qu'on ne pardonne en façon que ce soit aux inventeurs ou sectateurs de nouvelles opinions ou hérésies . . . Ce que vous estimez cruauté estro plutôt vraye magnanimité et douceur (Sorbin, *Le vray reveille-matin des Calvinistes*, 1576, 72, 74, 78).

† Il commanda à chacun de se retirer au cabinet et à moy de m'asseoir au chevet de son lit, tant pour ouyr sa confession, et luy donner ministériellement absolution de ses péchez, que aussi pour le consoler durant et après la messe (Sorbin, *Vie de Charles IX.*, *Archives Curieuses*, viii. 287). Est très certain que le plus grand regret qu'il avoit à l'heure de sa mort estoit de ce qu'il voyoit l'idole Calvinesque n'estre encores du tout chassée (*Vray reveille-matin*, 88).

‡ The charge against the clergy of Bordeaux is brought by D'Aubigné (*Histoire Universelle*, ii. 27) and by De Thou. De Thou was very hostile to the Jesuits, and his language is not positive. D'Aubigné was a furious bigot. The truth of the charge would not be proved, without the letters of the President L'Agebaston and of the Lieutenant Montpezat: "Quelques prescheurs se sont par leurs sermons (ainsi que dernièrement j'ai escript plus ample-

\* Bardi, *Età del Mondo*, 1581, iv. 2011; Campana, *Historie del Mondo*, 1599, i. 145; B. D. da Fano, *Aggiunte all' Historie di Manbrino Rosso*, 1583, v. 252; Pellini, *Storia di Perugia*, vol. iii. ms.

† Si à degnato di prestare alli suoi divoti il suo taglientissimo coltello in così salutare sacrificio (Letter of Aug. 26; Alberi, *Vita di Caterina de' Medici*, 401).

‡ Labitte, *Démocratie chez les Prédicateurs de la Ligue*, 10.

§ Natalis Comes, *Historia sui temporis*, 512.

¶ Capefigue, iii. 150.



Apart from these two instances it is not known that the clergy interfered in any part of France to encourage the assassins.

The belief was common at the time, and is not yet extinct, that the massacre had been promoted and sanctioned by the Court of Rome. No evidence of this complicity, prior to the event, has ever been produced; but it seemed consistent with what was supposed to have occurred in the affair of the dispensation. The marriage of Margaret of Valois with the King of Navarre was invalid and illicit in the eyes of the church; and it was known that Pius v. had sworn that he would never permit it. When it had been celebrated by a Cardinal, in the presence of a splendid court, and no more was heard of resistance on the part of Rome, the world concluded that the dispensation had been obtained. De Thou says, in a manuscript note, that it had been sent, and was afterwards suppressed by Salviati; and the French bishop Spondanus assigns the reasons which induced Gregory xiii. to give way.\* Others affirmed that he had yielded when he learned that the marriage was a snare, so that the massacre was the price of the dispensation.† The Cardinal of Lorraine gave currency to the story. As he caused it to be understood that he had been in the secret, it seemed probable that he had told the Pope; for they had been old friends.‡ In the commemorative inscription which he put up in the church of St. Lewis he spoke of the King's gratitude to the Holy See for its assistance and for its

ment à votre majesté) étudié de tout leur pouvoir de troubler ciel et terre, et conciter le peuple à sédition, et en ce faisant à passer par le fil de l'épée tous ceux de la prétendue religion réformée . . . Après avoir des le premier et deuxième de ceste mois fait courir un bruit sourd que vous, Sire, aviez envoyé nom par nom un rolle signé de votre propre main au Sieur de Montferand, pour par voie de fait et sans aultre forme de justice, mettre à mort quarante des principaulx de ceste ville. . . ." (*L'Agebanton* to Charles ix., Oct. 7, 1572; *Macintosh*, iii. 352). "J'ai trouvé que Messieurs de la cour de parlement avoyent arresté que Monsieur Emond, prescheur, seroit appellé en ladicte court pour luy faire des remonstrances sur quelque langage qu'il tenoit en ses sermons, tendant à sédition, à ce qu'ils disoyent. Ce que j'ay bien voulu empêcher, craignant que s'il y eust esté appellé cella eust animé plusieurs des habitants et este cause de quelque émotion, ce que j'eusse volontiers souffert quant j'eusse pansé qu'il n'y en eust qu'une vingtaine de despêché" (*Montpezat* to Charles ix., Sept. 30, 1572; *Archives de la Gironde*, viii. 337).

\* *Annal. Baronii Contin.* ii. 734. Bossuet says: "La dispense vint telle qu'on la pouvoit désirer" (*Histoire de France*, 820).

† *Ormelegny, Reflexions sur la Politique de France*, 121.

‡ *De Thou*, iv. 537.

advice in the matter—"consiliorum ad eam rem datorum." It is probable that he inspired the narrative which has contributed most to sustain the imputation.

Among the Italians of the French faction who made it their duty to glorify the act of Charles ix., the Capilupi family was conspicuous. They came from Mantua, and appear to have been connected with the French interest through Lewis Gonzaga, who had become by marriage Duke of Nevers, and one of the foremost personages in France. Hippolyto Capilupi, bishop of Fano, and formerly Nuncio at Venice, resided at Rome, busy with French politics and Latin poetry. When Charles refused to join the League, the bishop of Fano vindicated his neutrality in a letter to the Duke of Urbino.\* When he slew the Huguenots, the bishop addressed him in verse,

"Fortunate puer, paret tui Gallica tellus,  
Quique vafros ludis pervigil arte viros.  
Ille tibi debet, toti qui præsidet Orbi.  
Cui nihil est cordi religione prius. . . .  
Qui tibi sæpe dolos struxit, qui vincis paravit  
Tu puer in laqueos induis arte ænem. . . .  
Nunc florent, tolluntque caput tua lilia, et  
astria  
Clarius, hostili tincta cruore micant."†

Camillo Capilupi, a nephew of the Mantuan bard, held office about the person of the Pope, and was employed on missions of consequence.‡ As soon as the news from Paris reached Rome he drew up the account which became so famous under the title of *Lo Stratagemma di Carlo IX.* The dedication is dated the 18th of September, 1572. This tract was suppressed, and was soon so rare that its existence was unknown in 1574 to the French translator of the second edition. Capilupi republished his book with alterations, and a preface dated the 22d of October. The substance and purpose of the two editions is the same. Capilupi is not the official organ of the Roman court: he was not allowed to see the letters of the Nuncio. He wrote to proclaim the praises of the King of France, and the Duke of Nevers. At that moment the French party

\* *Charrière*, iii. 154.

† *Carmina Ill. Poetarum Ratorum*, iii. 212, 216.

‡ Tiepolo, *Disp.* Aug. 6, 1575; *Mutinelli, Storia Arcana*, i. 111.

§ *Parentoni*, che sia cosa, la quale possa apportar piacere, e utile al mondo, sì per la qualità del soggetto istesso, come anco per l'eleganza, e bello ordine con che viene così leggiadramente descritto questo nobile, e glorioso fatto . . . a fine che una così egregia attione non resti defraudata dell' honor, che merita.—(The editor, Gianfrancesco Ferrari, to the reader.)



in Rome was divided by the quarrel between the ambassador Ferrals and the Cardinal of Lorraine, who had contrived to get the management of French affairs into his own hands.\* Capilupi was on the side of the Cardinal, and received information from those who were about him. The chief anxiety of these men was that the official version which attributed the massacre to a Huguenot conspiracy should obtain no credence at Rome. If the Cardinal's enemies were overthrown without his participation, it would confirm the report that he had become a cipher in the State. He desired to vindicate for himself and his family the authorship of the catastrophe. Catherine could not tolerate their claim to a merit which she had made her own; and there was competition between them for the first and largest share in the gratitude of the Holy See. Lorraine prevailed with the Pope, who not only loaded him with honours, but rewarded him with benefices worth 4000 crowns a year for his nephew, and a gift of 20,000 crowns for his son. But he found that he had fallen into disgrace at Paris, and feared for his position at Rome.† In these circumstances Capilupi's book appeared, and enumerated a

series of facts proving that the Cardinal was cognisant of the royal design. It adds little to the evidence of premeditation. Capilupi relates that Santa Croce, returning from France, had assured Pius v., in the name of Catherine, that she intended one day to entrap Coligny, and to make a signal butchery of him and his adherents, and that letters in which the Queen renewed this promise to the Pope had been read by credible witnesses. Santa Croce was living, and did not contradict the statement. The *Stratagema* had originally stated that Lorraine had informed Sermoneta of the project, soon after he arrived at Rome. In the reprint this passage was omitted. The book had therefore undergone a censorial revision which enhances the authenticity of the final narrative.

Two other pieces are extant which were printed at the Stamperia Camerale, and show what was believed at Rome. One is in the shape of a letter written at Lyons in the midst of scenes of death, and describing what the author had witnessed on the spot, and what he heard from Paris.\* He reports that the King had positively commanded that not one Huguenot should escape, and was overjoyed at the accomplishment of his orders. He believes the thing to have been premeditated, and inspired by Divine justice. The other tract is remarkable because it strives to reconcile the pretended conspiracy with the hypothesis of premeditation.† There were two plots which went parallel for months. The King knew that Coligny was compassing his death, and deceived him by feigning to enter into his plan for the invasion of the Low Countries; and Coligny, allowing himself to be overreached, summoned his friends to Paris, for the purpose of killing Charles, on the 23d of August. The writer expects that there will soon be no Huguenots in France. Capilupi at first borrowed several of his facts, which he afterwards corrected.

The real particulars relative to the marriage are set forth minutely in the correspondence of Ferrals; and they absolutely contradict the supposition of the complicity of Rome.‡ It was celebrated in flagrant defiance of the Pope, who persisted in refusing the dispensation, and therefore acted

\* Huo accedit, Oratorem Serenissimi Regis Galliarum, et impulsu inimicorum sepe dicti Domini Cardinalis, et quia summopere illi displicuit, quod superioribus mensibus Illius. Sua Dominatio operam dedisset, hoc sibi mandari, ut omnia Regis negotia secum communicaret, nullam prætermisisset occasionem ubi ei potuit adversari (Cardinal Delfino to the Emperor, Rome, Nov. 29, 1572; Vienna Archives).

† Fa ogni favor et gratia gli addimanda il Cardinale di Lorena, il consiglio del quale usa in tutte le più importanti negotiationi l'occorre di haver a trattar (Cusano to the Emperor, Rome, Sept. 27, 1572). Conscia igitur Sua Dominatio Illius quorundam arcanorum Regni Galliarum, creato Pontifice sibi in Concilio Tridentino cognito et amico, statuit huc se recipere, ut privatis suis rebus consulere, et quia tunc foederati contra Thurcam, propter suspicionem Regi Catholico injectam de Orancio, et Gallis, non admodum videbantur concordare, et non multo post advenit nuncius mortis Domini de Colligni, et illius assecclurum; Pontifex justa de causa existimavit dictum Illius Cardinalem favore et gratia sua merito esse complectendum. Evenit postmodum, ut ad Serenissimam Reginam Galliarum deferretur, bonum hunc Dominum lætasse se, quod particeps fuerit consiliorum contra dictum Colligni; id quod illa Serenissima Domina iniquo animo tulit, quæ neminem gloriæ socium vult habere; sibi enim totam vendicat, quod sola talis facinoris auctor, et Dux extiterit. Idcirco commorationem ipsius Lotharingæ in hac aula improbare, ac reprehendere aggressa est. Hæc cum ille Illustrissimus Cardinalis perceperit, oblata sibi occasione utens, exoravit a Sua Sanctitate gratulam expeditionem quatuor millia scutorum reditus pro suo Nepote, et 20 millia pro filio, præter sollicitationem, quam præ se fert, ut dictus Nepos in Cardinalium numerum cooptetur. . . . Cum itaque his de causis authoritas hujus Domini in Gallia imminuta videatur, ipseque prævideat, quanto in Gallia minoris

existimabitur, tanto minori etiam loco hic se habitum iri, statuit optimo judicio, ac pro eo quod sum existimacioni magis conducit, in Galliam reverti (Delfino, *ut supra*, both in the Vienna Archives).

\* *Intiera Relazione della Morte dell' Ammiraglio.*

† *Ragguaglio degli ordini et modi tenuti dalla Majesta Christianissima nella distruzione della setta degli Ugonotti, Con la morte dell' Ammiraglio, etc.*

‡ Bib. Imp. F. Fr. 16,039.



in a way which could only serve to mar the plot. The accusation has been kept alive by his conduct after the event. The Jesuit who wrote his life by desire of his son, says that Gregory thanked God in private, but that in public he gave signs of a tempered joy.\* But the illuminations and processions, the singing of *Te Deum* and the firing of the castle guns, the jubilee, the medal, and the paintings whose faded colours still vividly preserve to our age the passions of that day, nearly exhaust the modes by which a Pope could manifest delight.

Charles ix. and Salviati both wrote to Rome on St. Bartholomew's Day; and the ambassador's nephew, Beauville, set off with the tidings. They were known before he arrived. On the 27th, Mandelot's secretary despatched a secret messenger from Lyons with orders to inform the Pope that the Huguenot leaders were slain, and that their adherents were to be secured all over France. The messenger reached Rome on the 2d of September, and was immediately carried to the Pope by the Cardinal of Lorraine. Gregory rewarded him for the welcome intelligence with a present of a hundred crowns, and desired that Rome should be at once illuminated. This was prevented by Ferralz, who tried the patience of the Romans by declining their congratulations as long as he was not officially informed.† Beauville and the courier of the Nuncio arrived

on the 5th. The King's letter, like all that he wrote on the first day, ascribed the outbreak to the old hatred between the rival Houses, and to the late attempt on the Admiral's life. He expressed a hope that the dispensation would not now be withheld, but left all particulars to Beauville, whose eyes had beheld the scene.\* Beauville told his story, and repeated the King's request, but Gregory, though much gratified with what he heard, remained inflexible.†

Salviati had written on the afternoon of the 24th. He desired to fling himself at the Pope's feet to wish him joy. His fondest hopes had been surpassed. Although he had known what was in store for Coligny, he had not expected that there would be energy and prudence to seize the occasion for the destruction of the rest. A new era had commenced; a new compass was required for French affairs. It was a fair sight to see the Catholics in the streets, wearing white crosses, and cutting down heretics; and it was thought that, as fast as the news spread, the same thing would be done in all the towns of France.‡ This letter was read before the assembled Cardinals at the Venetian palace; and they thereupon attended the Pope to a *Te Deum* in the nearest church.§ The guns of St. Angelo

\* Maffei, *Annali di Gregorio XIII.*, i. 34.

† La nouvelle qui arriva le deuxième jour du présent par ung courrier qui estoit despesché secrètement de Lyon par ung nommé Dances, secrétaire de M. de Mandelot . . . à ung commandeur de Saint Anthoine, nommé Mr. de Gou, il luy manda qu'il allast advertir le Pape, pour en avoir quelque présent ou bienfait, de la mort de tous les chefs de ceulx de la religion prétendue reformede, et de tous les Huguenots de France, et que V. M. avoit mandé et commandé à tous les gouverneurs de se saisir de tous iceulx huguenots en leurs gouvernemens; ceste nouvelle, Sire, apporta si grand contentement à S. S., que sans ce que je luy remonstray lors me trouvant sur le lieu, en presence de Monseigneur le C<sup>te</sup> de Lorraine, qu'elle devoit attendre ce que V. M. m'en manderoit et ce que son nonce luy en escriroit, elle en vouloit incontinent faire faire des feux de joye. . . . Et pour ce que je ne voulois faire ledit feu de joye la première nuit que ledit courrier envoyé par ledit Daues feust arrivé, ny en recevoir les congratulations que l'on m'en envoyoit faire, que prémièrement je n'eusse eu nouvelles de V. M. pour sçavoir et sa voulanté et comme je m'avoys à conduire, aucuns commençoient desjà de m'en regarder de mauvais œils (Ferralz to Charles ix., Rome, Sept. 11, 1572; Bib. Imp. F. Fr. 16,040). Al corriere che portò tal nuova Nostro Signore diede 100 Scudi oltre li 200 che hebbe dall' Illustrissimo Lorena, che con grandissima allegrezza se n'ando subito a dar tal nuova per alleggrarsene con Sua Santità (Letter from Rome to the Emperor, Sept. 6, 1572; Vienna Archives).

\* Charles ix. to Ferralz, Aug. 24, 1572; *Mackintosh*, iii. 348.

† Elle fust merveillement aise d'entendre le discours que mondit neveu de Beauville luy en fit. Lequel, après luy avoir conté le susdit affaire, supplia sadicte Sainteté, suyvant la charge expressé qu'il avoit de V. M. de vouloir concéder, pour fruit de ceste allegresse, la dispense du mariage du roy et roïne de Navarre, datée de quelques jours avant que les nopces en feussent faictes, ensemble l'absolution pour Messeigneurs les Cardinaux de Bourbon et de Ramboilhet, et pour tous les autres evesques et prélatz qui y avoient assisté. . . . nous fait pour fin response qu'il y adviseroit (Ferralz, *ut supra*).

‡ Pensavi che per tutte le città di Francia detta seguire il simile, subitoche arrivi la nuova dell' executione di Parigi . . . A N. S. mi faccia gratia e basciar i piedi in nome mio, col quale mi rallegro con le viscere del cuore che sia piaciuto alla Beatitudine d'incaminar nel principio del suo pontificato a felicemente e honoratamente le cose di questo regno havendo talmente havuto in protezione il Rè e Regina Madre che hanno saputo e potuto sbarrare queste pestifere radici con tanta prudenza, in tempo tanto opportuno, che tutti lor ribelli erano sotto chiave e gabbia (Salviati, Desp. Aug. 24.; *Theiner*, i. 322; *Mackintosh*, iii. 355).

§ Sexta Septembria, mane, in Senatu Pontificis et Cardinalium lectus sunt literae a legato Pontificis et Gallia scriptae, admiralium et Huguenotorum, destinata Regis voluntate atque consensu, trucidatos esse. Ea re in eodem Senatu decretum esse, ut inde recta Pontifex cum Cardinalibus in eodem D. Marci consideret, Deoque Opt. Max. pro tanto beneficio Sedi Romanae orbique Christiano collato gratias solenni manageret (*Scriptum Roma missum in Capisulpi*, 1572).



were fired in the evening; and the city was illuminated for three nights. To disregard the Pope's will in this respect would have savoured of heresy. Gregory XIII. exclaimed that the massacre was more agreeable to him than fifty victories of Lepanto. For some weeks the news from the French provinces sustained the rapture and excitement of the Court.\* It was hoped that other countries would follow the example of France: the Emperor was informed that something of the same kind was expected of him.† On the 8th of September, the Pope went in procession to the French church of St. Lewis, where three-and-thirty Cardinals attended at a mass of thanksgiving. On the 11th he proclaimed a jubilee. In the Bull he said that, forasmuch as God had armed the King of France to inflict vengeance on the heretics for the injuries done to religion, and to punish the leaders of the rebellion which had devastated his kingdom, Catholics should pray that he might have grace to pursue his auspicious enterprise to

the end, and so complete what he had begun so well.\* Before a month had passed, Vasari was summoned from Florence to decorate the hall of kings with paintings of the massacre.† The work was pronounced his masterpiece; and the shameful scene may still be traced upon the wall, where, for three centuries, it has insulted every pontiff that entered the Sixtine chapel.

The story that the Huguenots had perished because they were detected plotting the King's death was known at Rome on the 6th of September. While the sham edict and the imaginary trial served to confirm it in the eyes of Europe, Catherine and her son took care that it should not deceive the Pope. They assured him that they meant to disregard the edict. To excuse his sister's marriage, the King pleaded that it had been concluded for no object but vengeance; and he promised that there would soon be not a heretic in the country.‡ This was corroborated by Salviati. As to the proclaimed toleration, he knew that it was a device to disarm foreign enmity, and prevent a popular commotion. He testified that the Queen spoke truly when she said that she had confided to him, long before, the real purpose of her daughter's engagement.§ He exposed the hollow pretence of the plot. He announced that its existence would be established by formalities of law, but added that it was so notoriously false that none but an idiot could believe in it.|| Gregory gave no

84) Quia Die 2<sup>a</sup> prædicti mensis Septembris S<sup>ma</sup> D. N. certior factus fuerat Colignium Franciæ Ammirallium a populo Parisien. occisum fuisse et cum eo multos ex Ducibus et primioribus Ugonotarum hæreticorum eius sequacibus Rege ipso Franciæ approbante, ex quo spes erat tranquillitatem in dicto Regno redituram expulsis hæreticis, idcirco S<sup>ma</sup> Sua expleto concistorio descendit ad ecclesiam Sancti Marci, præcedente cruce et sequentibus Cardinalibus et genuflexus ante altare maius, ubi positum fuerat sanctissimum Sacramentum, oravit gratias Deo agens, et inchoavit cantando hymnum Te Deum (Fr. Mutantii Diaria, B. M. Add. mss. 26, 811).

\* Après quelques autres discours qu'il me feist sur le contentement que luy et le collège des Cardinaux avoient receu de ladicte exécution faicte et des nouvelles qui journellement arrivoient en ceste court de semblables exécutions que l'on a faicte et font encore en plusieurs villes de vostre royaume, qui, à dire la vérité, sont les nouvelles les plus agréables que je pense qu'on eust acceu apporter en ceste ville, ladicte Sainteté pour fin me commanda de vous escrire que cest événement luy a esté cent fois plus agréable que cinquante victoires semblables à celle que ceulx de la ligue obtindrent l'année passée contre le Turcq, ne voulant oublier vous dire, Sire, les commandemens estoictz qu'il nous feist à tous, mesmement aux françois d'en faire feu de joye, et qui ne l'eust faict eust mal senty de la foy (Ferralz, *ut supra*).

† Tutta Roma stà in allegria di tal fatto et frà i più grandi si dice, che'l Rè di Francia ha insegnato alli Principi christiani ch' hanno de simili vassalli nè stati loro a liberarsene, et dicono che vostra Maestà Cesarea dovrebbe castigare il Conte Palatino tanto nemico della Serenissima casa d'Austria, et della Religione cattolica, come l'anni passati fece contra il Duca di Sassonia tiene tuttavia prigionie, che a un tempo vendicarebbe le tante ingurie ha fatto detto Palatino alla chiesa di Dio, et poveri Christiani, et alla Maestà Vostra et sua Casa Serenissima sprezzando li suoi editi, et commandamenti, et privarlo dell' elettione dell' Imperio et darlo al Duca di Baviera (Cusano to the Emperor, Rome, Sept. 6, 1572; Vienna Archives).‡

\* The Bull, as published in Paris, is printed by Strype (*Life of Parker*, iii. 197). La prima occasione che a ciò lo mosse fù per lo stratagemma fatto da Carlo Nono Christianissimo Rè di Francia contra Coligno Ammiraglio, capo d'Ugonotti, et suoi seguaci, tagliati a pezzi in Parigi (*Ciappi, Vita di Gregorio XIII.*, 1596, 63).

† Vasari to Borghini, Oct. 5, 1572, March 5, 1573 —to Francesco Medici, Nov. 17, 1572; *Gaye, Carteggio d'Artisti*, iii. 328, 366, 341.

‡ Indubitamente non si osserverà interamente, havendomi in questo modo, punto che torno dall' audienza promesso il Rè, imponendomi di darne conto in suo nome a Nostro Signore, di volere in breve tempo liberare il Regno dalli Ugonotti . . . Mi ha parlato della dispensa, escusandosi di non haver fatto il Parentado per altro, che per liberarsi da suoi inimici (Salviati, *Desp.* Sept. 3, Sept. 2, Oct. 11, 1572).

§ Si vede che l'editto non essendo osservato ne da popoli, ne dal principe, non è per pigliar piede (Salviati, *Desp.* Sept. 4) Qual Regina in progresso di tempo intende pur non solo di revocare tal editto, ma per mezzo della giustizia di restituire la fede cattolica nell' antica osservanza, parendogli che nessuno ne debba dubitare adesso, che hanno fatto morire l'ammiraglio con tanti altri huomini di valore, conforme al ragionamenti altre volte havuti con esso meco essendo a Bles, et trattando del parentado di Navarra, et dell' altre cose che correvano in quei tempi, il che essendo vero, ne posso rendere testimonianza, e a Nostro Signore e a tutto il mondo (Aug. 27; *Theiner*, i. 329, 330).

|| *Desp.* Sept. 2, 1572.



courtenance to the official falsehood. At the reception of the French ambassador, Rambouillet, on the 23d of December, Muretus made his famous speech. He said that there could not have been a happier beginning for a new pontificate, and alluded to the fabulous plot in the tone exacted of French officials. The Secretary, Boccapaduli, replying in behalf of the Pope, thanked the King for destroying the enemies of Christ, but strictly avoided the conventional fable.\*

Cardinal Orsini went as Legate to France. He had been appointed in August; and he was to try to turn the King's course into that line of policy from which he had strayed under Protestant guidance. He had not left Rome when the events occurred which altered the whole situation. Orsini was now charged with felicitations, and was to urge Charles not to stop half-way.† An ancient and obsolete ceremonial was suddenly revived; and the Cardinals accompanied him to the Flaminian gate.‡ This journey of Orsini, and the pomp with which it was surrounded, were exceedingly unwelcome at Paris. It was likely to be taken as proof of that secret understanding with Rome which threatened to rend the delicate web in which Charles was striving to hold the confidence of the Protestant world.§ He requested that the Legate might be recalled; and the Pope was willing that there should be some delay.

\* The reply of Boccapaduli is printed in French, with the translation of the oration of Muretus, Paris, 1573.

† Troverà le cose così ben disposte, che durerà poca fatica in ottenere quel tanto si desidera per Sua Beatitudine, anzi haverà più presto da ringratiar quella Maestà Christianissima di così buona et sant' opera, ha fatto far, che da durare molta fatica in persuaderli l'unione con la Santa Chiesa Romana (Cusano to the Emperor, Rome, Sept. 6). Sereno (*Comment. della guerra di Cipro*, 329) understands the mission in the same light.

‡ Omnes mulas ascendentes cappis et galeris pontificalibus induti associarunt Romanum D. Cardinalem Ursinum Legatum usque ad portam Flaminiam et extra eam ubi factis multis reverentiis eum ibi reliquerunt, juxta ritum antiquum in ceremoniali libro descriptum qui longo tempore intermissus fuerat, ita Pontifice iubente in Concistorio hodierno (Mucantii Diaria). Ista associatio fuit determinata in Concistorio vocatis x Cardinalibus et ex improvviso executi fuimus (C. Firmani Diaria, B.M. Add. mss. 8448).

§ Mette in consideratione alla Santità Sua che havendo deputato un Legato apostolico sì la morte dell' armiraglio, et altri capi Ugonotti, ha fatti ammazzare a Parigi, saria per metterla in molto sospetto et diffidenza dell' Principi Protestanti, et della Regina d'Inghilterra, ch'ella fosse d'accordo con la Sede Apostolica, et Principi Cattolici per farli guerra, i quali cerca d'acquettar con accertarli tutti, che non ha fatto ammazzar l'armiraglio et suoi seguaci per conto della Religione (Cusano to the Emperor, Sept. 27).

While Orsini tarried on his way, Gregory's reply to the announcement of the massacre arrived at Paris. It was a great consolation to himself, he said, and an extraordinary grace vouchsafed to Christendom. But he desired, for the glory of God and the good of France, that the Huguenots should be extirpated utterly; and with this view he demanded the revocation of the edict. When Catherine knew that the Pope was not yet satisfied, and sought to direct the actions of the King, she could hardly restrain her rage. Salviati had never seen her so furious. The words had hardly passed his lips when she exclaimed that she wondered at such designs, and was resolved to tolerate no interference in the government of the kingdom. She and her son were Catholics from conviction, and not through fear or influence. Let the Pope content himself with that.\* The Nuncio had at once foreseen that the court, after crushing the Huguenots, would not become more amenable to the counsels of Rome. He wrote, on the very day of St. Bartholomew, that the King would be very jealous of his authority, and would exact obedience from both sides alike.

At this untoward juncture Orsini appeared at Court. To Charles, who had done so much, it seemed unreasonable that he should be asked for more. He represented to Orsini that it was impossible to eradicate all the remnants of a faction which had been so strong. He had put seventy thousand Huguenots to the sword; and, if he had shown compassion to the rest, it was in order that they might become good Catholics.†

The hidden thoughts which the Court of Rome betrayed by its conduct on this memorable occasion have brought, upon the Pope himself an amount of hatred greater than he deserved. Gregory XIII. appears as a pale figure between the two strongest of the modern Popes, without the intense zeal of the one, and the ruthless volition of the other. He was not prone to large conceptions or violent resolutions. He had been converted late in life to the spirit of the Tridentine Reformation; and when he showed rigour it was thought to be not in his character, but in the counsels of those who influenced him.‡

\* Salviati, Desp. Sept. 22, 1572.

† Charles IX. to S. Goard, Oct. 5, 1572; *Charrrière*, iii. 330. Ne poteva esser bastante segno l'haver egli doppo la morte dell' Ammiraglio fatto un editto, che in tutti i luoghi del suo regno fossero posti a fil di spada quanti heretici vi si trovassero, onde in pochi giorni n'erano stati ammazzati settanta mila e d'avantaggio (*Ciccarelli, Vita di Gregorio XIII., Platina Vie de Pontefici*, 1715, 592).

‡ Il tengono quassiche in filo et il necessitano a far-



He did not instigate the crime, nor the atrocious sentiments that hailed it. In the religious struggle a frenzy had been kindled which made weakness violent, and turned good men into prodigies of ferocity: and at Rome, where every loss inflicted on Catholicism, and every wound, was felt, the belief that, in dealing with heretics, murder is better than toleration, prevailed for half a century. The predecessor of Gregory had been Inquisitor-General. In his eyes Protestants were worse than Pagans, and Lutherans more dangerous than other Protestants.\* The Capuchin preacher, Pistoja, bore witness that men were hanged and quartered almost daily at Rome;† and Pius declared that he would release a culprit guilty of a hundred murders rather than one obstinate heretic.‡ He seriously contemplated razing the town of Faenza because it was infested with religious error; and he recommended a similar expedient to the King of France.§ He adjured him to hold no intercourse with the Huguenots, to make no terms with them, and not to observe the terms he had made. He required that they should be pursued to the death, that not one should be spared under any pretence, that all prisoners should suffer death.¶ He threatened Charles with the punishment of Saul when he forebore to exterminate the Amalekites.¶ He told him that it was his mission to avenge the injuries of the Lord, and that nothing is more cruel than mercy to the impious.\* When he sanctioned the mur-

der of Elizabeth he proposed that it should be done in execution of his sentence against her.\* It became usual with those who meditated assassination or regicide on the plea of religion to look upon the representatives of Rome as their natural advisers. On the 21st of January 1591 a young Capuchin came, by permission of his superiors, to Segna, bishop of Piacenza, then Nuncio at Paris. He said that he was inflamed with the desire of a martyr's death; and having been assured by divines that it would be meritorious to kill that heretic and tyrant, Henry of Navarre, he asked to be dispensed from the rule of his order while he prepared his measures and watched his opportunity. The Nuncio would not do this without authority from Rome; but the prudence, courage, and humility which he discerned in the friar made him believe that the design was really inspired from above. To make this certain, and to remove all scruples, he submitted the matter to the Pope, and asked his blessing upon it, promising that whatever he decided should be executed with all discretion.†

The same ideas pervaded the Sacred College under Gregory. There are letters of profuse congratulation by the Cardinals of Lorraine, Este, and Pellevé. Bourbon was an accomplice before the fact. Granvelle condemned not the act but the delay. Delmino and Santorio approved. The Cardinal of Alessandria had refused the King's gift at Blois, and had opposed his wishes at the conclave. Circumstances were now so much altered that the ring was offered to him

cose contra la sua natura e la sua volontà perche S. S.<sup>a</sup> à sempre stato di natura piacevole e dolce (Relatione di Gregorio XIII.; *Ranke, Papeste*, App. 80). Faict Cardinal par le pape Pie IV. le 12<sup>e</sup> de Mars 1559, lequel en le créant, dit qu'il n'avoit créé un cardinal ains un pape (Ferraz to Charles IX., May 14, 1572).

\* S.<sup>m</sup> Dominus Noster dixit nullam concordiam vel pacem debere nec posse esse inter nos et hereticos, et cum eis nullum foedus ineundum et habendum . . . verissimum est deteriores esse hæreticos gentilibus, eo quod sunt adeo perversi et obstinati, ut propemodum infideles sint (Acta Concistorialia, June 18, 1571; Bib. Imp. F. Lat. 12,561).

† Ogni giorno faceva impiccare e squartare ora uno, ora un altro (*Cantù* ii. 410).

‡ *Legazioni di Serristori*, 436, 443.

§ Elle desire infiniment que vostre Majesté face quelque resentement plus qu'elle n'a fait jusques à ceste heure contre ceux qui lui font la guerre, comme de raser quelques-unes de leurs principales maisons pour une perpétuelle mémoire (Rambouillet to Charles IX., Rome, Jan. 17, 1569; Bib. Imp. F. Fr. 17,989).

¶ Pius v. to Catherine, April 13, 1569.

¶ Pius v. to Charles IX., March 28, 1569.

\* Sa Sainteté m'a dict que j'écrive à vostre majesté que icelle se souviene qu'elle combat pour la querelle de Dieu, et que cest à elle de faire ses vengeance (Rambouillet to Charles IX., Rome, March 14, 1569; Bib. Imp. F. Fr. 16,039). Nihil est enim

ea pietate misericordiae crudelius, quam in impios et ultima supplicia meritis confertur (Pius v. to Charles IX., Oct. 20, 1569).

\* *Correspondance de Philippe II.*, ii. 185.

† Inspirato più d'un anno fa di esporre la vita al martirio col procurare la liberazione della religione, et della patria per mezzo della morte del tiranno, et assicurato da Theologi che il fatto saria stato meritorio, non ne haveva con tutto ciò mai potuto ottenere da superiori suoi la licenza o dispensa . . . Io quantunque mi sia parso di trovarlo pieno di tale humiltà, prudenza, spirito et core che arguiscono che questa sia inspiratione veramente piuttosto che temerità o leggerezza, non cognoscendo tuttavia di poterliela concedere l'ho persuaso a tornarsene nel suo convento raccomandarsi a Dio et attendere all' obbedienza delli suoi superiori finchè io attendessi dallo assenso o ripulsa del Papa che haverei interpellato per la sua santa beneditione, se questo spirito sia veramente da Dio donde si potrà conjetturare che sia venendo approvato da Sua S.<sup>a</sup>, e perciò sarà più sicuro da essere eseguito . . . Resta hora che V. S. Ill.<sup>ma</sup> mi favorisca di comunicare a S. B. il caso, et scrivermene come la supplico quanto prima per duplicate et triplicate lettere la sua santa determinatione assicurandosi che per quanto sarà in me il negotio sarà trattato con la debita circumspectione (Segna, Desp. Paris, Jan. 23, 1591; deciphered in Rome, March 26).



again; and this time it was accepted.\* The one dissentient from the chorus of applause is said to have been Montalto. His conduct when he became Pope makes it very improbable; and there is no good authority for the story. But Leti has it, who is so far from a panegyrist that it deserves mention.

The theory which was framed to justify these practices has done more than plots and massacres to cast discredit on the Catholics. This theory was as follows:—Confirmed heretics must be rigorously punished whenever it can be done without the probability of greater evil to religion. Where that is feared, the penalty may be suspended or delayed for a season, provided it be inflicted whenever the danger is past.† Treaties made with heretics, and promises given to them, must not be kept, because sinful promises do not bind, and no agreement is lawful which may injure religion or ecclesiastical authority. No civil power may enter into engagements which impede the free scope of the Church's law.‡ It is part of the punishment of heretics that faith shall not be kept with them.§ It is even mercy to kill them, that they may sin no more.¶

Such were the precepts and the examples by which the French Catholics learned to confound piety and ferocity, and were made ready to immolate their countrymen. During the civil war an association was formed in the South for the purpose of making war upon the Huguenots; and it was fortified by Pius v. with blessings and indulgences. "We doubt not," it proclaimed, "that we shall be victorious over these enemies of

God and of all humankind; and if we fall, our blood will be as a second baptism, by which, without impediment, we shall join the other martyrs straightway in heaven."\*\* Montluc, who told Alva at Bayonne that he had never spared an enemy, was shot through the face at the siege of Rabasteina. While he believed that he was dying, they came to tell him that the place was taken. "Thank God!" he said, "that I have lived long enough to behold our victory; and now I care not for death. Go back, I beseech you, and give me a last proof of friendship, by seeing that not one man of the garrison escapes alive."† When Alva had defeated and captured Genlis, and expected to make many more Huguenot prisoners in the garrison of Mons, Charles ix. wrote to Mondoucet that it would be for the service of God, and of the King of Spain, that they should die. "If the Duke of Alva answers that this is a tacit request to have all the prisoners cut to pieces, you will tell him that that is what he must do, and that he will injure both himself and all Christendom if he fails to do it."‡ This request also reached Alva through Spain. Philip wrote on the margin of the despatch that, if he had not yet put them out of the world, he must do so immediately, as there could be no reason for delay.§ The same thought occurred to others. On the 22d of July Salviati writes that it would be a serious blow to the faction if Alva would kill his prisoners; and Granvelle wrote that as they were all Huguenots, it would be well to throw them all into the river.¶

Where these sentiments prevailed, Gregory XIII. was not alone in deploring that the work had been but half done. After the first explosion of gratified surprise men perceived that the thing was a failure, and began to call for more. The clergy of Rouen Cathedral instituted a procession of thanksgiving, and prayed that the King might continue what he had so virtuously begun, until a France should profess one faith.¶ There are signs that Charles was tempted at one moment, during the month of October, to follow up the blow.\*† But he died without

\* Ferraz to Charles ix., Nov. 18, Dec. 23, 1572.

† De Castro, *De Justa Hæret. Punitioe*, 1547, 119. Jure divino obligantur eos extirpare, si abaque maiori incommodo possint (*Lancelottus, Hæreticum quare per Catholicum quia*, 1618, 579). Ubi quid indulgendum sit, ratio semper exacta habeatur, an Religioni Ecclesiæ, et Reipublicæ quid vice mutua accedat quod majoris sit momenti, et plus prodesse possit (*Pamelius, De Relig. diversis non admittendis*, 1689, 159). Contagium istud sic grassatum est, ut corrupta massa non ferat antiquissimas leges, severitasque tantisper remittenda sit (*Possevinus, Animadv. in Thuanum; Zacharia, Iter Litterarium*, 321).

‡ Principi sæculari nulla ratione permissum est, hæreticis licentiam tribuere hæreses suas docendi, atque adeo contractus ille iniustus. . . . Si quid Princeps sæcularis attentet in præjudicium Ecclesiasticæ potestatis, aut contra eam aliquid statuat et paciscatur, pactum illud nullum futurum (*R. Sweertii, De Fide Hæreticis servanda*, 1611, 36).

§ Ad penam quoque pertinet et odium hæreticorum quod fides illis data servanda non sit (*Simancha, Inst. Cath.* 46, 52).

¶ Si nolint converti, expedit eos citius tollere e medio, ne gravius postea damnentur, unde non militat contra mansuetudinem christianam, occidere Hæreticos, quia potius est opus maximæ misericordiæ (*Lancelottus*, 579).

\* De Rosoy, *Annales de Toulouse*, iii. 65.

† Alva to Philip, June 5, 1565; *Pap. de Gravelle*, ix. 288; *Comment. de Montluc*, iii. 425.

‡ Charles ix. to Mondoucet, Aug. 31, 1572. *Compte Rendu*, iv. 349.

§ *Bulletins de Bruxelles*, xvi. 256.

¶ Granvelle to Morillon, Sept. 11, 1572; *Nicholas* 475.

\* *Foquet*, iii. 137.

\*† Walsingham to Smith, Nov. 1, 1572; *Digger* 279. Ita enim statutum ab illis fuit die 27 Octobris (Beza, Dec. 3, 1572; *Ill. vir. Epp. Sel.* 621). *La Mothe*, v. 164; *Faustino Tasso, Historie de nostri tempi*, 1583, 343.



pursuing the design; and the hopes were turned to his successor. When Henry III. passed through Italy on his way to assume the crown, there were some who hoped that the Pope would induce him to set resolutely about the extinction of the Huguenots. A petition was addressed to Gregory for this purpose, in which the writer says that hitherto the French court has erred on the side of mercy, but that the new King might make good the error if, rejecting that pernicious maxim that noble blood spilt weakens a kingdom, he would appoint an execution which would be cruel only in appearance, but in reality glorious and holy, and destroy the heretics totally, sparing neither life nor property.\* Similar exhortations were addressed from Rome to Henry himself by Muzio, a layman who had gained repute, among other things, by controversial writings, of which Pius V. said that they had preserved the faith in whole districts, and who had been charged with the task of refuting the Centuriators. On the 17th of July 1574, Muzio wrote to the King that all Italy waited in reliance on his justice and valour, and besought him to spare neither old nor young, and to regard neither rank nor ties of blood.† These hopes also were doomed to disappointment; and a Frenchman writing in the year of Henry's death, laments over the cruel clemency and inhuman mercy that reigned on St. Bartholomew's Day.‡

This was not the general opinion of the Catholic world. In Spain and Italy where hearts were hardened and consciences corrupted by the Inquisition, in Switzerland where the Catholics lived in suspicion and dread of their Protestant neighbours, among ecclesiastical princes in Germany whose authority waned as fast as their subjects abjured their faith, the massacre was welcomed as an act of Christian fortitude. But in France itself the great mass of the people was struck with consternation.§ "Which manner of proceeding," writes Walsingham on the 13th of September, "is by the Catholics themselves utterly condemned, who

desire to depart hence out of this country, to quit themselves of this strange kind of government, for that they see here none can assure themselves of either goods or life." Even in places still steeped in mourning for the atrocities suffered at the hands of Huguenots during the civil war, at Nîmes for instance, the King's orders produced no act of vengeance. At Carcassonne, the ancient seat of the Inquisition, the Catholics concealed the Protestants in their houses.\* In Provence, the news from Lyons, and the corpses that came down in the poisoned waters of the Rhone, awakened nothing but horror and compassion.† Sir Thomas Smith wrote to Walsingham that in England "the minds of the most number are much alienated from that nation, even of the very Papists."‡ At Rome itself Zuñiga pronounced the treachery of which the French were boasting unjustifiable, even in the case of heretics and rebels;§ and it was felt as an outrage to public opinion when the murderer of Coligny was presented to the Pope.|| The Emperor was filled with grief and indignation. He said that the King and Queen-Mother would live to learn that nothing could have been more iniquitously contrived or executed: his uncle Charles V., and his father Ferdinand, had made war on the Protestants, but they had never been guilty of so cruel an act.¶ At that moment Maximilian was seeking the crown of Poland for his son; and the events in France were a weapon in his hands against his rival, Anjou. Even the Czar of Muscovy, Ivan the Terrible, replying to his letters, protested that all Christian princes must lament the barbarous and needless shedding of so much innocent blood. It was not the rivalry of the moment that animated Maximilian. His whole life proves him to have been an enemy of violence and cruelty; and his celebrated letter to Schwendi, written long after, shows that his judgment remained unchanged. It was the Catholic Emperor who roused the Lutheran Elector of Saxony to something like resentment of the butchery in France.\*

\* *Discorso di Monsignor Terracina a Gregorio XIII.*; *Thesauri Politici Contin.* 1618, 73-76.

† *Infin che ne viverà grande, o picciolo di loro, mai non le mancheranno insidie* (*Lettere del Mutio*, 1590, 232).

‡ *Coupez, tronquez, cisaillez, ne pardonnez à parens ny amis, princes et subjets, ny à quelque personne de quelque condition qu'ils soient* (*D'Orléans, Premier avertissement des Catholiques Anglois aux François Catholiques*, 1590, 18). The notion that Charles had displayed an extreme benignity recurs in many books: "Nostre Prince a surpassé toute mesure de clémence" (*Le Frère, de Laval, Histoire des Troubles*, 1576, 527).

§ *Serranus. Comment.* iv. 51.

\* *Bouges, Histoire de Carcassonne*, 343.

† *Sommaire de la Félonie commise à Lyon.* A contemporary tract reprinted by Gonon, 1848, 221.

‡ On this point Smith may be trusted rather than Parker (*Correspondence*, 399).

§ *Bulletins de Bruzellas*, xvi. 249.

|| Qui è venuto quello che dette l'archibusata all'armiraglio di Francia, et è stato condotto dal Cardinal di Lorena et dall'Ambasciator di Francia, al papa. A molti non è piaciuto che costui sia venuto in Roma (Prospero Count Arco to the Emperor, Rome, Nov. 15, 1572; Vienna Archives).

¶ Zuñiga to Philip, March 4, 1573; Arch. de l'Empire, K. 1531, B. 35, 70. Zuñiga heard it from Lorraine.

\* Et est toute la dispute encores sur les derniers



For the Lutherans were not disposed to recognise the victims of Charles ix. as martyrs for the Protestant cause. During the wars of religion Lutheran auxiliaries were led by a Saxon prince, a margrave of Baden, and other German magnates, to aid the Catholic forces in putting down the heresy of Calvin. These feelings were so well known that the French Government demanded of the Duke of Wirtemberg the surrender of the Huguenots who had fled into his dominions.\* Lutheran divines flattered themselves at first with the belief that it was the Calvinistic error, not the Protestant truth, that had invited and received the blow.† The most influential of them, Andreas, declared that the Huguenots were not martyrs but rebels, who had died not for religion but sedition; and he bade the princes beware of the contagion of their spirit, which had deluged other lands with blood. When Elizabeth proposed a league for the defence of Protestantism, the North German divines protested against an alliance with men whose crime was not only religious error but blasphemous obstinacy, the root of many dreadful heresies. The very proposal, they said, argued a disposition to prefer human succour rather than the word of God.‡ When another invitation came from Henry of Navarre, the famous divine Chemnitz declared union with the disciples of Calvin a useless abomination.§

The very men whose own brethren had perished in France were not hearty or unanimous in execrating the deed.|| There were Huguenots who thought that their party had brought ruin on itself, by provoking its enemies, and following the rash counsels of ambitious men.¶ This was the opinion of their chief, Theodore Beza, him-

self. Six weeks before, he wrote that they were gaining in numbers, but losing in quality, and he feared lest, after destroying superstition, they should destroy religion. "Valde metuo ne superstitioni succedat impietas."\* And afterwards he declared that nobody who had known the state of the French Protestants could deny that it was a most just judgment upon them.†

Beza held very stringent doctrines touching the duty of the civil magistrate to suppress religious error. He thought that heresy is worse than murder, and that the good of society requires no crime to be severely punished.‡ He declared toleration contrary to revealed religion and the constant tradition of the Church, and that that lawful authority must be obeyed, even by those whom it persecutes. He expressly recognised this function in Catholic States and urged Sigismund not to rest until he had got rid of the Socinians in Poland.‡ but he could not prevail against the vehement resistance of Cardinal Hosius. It was embarrassing to limit these principles when they were applied against his own Church. For a moment Beza doubted whether it had not received its deathblow in France. But he did not qualify the propositions which were open to be interpreted so fatally.‡ or deny that his people, by their vices, if not by their errors, had deserved what they had suffered.

The applause which greeted their fall came not from the Catholics generally, but from the Catholics alone. While Protestants were ready to palliate or excuse it, the majority of the Catholics who were not under the direct influence of Madrid or Rome recognised the inexorable horror of the crime. But the desire to defend what the Pope approved survived sporadically, while the old fierceness of dogmatic hatred was still

événemens de la France, contre lesquels l'Electeur est beaucoup plus aigre qu'il n'estoit à mon autre voyage, depuis qu'il a esté en l'escole à Vienne (Schomberg to Brulart, May 12, 1573; *Groen*, iv., App. 76).

\* *Sattler, Geschichte von Württemberg*, v. 23.

† Audio quosdam etiam nostrorum theologorum cruentam istam nuptiarum feralium celebrationem pertinaciam Gallorum in semel recepta de sacramentalibus mysticis sententia acceptam referre et præter illos pati neminem somnare (Steinberger to Crato, Nov. 28, 1572; *Gillet, Crato von Crafftheim*, ii. 519).

‡ *Heppe, Geschichte des Deutschen Protestantismus*, iv. 37, 47, 49.

§ *Hachfeld, Martin Chemnitz*, 137.

|| Sunt tamen qui hoc factum et excusare et defendere tentant (Bullinger to Hotoman, Oct. 11, 1572; *Hotoman, Epis.* 35).

¶ Nec dubium est melius cum ipsis actum fuisse, si quemadmodum a principio instituerant, cum disciplinam ecclesiasticam introducere, viros modestos et pie veræque reformationis cupidos tantum in suos catus admisissent, relictis petulantibus et servidis

ingeniis, quæ eos in diros tumultus, et inextricabilia mala conicerunt (*Dinothus, De Bello Civili*, lib. 243).

\* Beza to Tilius, July 5, 1572; *III. vir. Epp.* 607.

† Quoties autem ego hæc ipse prædixi! præmonui! Sed sic Deo visum est, iustissimè causis irato, et tamen servatori (Beza to Tilius, Nov. 10, 1572, 614). Nihil istorum non iustissimo iudicio accidere necesse est fateri, qui Galliarum servatorem (Beza to Crato, Aug. 26, 1573; *Gillet*, ii. 521).

‡ Ut mihi quidem magis absurde facere videntur quam si sacrilegas aut parricidas puniendos tenerent, quum sint istis omnibus hæretici infinitis partibus deteriores. . . . In nullos unquam homines verius quam in hæreticos, blasphemos et impios debet animadvertere (*De Hæreticis puniendis, Theol. I.* 143, 152).

§ *Epist. Theolog.* 1575, 388.

|| Beza to Wittgenstein, Pentecost 1563; *Freiländer*, 143.



inct. A generation passed without any perceptible change in the judgment of Rome. It was a common charge against De Thou that he had condemned the blameless act of Charles ix. The blasphemies of the Huguenots, said one of his critics, were more abominable than their retribution.\* His History was put on the Index; and Cardinal Barberini let him know that he was condemned because he not only favoured Protestants to the detriment of Catholics, but had even disapproved the massacre of St. Bartholomew.† Eudæmon-Johannes, the friend of Bellarmine, pronounces it a pious and charitable act, which immortalized its author.‡ Another Jesuit, Bompiani, says that it was grateful to Gregory, because it was likely to relieve the Church.§ The well-known apology for Charles ix. by Naudé is based rather on political than religious grounds; but his contemporary Guyon, whose History of Orleans is pronounced by the censors full of sound doctrine and pious sentiment, deems it unworthy of Catholics to speak of the murder of heretics as if it were a crime, because, when done under lawful authority, it is a blessed thing.¶ When Innocent xi. refused to approve the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, Frenchmen wondered that he should so far depart from the example which was kept before him by one of the most conspicuous ornaments of his palace.¶ The old spirit was decaying fast in France; and the superb indignation of Bossuet fairly expresses the general opinion of his time. Two works were published on the medals of the Popes, by a French and an Italian writer.\*† The Frenchman awkwardly palliates the conduct of Gregory xiii.; the

Italian heartily defends it. In Italy it was still dangerous ground. Muratori shrinks from pronouncing on the question,\* while Cienfuegos, a Jesuit whom his order esteemed one of the most distinguished Cardinals of the day, judges that Charles ix. died too soon for his fame.† Tempesti, who lived under the enlightened rule of Benedict xiv., accuses Catherine of having arrested the slaughter, in order that some cause should remain to create a demand for her counsels.‡ The German Jesuit Biner and the Papal historian Piatti, just a century ago, are among the last downright apologists.§

Then there was a change. A time came when the Catholics, having long relied on force, were compelled to appeal to opinion. That which had been defiantly acknowledged and defended required to be ingeniously explained away. The same motive which had justified the murder now prompted the lie. Men shrank from the conviction that the rulers and restorers of their Church had been murderers and abettors of murder, and that so much infamy had been coupled with so much zeal. They feared to say that the most monstrous of crimes had been solemnly approved at Rome, lest they should devote the Papacy to the execration of mankind. A swarm of facts were invented to meet the difficulty:—The victims were insignificant in number; they were slain for no reason connected with religion; the Pope believed in the existence of the plot; the plot was a reality; the medal is fictitious; the massacre was a feint concerted with the Protestants themselves; the Pope rejoiced only when he heard that it was over.¶ These things were repeated so often that they have been sometimes believed; and men have fallen into this way of speaking whose sincerity was unimpeachable, and who were not shaken in their religion by the errors or the vices of Popes. Möhler was pre-eminently such a man. In his lectures on the history of the Church, which were published only last year, he said that the Catholics, as such,

\* Lobo de Silveis to De Thou, July 7, 1616; *Histoire*, xv. 371, J. B. Gallus, *Ibid.* 435.

† Le Cardinal Barberin, que je tiens pour Serviteur du Roy, a parlé franchement sur ceste affaire, et m'a dit qu'il croyoit presque impossible qu'il se trouve jamais remède, si vous ne la voulez recommencer; disant que depuis le commencement jusqu'à la fin vous vous estes montré du tout passionné contre ce qui est de l'honneur et de la grandeur de l'Eglise, qu'il se trouvera dans vostre histoire que vous ne parlez jamais des Catholiques qu'avec du mépris et de la louange de ceux de la religion; que mesme vous avez blâmé ce que feu Monsieur le président de Thou vostre père avoit approuvé, qui est la S. Barthelemy (De Brèves to De Thou, Rome, Feb. 18, 1610; Bib. Imp. F. Dupuy, 812).

‡ Cruditatisne tu esse ac non clementis potius, pietatisque putas? (*Resp. ad Ep. Casauboni*, 1612, 118).

§ Quæ res uti Catholicæ Religioni sublevandæ opportuna, ita maxime jucunda Gregorio accidit (*Hist. Pontif. Gregori XIII.*, 30).

¶ *Histoire d'Orléans*, 421, 424.

¶ Germain to Bretagne, Rome, Dec. 24, 1685; Valéry, *Corresp. de Mabillon*, i. 192.

\*† Du Molinet, *Hist. S. Pont. per Numismata*,

1679, 98; Buonanni, *Numismata Pontificum*, i. 336.

\* *Annali d'Italia ad ann. 1572.*

† Si huviera respirado mas tiempo, huviera dado a entender al mundo, que avia Rey en la Francia, y Dios en Israel (*Vida de S. Francisco De Borja*, 446).

‡ *Vita di Sisto V.*, i. 119.

§ Quo demum res evaderent, si Regibus non esset integrum, in rebelles, subditos, quietisque publicæ turbatores animadvertere? (*Apparatus Eruditionis*, vii. 503), Piatti, *Storia de' Pontefici XI.*, 271.

¶ Per le notizie che ricevette della cessata strage (*Moroni, Dizionario di Erudizione Ecclesiastica*, xxxii. 298).



took no part in the massacre; that no cardinal, bishop, or priest, shared in the councils that prepared it; that Charles informed the Pope that a conspiracy had been discovered; and that Gregory made his thanksgiving only because the King's life was saved.\* Such things will cease to be written when men perceive that truth is the only merit that gives dignity and worth to history.

### ART. III.—THE DIFFERENT SCHOOLS OF ELEMENTARY LOGIC.

OF all portions of mental science logic is that in which the different schools come nearest in contact. On the one side, Dr. Whewell, a philosopher of what is called the intuitive school, has been found to agree with the theory of the syllogism propounded by Mr. Mill: on the other hand, though Mr. Mill opposes the doctrines of Hamilton on logic almost throughout, his opposition is in great measure grounded, not on their falsity, but on what he thinks their clumsiness and obscurity—a kind of objection which implies a much less degree of difference. This greater accordance of logicians, as compared with metaphysicians, arises from the narrower compass of logic, at least in its elementary parts; for in its further developments logic admits of very wide diversity of treatment. But in their fundamental portions, the diversity of writers on logic is not too great to admit of reconciliation; and such a reconciliation will be the main object of the present article. It will result from this, that the foundations of logic alone can here be treated of at length: the more abstruse and advanced speculations on the subject (such as those of Hegel, the second volume of Mr. Mill, or Mr. Herbert Spencer) may be hinted at, and the point of their divergence from the main root shown; but no more thorough inquiry into them can be attempted.

Logic is a portion of the great science which treats of thought and knowledge; it deals with thought and knowledge under a particular aspect, and that a very abstract and general one. Now thought, and knowledge, which is the culmination and crowning attainment of thought, and that which thought perpetually endeavours to become, are terms expressive of a relation—a relation, namely, between the mind and the ob-

jects which the mind thinks of or knows. All our knowledge has its centre in the mind; there is not a scrap of it which has not have been gathered together, tested, approved, by a process identical with that which extends through the whole. But, remembering that the mind is one, and that the ultimate principle of thought must be one likewise, whereas the objects of knowledge—the materials which the mind is employed in collecting and sifting—are various and various, infinite in number and kind, it will be apparent that two schools of logicians will arise, marked by very different characteristics. One school will analyse with the greatest care the universal principles of knowledge, will endeavour to reduce from their enumeration of these principles all that, however excellent it may be, is not clearly ultimate, or clearly derivable from what is ultimate, and will think little of illustration or practical applicability, provided their analysis is correctly accomplished. The other school will, perhaps, be less careful in subtle distinction, in proving the perfect universality of some abstract principle; but, taking a broad rule that approves itself at any rate to all but the most refinedly theoretical intellect, they will show and exemplify the operation of this rule over the world of realities, through the diverse concrete sciences and branches of knowledge that have arisen among mankind. There is no necessary antagonism between these two schools; but they are very apt to regard one another antagonistically, and each to look upon rivals, in the one case as hair-splitting and useless theorists, in the other case as mere loose and popular describers.

The German logicians, and together with them Sir William Hamilton, have, with a thoroughness and consistency rare in any body of inquirers, taken their stand with the more abstract of the two schools above named. In defining their science—in answering the question, "What is logic?" they cut off such huge provinces of inquiry, one after another (all of which appear, at any rate, as if they had something to do with logic), that the reader is driven at last to wonder if anything will be left but the barest and leanest scarecrow of a science. And to say the truth, their distinctions are perhaps not always carefully enough thought out, or expressed with the precise accuracy. But in others again they are unquestionably right; and so alien is the mind of ordinary men from this severity in the conception of a science, so necessary is it to be on our guard lest, while professing to be engaged in one kind of speculation, we

\* *Kirchengeschichte*, iii. 211.



should slip away into other easier and more popular topics, that we may well excuse Kant, Esser, or Hamilton, for errors in which they are likely to find but few followers.

The other class of logicians is the one that has always found the most favour with the English schools of philosophy. Bacon was its founder. Whately was a conspicuous example of it; indeed, Whately's whole works may be said to be a kind of appendix to his book on logic, so much did he delight in the testing of processes of thought by the rules (as he conceived them) of correct thinking. But the most powerful writer of this school that has appeared in recent times is undoubtedly Mr. Mill. It would indeed be incorrect to class Mr. Mill as exclusively of this school, if by that were implied an absence of subtle speculation or systematizing ability. The central and most important part of his *System of Logic*, all that relates to the syllogism and the inductive processes, is bound together by a tie of the most stringent nature; the abstract part of it, however it may hereafter be made to assume a different aspect through colligation with other truths, is in its essential elements unassailable. And, besides this, it is absolutely new. The relation of the syllogism to induction is expounded by Mr. Mill as it had never been expounded before, while yet, from the clearness with which he puts it, it appears wonderful that of so many previous logicians no one should have seen how the case exactly stood. But the same praise cannot be extended to other parts of his treatise. His first book is a mere rope of sand. Putting the Introduction aside (which is a definition of the subject), it is simply an assemblage of observations, some acute, some commonplace, on the elements of language. There is no coherent argument binding together the parts; there is no firm walking; there is a perpetual stumbling against metaphysical questions, from which Mr. Mill retreats not victoriously. Nor are the distinctions drawn always consistent with each other, as indeed was hardly to be expected from their heterogeneous nature. For instance, the first division of names into general and individual, which, at p. 27, Mr. Mill declares to be fundamental, is rendered futile by the remark on p. 30, that certain abstract names are neither general nor individual, but in a class apart. And throughout the treatise, he avoids in a very marked manner the more subtle mental analysis—a defect which causes him at once to misunderstand opponents, and to slur over questions of real difficulty. So that, on the whole, his first

object in his work is not speculative, but practical—not to refine his investigations into theoretical symmetry, but to enforce practically the broadest rules that should actuate our ordinary procedure in the search after truth. He does not mind leaving out loose ends in his working, provided the bulk of it is massive and useful.

Logic was spoken of a little way back as a science treating of thought and knowledge under a very abstract and general aspect. More accurately, it might be defined as the science which treats of the universal laws through which knowledge is formed, or of the universal laws of thought in its progress towards knowledge. There is a certain kind of thinking with which logic is not concerned, or at any rate concerned only in a very remote manner, namely, those casual wandering thoughts that flit about our brains with no certain aim or purpose. Such wandering thoughts have no doubt their laws, which may legitimately be the subject of investigation. They rise; they die away from certain causes; they have certain natural effects. But it is not these laws, causes, and effects, that are the subject of logic. The subject of logic is the progress of thought to knowledge; its aim is to find those rules and principles which are the absolutely universal accompaniments of this progress. When these absolutely universal principles are found, logic may freely extend itself again downwards into principles of less universality—principles which, though they do not invariably accompany the acquirement and verification of our knowledge, and therefore are not to be held as an indispensable test of it, yet so frequently accompany it that it is extremely well worth while to know them. In this subordinate part of the science would be introduced all which Hamilton called by the name of Modified Logic—the discussion of those moral qualities which further or hinder the discovery or reception of truth, of the value of testimony, of the different kinds of analogical reasoning, of the various concrete modes in which men may be deceived, and so on. It would, for instance, be a very interesting problem in this branch of logic, to examine the different causes, moral, intellectual, or physical, which prevented for so long a time the general reception of the Copernican theory. But yet, though inquiries of this kind are a legitimate part of logic, and though the utility of them is in many cases very great, they are yet not the central point, the essence of logic. Pure Logic, as Hamilton styled it, must be intellectual, and rigidly intellectual. The causes which lead us to truth may be



moral causes, or may be necessary only in part, or perhaps not necessary at all; but the process whereby knowledge is attained is in itself intellectual; nor can we avoid believing that there are certain characteristics of it which are always and universally present, though it may not always be easy to bring them out when we come to analyse our concrete knowledge. Easy, however, or difficult, this is the first and chief aim of logic—to bring out those universal marks which characterize the development of our knowledge, the progress of thought to knowledge.

The account of the province of logic given by Hamilton and the German logicians coincides in its essential parts with that given in the above paragraph, though they expressed themselves with rather unnecessary obscurity. Thus Hamilton defined logic as the science which deals with the "laws of thought as thought," meaning, by "thought as thought," thought in its essential office—thought, not in its casual impulses and agencies, but in its progress towards knowledge. In other words, he described the subject-matter of logic as the "laws of the form of thought," or the "formal laws of thought," following Kant, who defined logic as "*eine Wissenschaft von der blossen Form des Denkens überhaupt*," and again, as "*eine Wissenschaft, a priori von den nothwendigen Gesetzen des Denkens*." By the *laws* of thought, the "*nothwendigen Gesetzen*," were of course understood, by all these logicians, the laws to which thought must conform if it is to result in knowledge.

The account which Mr. Mill gives of logic is less precise and accurate than that of the German school, but more copious, explanatory, and practical. I will quote the principal passages which embody his conception of it. He begins by distinguishing (after Whately) between logic as a science, and logic as an art. Whately, he says, rightly defined logic to be "the science as well as the art of reasoning; meaning by the former term, the analysis of the mental process which takes place whenever we reason, and by the latter, the rules grounded on that analysis for conducting the process correctly. . . . To reason," he adds in explanation, "is simply to infer any assertion, from assertions already admitted."

The distinction between the science and the art of logic is laid down here much too broadly. One would expect, from Mr. Mill's words, to find his treatise to consist of two parts, the first consisting of analysis, the second of rules. It is needless to say that no such division is found in it;

and, in fact, every universal principle of reasoning which analysis establishes involves a corresponding rule—the rule, namely, of not transgressing the principle. How can any separation be effected between such a principle and such a rule? But it need not be denied that logic may be regarded in a more theoretical or in a more practical manner, and that in the former case it may be styled a science, in the latter an art. We speak, not incorrectly, of a man learning to reason, and to learn anything is certainly an art. But, on the whole, Hamilton is right in saying that logic, in the fundamental view of it, is a science; the object of the logician is to know, and to know systematically—to know, namely, the fundamental principles which underlie our acquirement of knowledge. Another alteration that might be introduced with advantage into the passage from Mr. Mill, is in his definition of reasoning. It would be better thus: "To reason is to infer any fact, from facts already admitted;" or, still better (because a fact, almost always implies an individual fact), "To reason is to infer any truth, from truths already admitted." Surely a dog, or even a worm, reasons, when it infers the position of its food from the indications supplied by its senses—sight or hearing or smell; but there is no assertion involved in the matter in these cases. Mr. Mill probably wrote "assertion," because he wished to include bad reasoning within his definition of reasoning. To reason badly, he would say, is still to reason, though not to infer a fact or a truth. And those to whom this consideration appeared important, might substitute "supposed fact," or "supposed truth," in the definition as above given. Lastly, Mr. Mill's definition of logic is narrower than that of the German writers, in that he confines it to the simple act of reasoning, while they extend it to conceptions, which are the results of reasoning. Of this, more will be said presently.

Regarding then logic, after Mr. Mill's manner, as the science of reasoning, it is clear that it must have a relation to all our separate and particular modes of reasoning—to the several sciences. It is true that logic cannot take a special interest in the discoveries either of any one science or of all sciences together; the sole function of logic with respect to them lies in the examination of the processes by which they are established. And Hamilton is no doubt right when he says, "The objects (the matter) of thought are infinite; no one science can embrace them all, and, therefore, to suppose logic conversant about the matter



of thought in general, is to say that logic is another name for the Encyclopædia—the *omne scibile*—of human knowledge. The absurdity of this supposition is apparent." And he rightly concludes that logic is concerned essentially with the "form," i. e., the universal principles, of thought. Nevertheless, it is possible to place far too wide a separation between logic and the actual concrete sciences. After all, in discussing the theory of thinking, we cannot omit the consideration of the processes in which it is exemplified; nay, we can have no knowledge of the theory except through consideration of the special processes. So much as this would be admitted by nearly all, if not by all, philosophers; for though Kant, in the words we have quoted, styles logic "eine Wissenschaft a priori," and uses afterwards still stronger language as to the independence of logic of the separate sciences, he did not mean to deny (as he explains in the first words of his *Kritik*) that all universal principles were developed out of concrete material. He only affirmed that the concrete material, though necessary to the exhibition of the universal principles, was not the source of those principles; and this he did in an intelligible sense, though it is not needful here to pursue or criticise his meaning further. But the practice of the German philosophers is more liable to exception than their theory. It is quite undeniable that they are extremely deficient in the exemplification and illustration of their rules by concrete experience. When they do introduce examples, these are of the barest and most commonplace character, instead of being chosen from processes of thought that have really taxed the energies of the thinker. It does not involve dissent from the recently quoted observation of Hamilton, to perceive that the remarks of Mr. Mill on the relation of logic to the sciences are more judicious; and it should be noticed, in illustration of Mr. Mill's own bias, how much he dwells on the practical utility of logic, how little on its theoretical beauty. "The field of logic," he writes, "is co-extensive with the field of knowledge. Logic is the common judge and arbiter of all particular investigations. It does not undertake to find evidence, but to determine whether it has been found. Logic neither observes, nor invents, nor discovers; but judges. It is no part of the business of logic to inform the surgeon what appearances are found to accompany a violent death. This he must learn from his own experience and observation, or from that of others, his predecessors in his peculiar pursuit. But logic sits in judgment on the

sufficiency of that observation and experience to justify his rules, and on the sufficiency of his rules to justify his conduct. . . . It is in this sense that logic is, what Bacon so expressively called it, *ars artium*; the science of science itself. All science consists of data and conclusions from those data, of proofs and what they prove; now logic points out what relations must subsist between data and whatever can be concluded from them, between proof and everything which it can prove. If there be any such indispensable relations, and if these can be precisely determined, every particular branch of science, as well as every individual in the guidance of his conduct, is bound to conform to those relations, under the penalty of making false inferences, of drawing conclusions which are not grounded in the realities of things" (vol. i. p. 9).

No exception can be taken to this passage. But there is an unfounded distinction to which Mr. Mill on other occasions appears to lean, though without wholly committing himself to it; namely, that logic is rather the science of proof than the science of discovery. Now, it is quite true that the logician, as such, does not set himself to work to discover material truth; but this is quite another thing from saying that the processes of discovery do not form part of the subject-matter of the logician, quite as much as the processes of proof. And indeed, Mr. Mill's own four experimental methods, on which he lays so much stress, are quite as much processes of discovery as of proof. So that when he says, in the passage quoted, that 'logic does not discover, but judges,' this is only true when confined to the practical use of logic. The theory of logic is quite as much the theory of discovery as of proof; it is the theory of the whole process by which thought grows into knowledge. But practically, people do not discover by logic; they only test what they think their discoveries by it. And in illustration of this, Kant might be quoted as well as Mr. Mill. "Logic," he says, "is of course useful, not for the extension, but merely for the correction and verification of our knowledge" (*Logik-Einleitung*, p. 5). And there is a great deal that may be usefully noticed with respect to the practical employment of logic; but for the present let us confine ourselves to the theory.

Hitherto I have endeavoured to describe, either in my own language or that of others, what logic is. To say what it is not, that is, to sever it from the other cognate sciences, still remains. And first of all, it is very plain that *to know* is not the only



faculty, not the only function of the soul. The soul has passions, pleasures, and pains; it affects the body, and is affected through the bodily organs in ways to which the term knowledge is not applicable; it determines action in its individual capacity; collectively, many souls being cognisant of each other's existence through the senses, and being urged by desire, form those combinations which we term political or social. From the consideration of the soul in these its different capacities arise many sciences—ethics, æsthetics, politics, social science, physiological psychology, etc.—all of which sciences together may be called the psychological sciences. Now the science which treats of knowledge—its growth, its laws, its development—is one of these sciences; for to know is one of the functions of the soul—as some think, the supreme function, and that without which any consideration of the rest is futile (the opinion, as is to be supposed, of Schelling and Hegel)—but at any rate, one of the functions.

But now, selecting out of the whole number of the psychological sciences this science, which treats of the development of knowledge, the question arises, Is this science throughout its whole scope to be designated by the title of logic? It is not; and yet it may be entirely surveyed from the logical point of view. But there is also another point of view from which we may look on it. It is clear that we may treat of the development of our knowledge to some extent in a simply historical fashion. We may say, Thus and thus were different branches of knowledge successively added on to our previous stock, without dwelling on the truth and reality of the knowledge thus added, on its conformity with the essential laws of all knowledge. If, on the other hand, we wish to treat of knowledge from the logical point of view, the history of the development of knowledge sinks into minor importance, and is only used to illustrate the essential laws of knowledge. That this distinction is possible to a certain extent is plain from the different character of such a book as Dr. Whewell's *History of the Inductive Sciences* from any professedly logical treatise, such as that of Mr. Mill. In Dr. Whewell, the principles illustrate the history; in Mr. Mill, the history illustrates the principles. But how far is this distinction, between the science which treats of the logical justification of our knowledge and the science which treats of its historical development, capable of being carried out? This is a question that must be entered upon more fully, if we wish to know the exact relation of logic to metaphysics.

There are then certain portions of our knowledge which have been accumulated within historical times; the faculties by which they have been gained are faculties not possessed to anything like their full extent by the savage or the uncultivated person. Of this class are the physical sciences; and accordingly in the case of the physical sciences we can distinguish very accurately between their logic and their history, between the reasons which compel us to believe in them and the actual record of their growth. We can observe the processes of thought, induction and deduction, that secure to us this knowledge: we vitally accept these processes, not merely as principles that have obtained during the past, but as principles that must guide us for the future—in a much more stringent and thorough sense than that in which the principles which underlie any material science may be said to guide our action. By far the larger portion, however, of our knowledge, is acquired so very shortly after our birth, that we lose all recollection of the process by which it was gained. The faculties of sight, hearing, taste, smell, touch; the knowledge of ourselves, our emotions, and feelings; these we are said to possess naturally. But it cannot be doubted by any one who reflects on the subject, that though we, through some mysterious process of inheritance, come into possession of these kinds of knowledge easily and quickly, they were not gained easily or quickly by those who first possessed them. Thought and effort must have been necessary for their acquisition; and in that thought and effort must have been at work universal principles similar to those which gain and secure to us the knowledge which we are now for the first time gathering together. And the very difficult science which treats of this knowledge, which we possess so securely as to call it elementary and primary, is entitled *Metaphysics*; and here it is impossible to distinguish between the logic and the historical growth of our knowledge. Why I believe that this chair, this table, this house, stands before me, and, How I came to this belief, are no doubt two different questions; but to treat them separately is very hard indeed. In general, the German metaphysicians have treated of the former, the logical, question; the English psychologists of the latter, the historical, to the solution of which they have invoked the aid of physiology. But, in point of fact, it is very difficult to treat of either question satisfactorily, apart from the other. And hence, though logic can in part be studied quite without reference to metaphysics, yet



there is a part of logic which is closely entwined with metaphysics, and at present inseparable from it.

If we could enter into the mind of an infant, and see it, with a swiftness of thought unparalleled in later life, gather together its knowledge of the material world, of colours, sounds, smells, tastes, feelings, and the connections of these, it is not to be doubted but that the fundamental principles which govern the development of knowledge must be rigorously adhered to; the infant must be a perfect, though unconscious, logician. What, however, is more particularly to be noticed is this: it is not quite certain that these primary processes of the mind are exactly of that nature which can be called induction and deduction, the only logical processes that we can be said fully to understand. Even in our present mathematical processes, it is difficult to characterize the method of our knowledge by these terms; we feel, though we cannot describe, a difference. It cannot be thought impossible that a further analysis of our logical processes, such as that which Hegel attempted, may be necessary when we come to consider the processes of our elementary knowledge. But into the Hegelian logic it is impossible to enter here; though it is necessary to point out the relation which it bears to the ordinary logic. Such a logic, if correctly carried out—and I express no opinion whether Hegel carried it out correctly or not—must be more penetrating than ordinary logic. It may appear to contradict ordinary logic; just as to superficial minds the Copernican system appears to contradict the Ptolemaic system. It requires a scientific mind to discern that, in a much more important sense, the Copernican system is the development of the Ptolemaic system. Just so, while the possibility of this deeper logic must be vindicated, and the inquiry into it urged, it is certain that it cannot really be other than the development, through an acuter analysis, of our ordinary logic.

I have endeavoured to present above a correct view of the difference, and at the same time the relation, between logic and metaphysics. Logic is the science which elucidates the fundamental principles that run through the whole of our knowledge. Metaphysics is the investigation, at once logical and historical, into a certain portion of our knowledge, namely, the elementary portion. Thus logic and metaphysics are intersecting sciences, though this often escapes notice, from the fact that the portion where both intersect is the most abstruse portion of either. It will be proper, how-

ever, to hear what previous writers have said as to the difference between these two sciences.

Mr. Mill is hardly clear enough on the subject. "Of the science," he says, "which expounds the operations of the human understanding in the pursuit of truth, one essential part is the inquiry, What are the facts which are the objects of intuition or consciousness, and what are those which we merely infer? But this inquiry has never been considered a portion of logic. Its place is in another and a perfectly distinct department of science, to which the name metaphysics more particularly belongs: that portion of mental philosophy which attempts to determine what part of the furniture of the mind belongs to it originally, and what part is constructed out of materials furnished to it from without. To this science appertain the great and much debated questions of the existence of matter; the existence of spirit, and of a distinction between it and matter; the reality of time and space, as things without the mind, and distinguishable from the objects which are said to exist in them. . . . To the same science belong the inquiries into the nature of Conception, Perception, Memory, and Belief; all of which are operations of the understanding in the pursuit of truth, but with which, as phenomena of the mind, or with the possibility which may or may not exist of analysing any of them into simpler phenomena, the logician as such has no concern. To this science must also be referred the following, and all analogous questions: To what extent our intellectual faculties and our emotions are innate—to what extent the result of association: whether God and duty are realities, the existence of which is manifest to us *a priori* by the constitution of our rational faculty; or whether our ideas of them are acquired notions, the origin of which we are able to trace and explain, and the reality of the objects themselves a question not of consciousness or intuition, but of evidence and reasoning. The province of logic must be restricted to that portion of our knowledge which consists of inferences from truths previously known, whether those antecedent data be general propositions, or particular observations and perceptions. Logic is not the science of Belief, but the science of Proof or Evidence" (vol. i. pp. 7, 8). It may be noticed, by the way, that the proposition that "the province of logic must be restricted to that portion of our knowledge which consists of inferences," is not quite consistent with the observation which Mr. Mill makes on the succeeding page, that "the field of logic is



co-extensive with the field of knowledge." And the fact is that, though Mr. Mill has a highly positive and precise idea of what he *does* intend to write about (which is indeed the first necessity in an author), his conception of the subjects outside his scope—of what he styles "metaphysics"—is somewhat vague. His metaphysical questions are a very miscellaneous set. None of them are meaningless; but the meaning of many of them is extremely indeterminate; they are mere tentative expressions, and can by no means be said to sketch the outline of a science. And if it be asked, Do we not really know some things by intuition, others by inference? and if so, must not these separate kinds of knowledge be the subjects of different sciences? it must be replied, that the division thus stated, whether theoretically possible or not, is practically impossible. No fact, no truth, comes before us, of which it can be said, This is known to us at once and purely, without any mental process whatever leading up to it. We must take knowledge as we find it, as a conglomerate. In short, metaphysics, as the science which treats of our elementary knowledge, is intelligible; while if defined as the science of our intuitive knowledge, it challenges questions that are not easily answered.

Much better is the account given by Kant and his followers of the difference between logic and metaphysics. According to them, logic deals with the form, *i. e.*, the universal principles, of thought: metaphysics, with the matter of thought, the actual objects that we know. The definition of logic is indeed unexceptionable: that of metaphysics is more vague; it leaves it still doubtful what kind of inquiry into the matter of thought it is which metaphysics proposes. If it were answered that metaphysics proposes a *historical* inquiry into the development of our knowledge, this account of the matter would not very essentially differ from that which has been advanced in the above pages. It would differ from it in two ways only: first, in the total exclusion of logic from the sphere of metaphysics, whereas, according to the account here given, they are in certain parts inextricably entwined; and secondly, in extending metaphysics beyond the region of our elementary knowledge. But Kant's conception of metaphysics was clearly not that of a historical science. The metaphysics of Hamilton had more of a historical character; but the question is one that cannot be pursued further in this place. Here must terminate the investigation into the external relations of logical science; it

is time to consider the science in itself, its present condition, and its prospects.

The most fundamental axiom of logic relates to the sharp separation between truth and falsehood. A judgment, an opinion, a proposition, must be true or not true. This, it may be thought, is sufficiently obvious; but something remains to be said of it. The axiom assumes of course that the judgment or proposition has a clear meaning; that it is a hard solid fact knocking at the doors of the mind and challenging entrance; that it is not idle words or fluctuating thought. Indeed, the very terms judgment and proposition do, perhaps, imply this; an unmeaning judgment, an unmeaning proposition, is no real judgment, no real proposition. It should, however, be noticed that, though in logic the distinction between true and false is the most thoroughgoing possible, it is one which a prudent mind will be rather shy of urging sharply on all occasions. The sifting of thought necessary before a clear judgment or proposition can be arrived at is in most cases a great deal more than half the battle in the discovery of truth. Nevertheless, if truth is ever to be attained, we must in all cases come at last to a final decision:—Is this alleged truth true or not true? And therefore the distinction between truth and falsehood is the fundamental distinction of logic.

What I have tried to put forward in loose explanatory fashion in the above paragraph, is technically expressed by logicians in the laws, as they are called, of identity, contradiction, and excluded middle. The law of identity says, A thing is what it is. The law of contradiction says, A thing is not what it is not. The law of excluded middle says, What you think, is either true or not true. These three laws are rightly considered the primary laws of logic.

But, how are we to discern truth from falsehood, to separate corn from chaff, to educe a cosmos out of the chaos of sensation and opinion, to raise an enduring fabric of knowledge? Logicians have from the first endeavoured to generalize the means by which this is done, and with growing success; though it would be idle to deny that obscurity yet rests on many parts of the subject. Aristotle, the founder of the science, laid down the syllogism as the universal model after which all reasoning proceeds, and by which alone certain truth can be attained. What the syllogism is, and what are the different forms of it, is much too well known for it to be necessary to enter into a detailed description here. The general type of it is as follows: What is true of a class, is true of everything con-



tained in the class; or, to use Kant's phraseology, That which stands under the condition of a rule, stands under the rule itself. But it is clear that this formula presupposes that we already know the class, the rule, to which we are to reduce our instance. How, then, is this knowledge acquired? Until we can ascertain this, a very large gap is left open in our theory of knowledge. And certainly it is a very extraordinary example of the readiness of mankind to acquiesce in words, that from Aristotle to Bacon no one should have had any idea but that "classes"—"rules"—were ultimate pieces of knowledge, not requiring to be accounted for, nor obtained by any process whatever, but existing originally in the mind. Bacon, as is well known, instituted a new era, and laid down induction from observation as the great process by which knowledge is accumulated. Now it would be incorrect to suppose that the Aristotelian philosophers had no idea of induction; only, strangely enough, they supposed that this process, which is a good half of the whole method by which we increase our knowledge, and the only part of it by which we gain our knowledge of those "classes" and "rules" which the syllogism presupposes, was only a particular kind of syllogism—was subordinate to the syllogism as a whole. Unfortunately, the Baconian school of thinkers at once despised the syllogism and thought induction too simple a process to stand in need of any philosophizing whatever. Logic was at a discount with them; and, till the present century, no writer who could with any truth be styled a follower of Bacon produced any systematic work on the subject, though there are valuable remarks relating to it in the treatises of Hobbes and Locke. Hence it happened that the greater number of writers on logic still continued to put the syllogism alone in the forefront, and to make induction subordinate to it. Kant, indeed, was more acute. He set down syllogism and induction ("die bestimmonde Urtheilskraft" and "die reflectirende Urtheilskraft" he called them) as co-ordinate processes; but the latter process, as not giving immediate, but only gradual and probable knowledge, he was disposed to banish out of the domain of logic, except that its existence was to be formally recognised (*Logik*, pp. 205–208). Krug did the same; and Hamilton went so far in a backward direction as to make induction a particular kind of syllogism. All these writers thought it impossible to give general laws of induction; it seems to have been tacitly assumed by them, as indeed it was by the followers of Bacon, that probable reasoning

did not admit of being reduced to rule and form. Hence, though in many important respects they classified and extended their science, there remained this great gap at the base of it still unfilled.

It was reserved for Mr. Mill, in his *System of Logic*, to give such a view of reasoning as should combine at once syllogism and induction, proving them together to form an entire and complete process of argumentation, of such a nature that either the inductive or syllogistic part of the process may in particular arguments drop out and be unnoticed, though a full view of the argument will express them both. We reason, says Mr. Mill, in every case in which the argument is complete, from particulars to particulars, from like to like. Only, the particular thing from which we reason, and the particular thing to which we reason, being like one another (which is indeed the necessary condition of our being able to argue from one to the other), it follows that some one quality, or group of qualities, must be the same in both; and the particular result which we infer will ensue, must be inferred as a result of the qualities which are the same in both phenomena. Hence, if we choose, we may represent in a general proposition the connection of the antecedent similarity and the inferred result. Instead of writing down our conclusion with respect to the individual phenomenon alone, we may write it down in a general manner: "Such and such qualities will always lead to such and such a result." It is clear, that we are perfectly justified in setting down such a general proposition; for, if we make an inference in one case on the strength of certain observed qualities of a phenomenon, we must be equally justified in drawing the same inference in any other case where the same qualities occur. Now supposing one of these general propositions to have been registered and remembered so long that we forget the particular instances from which it was derived, it may in time be considered a kind of first principle in itself; and we may deduce results from it, without referring to the facts in which it originated. When this takes place, then we have pure syllogistic or deductive reasoning; when, on the other hand, we suppress the general proposition, and argue directly from particulars to particulars, or again, when we argue from particulars to a general, we have pure inductive reasoning. But the full argument would always be from particulars to particulars, expressing at the same time that similarity of marks in the two sets of particulars, which is the ground of inferring a



like result in either case. To this general process of argumentation Mr. Jevons has given the appropriate name of "the substitution of similars."

It would be superfluous to dwell at length on the explanation of the theory; but it should be noticed that a logician who was more of a mental analyst than Mr. Mill would lay a stress which Mr. Mill has not laid on the invariable presence, even in an argument from particulars to particulars, of a general element—of an element capable of being referred to any case. For, even if the reasoner himself does not so refer it, or erect the grounds of his conclusion into a general proposition, we, if we analysed his thoughts, must so refer it for him. And the psychological question might be raised, whether, in the mind of one who argues from particulars to particulars, there is not always a moment (mostly forgotten afterwards) when both particulars as particulars are lost, and the points common to both alone come into prominence. Certain it is that, in arguing from particulars to particulars, we often forget the particular from which we argue; we draw a conclusion so rapidly as to forget not merely the argument, but the very facts which form the premises. So that it may seem not improbable that the actual moment of transition from particular to particular is forgotten afterwards.

No student of psychology can fail to notice the analogy between this logical theory of "the substitution of similars" and the psychological theory of "the association of ideas." The difference is that, while the psychological theory affirms merely that when two thoughts have been frequently presented together to the mind the recurrence of one (whether in the shape of observation or memory) tends to make the other recur simultaneously, the logical theory affirms that, when two facts have been frequently presented to the observation together, the recurrence of the one tends to create an expectation of the recurrence of the other. But the two theories are undoubtedly very near akin at their origin; and it may be useful to show how they are related to each other. Let us suppose then an infant whose mind is just awakening to the world around him, and has not yet gained any grasp of facts and their sequences. Let us suppose two facts, A and B, to pass successively, and to be observed by the infant. If, on another occasion, the fact A (that is, a fact precisely similar to A) recurs, and is observed by the infant, then by the law of association, the remembrance of the fact B, as observed on the

former occasion, will have a tendency to be excited in the consciousness of the infant, and may perhaps actually be so excited. The infant will observe A, and remember B. So far we have only an example of memory. But it is a law of human nature that we should look forward to the future, and endeavour to anticipate it. Suppose then the infant's mind to be at this moment in a state of expectancy—of looking forward for something actually to happen within the sphere of his cognisance,—what will he expect? He cannot *expect* A, because he is observing A, and what is meant by his expecting is, what does he think will happen when A has disappeared? Now, next to A, B occupies the chief place within his sphere of consciousness; he is at present remembering B. Clearly then, unless some other cause interferes, the infant will not merely remember B; he will also expect B to happen in the concrete, immediately. And in fact, at this stage, his remembrance of B as a past event will not be distinguishable from his expectation of B as a coming event; his memory, without some powerful cause to make him throw back B into that past time in which he first observed it, will be swallowed up in his expectation. Here then, at the outset of consciousness, we have the two laws of association of ideas, and substitution of similars—the psychological and logical laws—actually coinciding in their effects. But let us conduct the analysis a little further. The infant, as we left him, was observing A (for the second time) and expecting B. Now suppose B actually to happen this second time. Then the expectation of B will be merged in the observation of it; there will be no sharp line drawn between the two; indeed, memory, expectation, observation, will all three as yet be indistinguishable in the infant's mind. But now suppose A to happen a third time, and to be observed by the infant, who will then have the memory, and at the same time the expectation, of B forced upon him even more strongly than on the previous occasion (from the repetition). But suppose, this third time, that which succeeds A in the observation of the infant to be not B, but C. Then (if B has by this time been strongly enough impressed on his memory) a sense of antagonism will be aroused within his consciousness: expecting B, he will experience C. Thus while C impresses itself most strongly on him, from its immediate presence, B will still remain within his consciousness, in that faint reflection which we call memory. Here then, for the first time, we have memory divorced from observation; the psychological law of asso-



ciation has maintained itself, while the logical law of substitution of similars has been defeated—has found no place for its exercise. And, in point of fact, if there be no connection in external nature between A and B, their junction in consciousness, which was accidentally established, will in time be dissolved. The law of association will have played its part, and will slowly become too feeble to retain a tie unsupported from independent causes. But suppose that between any two phenomena, say A and F, there is a connection in external nature, so that when A happens, F invariably or generally follows. Then that association in thought between A and F, which was established by their first appearance together or in succession, will be strengthened by every such appearance that takes place afterwards; the expectation of F, which ensues upon the observation of A, will be confirmed, not disappointed. And in this case the logical law of the substitution of similars will be found to hold; we shall be able to predicate of any phenomenon that includes A, that it will also include F.

According to the above theory, the law of association of ideas is a necessary preliminary of the logical law of the substitution of similars; were it not for the psychological law, we should never be able to draw a logical conclusion at all. But, though a necessary condition, it is not the only condition—the other being a certain disposition of external nature. Were it not that nature really contains certain fixed sequences, we should never know that it contained such sequences; but also, we should never know that it contained such sequences were it not for this principle of the association of ideas originally native to our minds. In logic, in the attainment of truth, mind and nature are alike necessary: they each contribute their separate element to certain knowledge.

The above is an endeavour to give a clear account of the genesis of that law the nature of which has been so ably expounded by Mr. Mill. Mr. Mill's own account of the genesis of the law can hardly be deemed satisfactory. He contents himself with saying that we know *by experience* that the course of nature is uniform; that we have always observed it to be uniform; and so on. But have we always observed the course of nature to be uniform? No one has maintained more strenuously than Mr. Mill that the course of nature possesses not merely uniformity but infinite diversity; the uniformities do but stretch as a shining web over a field of immense variety that expands far beyond our ken. It needs

mind, and some definite mental faculty, beyond the mere sensation, to discern these uniformities. I have endeavoured in the above analysis to assume no mental faculty that would not be granted by the most stringently searching philosopher.

If, however, the account given by Mr. Mill of the philosophical genesis of induction be insufficient, it must be added that, as in his reconciliation of the syllogism with induction, so in his account of the different inductive processes, he is unrivalled. But these belong to a more advanced part of the subject than belongs to this article; and it is necessary to hasten to the improvements in the theory of logic effected by the rival school.

In spite of the statement at the commencement of the article, that the two philosophical schools came to closer quarters in logic than in any other portion of mental science, it is even here no easy task to attain a position from which one may do justice to them both. The truth is that the aims of the two schools, though very cognate to each other, so cognate that to a superficial reader they appear the same, are yet different—not widely different, it is true, but so much so that the assumption of entire identity of purpose serves only to mislead and irritate the disputants on either side. The practical mind of Mr. Mill, always looking out for some concrete use to which to apply his science, cannot away with distinctions and definitions which, like those of Hamilton, appear to lead nowhere; nor can we much doubt that Hamilton found Mr. Mill's treatise unphilosophical, and possibly vulgar. The scientific character of Mr. Mill's treatise has been here maintained; the greater abstruseness of the German speculations will make it a harder task to show their exact position; yet this may be done.

The difference, then, between Mr. Mill and the German school (which was briefly indicated at the outset) is this. Mr. Mill tries to bring the mind of his readers into the argumentative posture: Kant and Hamilton endeavour to make their reader survey as from an external point the argumentative mind, the mind in the act of reasoning. Mr. Mill looks at the process of reasoning, so to speak, with the naked eye; he looks at it as a calm and sober reasoner who cared only to know the main elements of an argument might look at it. Kant and Hamilton turn a microscope on the reasoning process; the practical matter, whither it will lead them, they care less for; their object is to analyse it speculatively. Those who keep this difference of purpose in view



are the most likely to do justice to both sides. Yet the object of Kant and the object of Mr. Mill are not wholly alien; though diverse, they are akin to each other; and both belong to the science of logic.

The Germans, and Hamilton with them, endeavoured to analyse the reasoning mind, and to give names to all its operations and attitudes. Thus, while Mr. Mill, on all ordinary occasions, speaks of a *proposition*, which is the natural word that an arguer would use himself when thinking of that which he lays before an opponent, Hamilton, on the other hand, speaks of a *judgment*, which is the mental attitude of the arguer when he is propounding anything. This, however, is a less striking instance than some others. Here is a more peculiar one. Mr. Mill speaks of *classes*, which are material phenomena contemplated by the arguer himself: Hamilton rather avoids the word *class*, but analyses the mental state of one who is contemplating a class, and frames the word *concept* to express it. Now there is no word in the Hamiltonian vocabulary which irritates Mr. Mill so much as this word *concept*. He cannot deny it a meaning; but he thinks it wholly unneeded. He thinks it a "misfortune that it was ever invented;" he calls it a bad and obscure expression for the "signification of a class-name." All this results from the fact that he has never put himself in the point of view of the Germans; he sympathizes too keenly with the argumentative temper to be able to analyse the argumentative process as an unengaged person; portraying it, he portrays it from the inside, not from the outside. In fact, it is rather the expression "signification of a class-name" that is clumsy; the word *concept* (*Begriff*) is one much needed to express a particular, and quite real, mental attitude. As Hamilton well defines it, it is "the cognition or idea of the general character or characters, point or points, in which a plurality of objects coincide." And this too must be remembered: if, as is surely the case, we can and do reason sometimes, *i.e.*, draw inferences, without the use of language, then the word "judgment" is wider than the word "proposition," the word "concept" wider than the word "signification of a class-name." Let me borrow an example from Mr. Mill. A general, from long experience, knows how to arrange his troops in a battle so as to be secure of the victory; yet he cannot explain to another what his knowledge is, how he comes to make such and such arrangements. By what terms shall we describe the mental attitude of the general, the turn of mind which enables him to win a

victory, without knowing how he wins it? Mr. Mill would say simply that he had collected a great deal of previous experience, and drew his conclusions from that. But it is very plain that the general need not consciously remember his previous experience in order to reap the benefit of it; nay, in the crisis of a great battle, the probability is that he will be far too keenly engaged with the present to be able to turn his eyes backwards on the past. What happens is something of this sort. In all his previous battles he has accustomed himself to note the kind of combinations that contributed to success; these combinations, without remembering them in their entirety, without giving them any name or appellation, he has yet symbolized to himself, in some manner which he himself perhaps hardly recognises, but in such a way that the main elements of the combinations shall be ready to start within him when need is. Now this may well and accurately be expressed by saying that his mind is stored with conceptions or *concepts*. For he does not remember the whole configuration and picture of his previous experiences; but the law of association of ideas calls back to him the principal elements of them, which, however, in themselves would be but bare outlines, though being applied to the concrete phenomena before him they prove themselves endowed with a power of combining, ordering, and classifying these phenomena, and furnishing their possessor with valuable contrivances for his present material need. I do not know any English word, except *concept* or *conception* (which latter, however, Hamilton uses to express the process of gathering concepts), that at all expresses the mental attitude which I have endeavoured to describe above. Certainly Mr. Mill's proposed substitute, "signification of a class-name," is very inappropriate indeed.

Let us take another illustration. A person learns to play at chess; in the first game he plays, being unaccustomed to the board, the men, and the different moves of the pieces, he has continually to strain his attention to remember what he may do, and see what it is best for him to do. After a dozen games, he finds no difficulty at any rate in the simpler matter. After a hundred games he may be a fair player. What has happened in the interval? This; he has seen the chessboard frequently, and a large number of individual positions, moves, and combinations,—to which, moreover, his attention has been more strenuously directed from the fact of his being himself one of the players. Of these positions, moves,



and combinations, some have occurred more frequently than others, or from other reasons have been more specially noticed by him; these he will remember most readily; and the very sight of the board and men will, by the law of association, call up some of them before his mind. But this is not all; there will be a generalizing process going on in his mind with respect to those images which the law of association excites. For instance, a particular combination of the bishop and knight occurs to his mind. This combination he can set in any part of the board he pleases; again, he can dispose the other pieces differently in relation to it; he can add a castle to his combination, thereby increasing its complexity, but diminishing the number of subsidiary combinations which, from the capacity of his mind, he is capable of disposing around it; or he can take away the bishop and substitute a pawn, and so on. Now these kind of combinations we do, even in our common talk, call conceptions; Hamilton called them concepts; but whichever word we use, there can be no doubt of the utility of some such word. Mr. Mill would perhaps use the phrase "classes of combinations;" but, not to speak of the length of such an expression, there seems reason, where the mental element comes into such prominence as it does here, to employ a word that will bring it out. We might also use the word "combination" simply; but this would, I think, be understood in a less general sense. Thus, to recur to our former example, a general would, on any particular occasion, be said to have made excellent combinations; but if the whole class and nature of his combinations were being spoken of, it would be said that his conceptions were excellent. It will be observed that every conception implies a class, and every class implies a conception; and we should use the one word or the other according as we do or do not wish to lay a stress on the mental labour of apprehending the class. Thus we should speak of the class of vertebrate animals; because the labour of apprehending the notion of a vertebrate animal is inconsiderable. But for a philosopher who wished to lay stress on the mental element of apprehension, there would be no inaccuracy even here in speaking of the conception or concept of vertebrate animals. And it is observable that, though every conception corresponds to a class, every conception has not a class-name. Thus any particular disposition of the bishop and knight on the chessboard may be made the centre of a class of combinations; but yet such a disposition has no peculiar name. So that

VOL. LI.

N—4

Mr. Mill's proposed substitute for concept, "signification of a class-name," will not invariably hold. Hamilton's distinction of conception from concept, using the former to represent the mental effort, the latter the result of that effort, is not perhaps of any great consequence; but as it has been employed in philosophical works, and may prove useful, there seems no reason for abandoning it.

I have dwelt at some length on the explanation of this word concept, because it is a point in which the difference between the two logical schools comes out very plainly. Mr. Mill, thinking of classes, speaks of classes: Hamilton, thinking of the mind in the act of contemplating a class, speaks of a concept. And as Mr. Mill's phraseology is better calculated to assist a man in arguing himself, Hamilton's is more likely to furnish him with the means for understanding the arguments of another. That is, it will furnish him with a kind of blank forms for the understanding of an argument, just as Mr. Mill's work will supply him with blank forms for arguing himself. It may justly be thought that Mr. Mill illustrates his blank forms a great deal better than Hamilton. Yet there are one or two admirable illustrations in these chapters on concepts; and the whole set of explanations and distinctions contained in them, with hardly an exception, are excellent. The main outline of them had, indeed, been given by Kant; and the greater number of them are taken either from him or some other German logician.

One more point in these chapters is worth dwelling on. It is this:—The word concept has been defined as indicating a general notion, not an individual thing: can we, then, correctly speak of the concept of an individual? There is no doubt that in common language we could speak of our conception of Socrates; and Hamilton says himself, "If I think of Socrates as son of Sophroniscus, as Athenian, as philosopher, as pug-nosed, these are only so many characters, limitations, or determinations which I predicate of Socrates, which distinguish him from all other men, and together make up my *notion* or *concept* of him." This, Mr. Mill charges on him as an inconsistency. The case, however, is very simple. I may have a conception or concept of an individual, without the individual being that conception or concept. No one knows better than Mr. Mill that reality extends beyond, is greater than, our conceptions; it is a thing always to be remembered, in dealing with realities; having framed our fullest conception, we must allow for some-



thing in nature beyond it. But, for all that, we must frame conceptions of realities. It is true that there appears a contradiction in terms between the definition of a concept as "the characters in which a *plurality* of objects coincide" and an expression which implies that the concept only indicates a single individual; but nothing is more common, as all mathematicians know, than for a limiting case to be apparently not included in the definition of its class. Thus a parabola is the limiting case of an ellipse; if one focus be supposed removed to an infinite distance; and propositions true of an ellipse may, under this condition, be at once applied to the parabola. And yet the definitions of an ellipse (whether taken from the sections of a cone or from the eccentricity) do in terms exclude the parabola. In the same way, our conception (or concept) of an individual (meaning, as it does, the whole sum of the characteristics of the individual that we know) is the limiting case of a concept in respect to the number of individuals contained under it. There is, however, a real error in another passage which Mr. Mill quotes, where Hamilton says, "When the extension of a concept becomes a minimum, that is, when it contains no other notions under it, it is called an individual." Hamilton should have said, "it represents an individual to us," for the individual extends beyond our conception of it. But this is an isolated slip on his part; for the third passage quoted by Mr. Mill as an example of inconsistency is perfectly explicable, though I cannot here stop to explain it. It is to be observed that, when we speak of our conception of Socrates, we mean something quite different from our perception or sight, hearing, etc., of him; and it was the use of conception in this latter sense that Hamilton protested against.

The three great divisions into which the German school divide our thinking, are Concepts, Judgments, and Reasonings. Before proceeding to consider these two latter divisions, it may be remarked that one great excellence of the school is the thoroughness with which they consider, not specially reasonings, but the whole process of thought. The object of reasonings is to obtain Judgments—to know fresh truths; these fresh truths enlarge our conceptions, our knowledge; the conceptions thus enlarged become the groundwork of new reasonings, new judgments, and still more enlarged conceptions, and so on. It is an ever-recurring circle, which no other class of logicians, as far as I know, have described so clearly. The conceptions, in most cases,

are confirmed by having names given to them; but this, as we have seen, does not always take place, even when further progress is made by their means, though of course it must take place if the knowledge thus obtained is to be communicated to others.

But it is necessary briefly to consider the main charge which Mr. Mill makes against Hamilton, and which he would no doubt make against the whole German school of logicians, and especially as respects their doctrine of judgments and reasonings; namely, that in it they take no notice of that which he affirms, and rightly affirms, to be the central object of logic, the discernment of truth from falsehood. "A judgment," says Kant (*Logik*, p. 156), "is the representation of the unity in consciousness of diverse phenomena, or the representation of their mutual relation, in so far as they make up a conception." ("Ein Urtheil ist die Vorstellung der Einheit des Bewusstseyns verschiedener Vorstellungen, oder die Vorstellung des Verhältnisses derselben, so fern sie einen Begriff ausmachen.") "To judge," says Krug, "means to think how representations are related to an object which is to be represented by them, and consequently to determine their relation for the unity of consciousness." ("Urtheilen heisst denken, wie sich Vorstellungen in Bezug auf einen dadurch vorzustellenden Gegenstand verhalten, mithin ihr Verhältniss zur Einheit des Bewusstseins bestimmen.") "To judge," says Hamilton, "is to recognise the relation of congruence or of confiction, in which two concepts, two individual things, or a concept and an individual compared together, stand to each other" (*Works*, iii. 225). Now for the other side. "I give the name of judgment," says Reid, "to every determination of the mind concerning *what is true* or *what is false*. This, I think, is what logicians, from the days of Aristotle, have called judgment." "And this," says Mr. Mill, "is the very element which Sir W. Hamilton's definition omits from it." The fact is, however, that Hamilton and his fellow logicians were endeavouring to contemplate and describe from the outside the mental attitude of a judgment. Hence they laid the greatest stress, not on the affirmation or negation itself, but on its mental concomitants; but that affirmation and negation of reality were necessary to a judgment they would not have denied; indeed, it is implicitly contained in their words. The clumsiness of their definitions cannot be denied; though that of Hamilton would have been tolerably clear, had he written



(as would have been far better) *class* instead of *concept*. A cognate, though not quite the same, accusation of Mr. Mill against Hamilton is that his logic has for its object to determine, not truth, but consistency. Yet this, again, is not entirely correct; for, however imperfectly, induction is still recognised by Kant and his followers.

The definitions, however, of these philosophers are the most obscure parts of those chapters of their treatises which relate to judgments. On the whole, the excellence of their analysis of the different kinds of judgments is undeniable; that of Kant is especially full and concise. On the subject of reasonings there is little in them, comparatively, that is original; and their scantiness in this branch may be at once gathered from the fact that they almost entirely neglect induction. On the whole, the chief excellences of the German school of logicians lie, first, in the severity of their conception of the science, and at the same time the clearness of their discernment of its relation to the connected topics of investigation in every point, except (a very important exception) in the case of the physical sciences, which are reached by inductive logic; secondly, in the comprehensiveness of their view in showing the whole connection of thought, and not stopping at mere reasonings; thirdly, in the accuracy of their analysis of conceptions, and, in a less degree, of judgments.

In conclusion, what are the inquiries that in the present state of the subject lie immediately before the logician? First, there is the extension in the direction of material science; the development of the formulæ for induction, the examination into the topics of testimony, of chance, of analogical reasoning. Doubtless there is much to be discovered on these points. Here too may be mentioned the advantage that would ensue from laying the different sciences side by side, with a view to comparing the evidence by which they are severally supported—a comparison which would probably be of great service to us in those not infrequent cases in which we know the evidence by which a supposed fact has been supported, but hesitate as to its exact value. If, in such a case, we could immediately refer to some known science, and find that in such and such a case less evidence than the present had been deemed satisfactory, or on the other hand greater evidence than the present had not been deemed satisfactory, such a discovery would be no slight help to our judgment. But in the second place, logic may progress in the psychological direction. In this quarter we touch upon the investiga-

tions, already alluded to, of Hegel. And here too must be named a class of problems that remain as yet unsolved—I mean those which lie at the root of mathematics, which relate to measure and number. Each party at present has its pet formula for the solution of these problems. The one side say, Mathematical axioms are known to us by experience, and the science is thence drawn by deduction: the others say, The axioms are known to us *a priori*, and (Kant at any rate would add) the science is built up from them synthetically. But the problem is considerably too difficult to be disposed of in either of these ways; and, before it is solved, a much more accurate analysis must be made of the genesis of number and measure than has ever yet been done. The third direction in which logical science may progress lies in those subsidiary investigations which concern our practical advance towards truth; and here would come in, not merely intellectual, but moral and even physical considerations.

J. R. M.

---

#### ART. IV.—MR. BROWNING'S LATEST POETRY.\*

"THE Title," says Remigius on Donatus, "is the key or porch of the work to which it is prefixed. And note," adds pseudo-Aquinas upon Boethius, after quoting it, "that Title is so called from Titan, that is the Sun. For as the Sun enlighteneth the world, so doth the Title the book." The title of Mr. Browning's new poem is so far from doing this, that he is obliged to set apart a book of the poem to shed light on the title. At first sight it might appear that it referred to the ring or circle of cantos of which the book consists; or that it hinted at the poet's solicitude for proportion, and his care that the architecture of his poem should be as good as its masonry, and that the whole should be symmetrical as a circle. These ideas may be implied; but the author's primary meaning is something far more material and realistic. He presents himself to us with a ring in one hand and a book in the other. The first, he tells us, is Roman work by Castellani; and he explains by what art so delicate a filigree is produced—how, in order to render the thin gold capable of bearing the tools which are to emboss it, it is mixed with alloy, and the composite mass

---

\* *The Ring and the Book*. By Robert Browning. (London: Smith, Elder, and Co.)



hammered out into its proper shape, when, with a spirt of acid, the alloy is burnt away, leaving the gold pure and all its embellishments perfect. The book, he tells us, is a volume, half print, half manuscript, which he found at a stall in Florence, and which contains all the documents and pleadings in the case of a murder committed in Rome in 1698 by Count Guido Franceschini upon his wife, Pompilia Comparini, and her supposed father and mother. This book he compares to the pure gold of fact, which he alloys with a sufficient amount of poetical fiction to be able to round it off into a perfect and living work of art. As it will be necessary afterwards to inquire how far he has complied with the conditions which he has set himself, we may pass on for the present, because, as one of the characters says,

"we must not stick  
*Quod non sit attendendus Titulus*  
To the Title."

There can be little doubt that this poem is the masterpiece of the writer. With a timely consciousness that he has hitherto failed to be generally understood, he has set himself in the early afternoon of his power to repeat what he had to say in a tongue more comprehensible. Once, it seems, he thought that if he could understand himself, any one else could understand him; that if his eyes were focused, and his ears attuned for the cave,

"Where brooding darkness spreads his jealous wings,  
And the night raven sings,"

all other eyes and ears would be equally piercing and equally pleased. But he acknowledges that the British public has decreed otherwise; therefore, with a self-denying modesty, he has determined to write for the many, and not for the few. He has entered into himself, felt the pulse of his Muse, found where its beats were out of sympathy with the national pulse, and has at last attempted to produce a national poem,—

"Perchance more careful whoso runs may read  
Than erst, when all, it seemed, could read who ran,  
Perchance more careless whoso reads may praise,  
Than late, when he who praised, and read, and wrote  
Was apt to find himself the self-same me."

The simple confession that he never knew he was too hard for the most cursory reader sheds a flood of light on the author of *Sordello* and *Paracelsus*. If he was unintelligible, it was not on theory, nor with the affectation of those inconsiderate authors who would rather be admired than understood, nor per-

haps with the youthful dream that quaintness is power and that to differ is greater than to agree, nor with that ambition of surprising which has ever been the fruitful parent of fustian, but with a consciousness of a secret gift which genius spontaneously reveals, with a feeling that a good writer writes, not like other people, but like himself, and that a man should be something that all men are not, and individual in somewhat besides his name. Originality accounts not only for obscurity, but for unpopularity. A special mode of thinking must have a special mode of expression, which will at first be as incomprehensible as an attempt to explain logarithms to a Sandwich islander in his own language. The new poet is brought within the abattoirs of criticism, where the majority condemn him, simply because men must think that nonsense which they do not understand. Dogs bark at unknown footsteps; and all the curs in the parish join in chorus. On the other hand, there are some to whom unintelligibility itself becomes a recommendation;

"As charms are nonsense, nonsense seems a charm  
Which hearers of all judgment does disarm."

A few of these, rating higher their duties as critics, dig painfully in the stony ground, if perchance some harvest of meaning may reward their toil. The book may be a menagerie of fabulous beasts, like the Queen's arms, the style so figurative as to require a herald to blazon it into English, the texts so oracular that none but the Sibyl can read them; but labour conquers. The critic puts a false bottom even to an empty tub, and, enamoured of his own handiwork, tells a vaunting tale of it. He breaks windows in the dead wall, and then,

"in the chequered shade,  
Admires new light through holes himself has made."

Criticism, indeed, is hardly to be trusted in appraising novelties; nor is it quite its business to announce to the world the advent of the poet of the future. It can see the revolution, can perceive the negation, but cannot determine the positive worth of the new phenomenon. It is not criticism, but sympathy, which catches at once the whispers of genius, and readily recognises a new poet in the bud. Such an apparition appeals to the critic, not on the critical side of his nature, which proceeds by rules and precedents, but on the side of his feelings, which it is his business to control and prune. The plodding critic sees too little; the enthusiastic critic sees too much; the genuine critic is suspected of



enthusiasm. Amongst them the new poet remains unacknowledged, and has to make his way painfully by his own weight. Mr. Browning has experienced this long struggle, and, though forcing himself to be cheerful under the trial, has, at least vicariously, grumbled at his audience,—

"The public blames originalities.  
You must not pump spring-water unawares  
Upon a gracious public, full of nerves."

With "patience perforce," he has resigned himself to be his own audience and his own critic; but fortunately for himself, he has also kept his ears open to the sounds of the outer world, and at last the happy thought has struck him that he would try to say what he meant in a language common to himself and his fellow-men. This has worked well for his poetry. There is a new sense of freedom in his present book. The man who writes for himself only, his own sole reader and sole judge, can never satisfy himself; for, knowing both terms, the ideal and its embodiment, he also knows the gulf between them. In writing for others, he writes for those who can only guess at his ideal, and cannot tell whether his expression of it falls short or runs over; he must therefore be more careless of their judgment than of his own. Writing for other men thus delivers the scrupulous author from his own most importunate carper, himself, without making him the thrall of his new masters. It delivers him from his domestic slavery without selling him to a new servitude.

In availing himself of his new freedom, Mr. Browning has wrought no notable change in himself. He is the same man, the same thinker, the same speaker, as formerly, but delivered at last from the bonds of the anxious and minute self-inspection and examination which, he confesses, qualified his former utterances. The present poem of 21,000 lines, the product of four years' thought, has evidently not been distilled by dribblets with a bar's rest between each drop, in the alternate fire of invention and frost of criticism. Mr. Browning has never been one

"To strain from hard-bound brains eight lines  
a year."

On the contrary, his gush is, if anything, too easy; he sometimes squanders himself in a debauch of words, and, rather than fall short of his tale of bread, when wheat flour fails will make use of sawdust and chopped hay. Such stuffing is omitted in this, the first poem which the author has written avowedly and of set purpose, not for himself but for his audience, and with the express intention of converting the "British public," who hither-

to have "liked me not," into admirers who "may like me yet, marry and amen." It is not that the coarse love of reputation has replaced the refined craving for sympathy, but that the sense of power urges him to assay his force upon a larger mass.

In the explanation which he gives of the title of his poem, Mr. Browning invites attention to the matter of which he makes it, to the form in which he ultimately leaves it, and to the alloy which he lends it, by projecting into it his own "surplusage of soul." The poet, his method, and his materials, make up his poem.

Mr. Browning has been long before the world. As a poet he seeks to be not a mere rhymers, not a mere expresser of ordinary thoughts in uncommon language, but a vates, a prophet, and expounder of the mysteries of things. He is a theological poet, a Christian, orthodox in the main, but tempering his creed with universalist notions about the ultimate salvation of all men. He is, moreover, a moralist, especially in relation to causes of love and marriage. Both as theologian and moralist he is a confirmed casuist. With a secondary sympathy for creeds which he does not profess, and for habits which he disallows, he takes a special pleasure, and shows an extraordinary facility, in throwing himself into the states of mind of the professors of such creeds, or the thralls of such habits, groping tenderly his assumed conscience, explaining and defending to himself his hypothetical position, and making out the best case he can in the assertion, or defence, or palliation, or simple exposition, of the mental and moral situation. He possesses this power to so a remarkable a degree, that he can enter into phases of intellect which are even beneath humanity, and belong, if to anything, to inferior beings. One of his strongest points is the faculty of seizing the lower and more bestial currents of thought and feeling, and translating them into human language. Nothing is more known to a man's obscure self-consciousness than the importunate proofs of his animality and his degradation. But nothing is more uncommon than the translation of these sullen and darkness-haunting feelings into coherent and articulate thought. In all men, civilized or savage, there is a possibility of the generation of superstition out of sottish ignorance or panic terror. But it would be miraculous to see such ignorance and terror contemplating themselves, arguing upon themselves, and formulating their conclusions, as in Mr. Browning's "Caliban upon Setebos." He sees that the intellect can express all things, even what is most contrary to itself. There may be a science of ignorance; there may be



a fine bust of an unrefined face, an amusing personation of bore, and a philosophical reflection of the workings of the dull and embryonic intellect, of a lump neither alive nor dead. Mr. Browning even goes so far as to strive to enter the animal brain, to open a new intercourse with fishes and insects, to feel in his own fibres the irrational consciousness, and to express in words what birds and beasts express in cries and pipings. He, if any one, is the man for whom

"Pigs might squeak love odes, dogs bark satire."

He has a power of seeing things in their chaotic rudiments, of ranging them in lines one behind the other, so as to see one thing through another, of tracing the perfect form in the germ, and finding kindred not only in likeness but in contradiction. Such a power might result in *Hudibras's* confusion of vision, whose

"notions fitted things so well,  
That which was which he could not tell."

In Mr. Browning it only leads to a metaphorical habit, full of comparisons, which looks at things not centrally, in their own characteristic qualities and acts, but collaterally in their relations, and

"With windlances, and with assays of bias  
By indirections finds directions out."

Mr. Browning thinks in blocks, by images and pictures, not by abstract notions, and forms his ideas not by clearing away the superfluous, but by conglomerating all possible details. He adopts not Goethe's ideal of simplicity and repose, but the Shakespearean ideal, and therefore cuts off no excrescence, though it be ugly, prefers substance to form, truth to ornament, the raw thing, with all its natural complications and irregularities, to the manufactured thing, with all its prunings, transformations, artificialities, and arrangements. To embody this ideal a poet must have, besides subtlety and tenderness, a coarse, round-about common sense, and a freedom and familiarity of mind which jumbles together the great and the little, and jests about its creed as naturally as it rails with its friend or toys with its mistress.

The same habit of mind which prefers the free forest scenery of Shakespeare's school to the clipped and prim parterres of Racine, usually magnifies nature and disparages art, and distributes arts into two classes, that which follows nature, and that which expels it. The first kind of art Mr. Browning allows, because in all its workings the art itself is nature.

"For nature is made better by no mean,  
But nature makes that mean."

The unnatural kind of art he rejects, and under its category he includes such things as the speech which hides instead of revealing our thoughts, and the political contrivances which keep up artificial social relations and the conventionalities of civilisation. The moral which he draws at the end of the present poem is

"This lesson—that our human speech is naught,  
Our human testimony false—our fame  
And human estimation words and wind."

Truth, he tells us, comes out, not in the long-drawn collections of reason, but in the sudden interjections of feeling. Testimony is for him a perversion of facts to prove a foregone conclusion; this conclusion, mere words and wind, and life itself—at least artificial, correct, externally-ordered life—only a tale told by an idiot, full of sound and fury, signifying nothing. Sir Humphrey Davy has remarked, that the first effect of incipient civilisation, in the way of clothing, is to make man rebel against nature by tattooing his skin, boring his ears, or slitting his nose; and Mr. Browning takes up the parable and delights in framing cases, which shall expose the unexpected but universal contradictions that crop up between nature and artificial life. He finds everywhere baseness, emptiness, and hollowness, but always, where Rousseau finds it, in the conventional and made-up part of life. The men and women whom he offers to our scorn, ridicule, or disapproval, are very often mere painted bladders distended with the wires and buckram of social machinery. He delights in placing a cold colourless soul within some special social forcing-house, in order that he may study the influence which some political situation, or some wheel of the mechanism of society, would exercise upon it. This is the prescription according to which he has made up "*Luria*" and "*The Soul's Tragedy*." In "*The Flight of the Duchess*" and "*My last Duchess*," he carries out the principle so logically that the two Dukes become not men but apparitions of abstract dukeness. They hardly exist as persons; they impose themselves as institutions; and their wives, who ought to be nourished on their warm humanity, are starved, and either die or elope. Lord Tresham, in "*The Blot on the Scutcheon*," is rather abstract rank than a man of rank. Mr. Browning is a master in exhibiting how a system or creed, or conviction, or craze, imposes itself on a man, enters into him, possesses him, and



takes the place of his soul. In his hands the abstract essence of an age, or society, or school, becomes a kind of goblin, a *simulacrum* of a soul, which may on occasion serve instead of a soul for his men and women. The quintessence of the Renaissance is impersonated in "The Bishop's Tomb in St. Praxed."

But even the better part of human energy, its spontaneous action, is affected with an imperfection analogous to that of its premeditated action—incompleteness. Wherever the element of contrivance or thought comes in it leaves its mark. Art is marred by "the particular devil that makes all things incomplete." Even when reason is apprenticed to feeling, and is made blind to give passion eyes, it still retains its infectious virus. Human passion and human action become, not hollow like reason, but incomplete.

"All success  
Proves partial failure; all advance implies  
What's left behind; all triumph, something  
crushed  
At the chariot wheels."

Love is linked to what it hates, or is divided from what it loves, or is ejected by jealousy, or fades away into indifference. Hate destroys itself by its very success. And passion, not intellect, is

"Indisputably mistress of the man."

Life then, made up as it is of the empty contrivances of reason, and the imperfect utterances of passion, becomes itself vanity, and would be merely a failure and a jest if it were not for its teleological consequences. But Mr. Browning, theologian as he is, can rarely help looking chiefly at its grotesque side, and speaking of it somewhat in Thersites's vein, without reference to its more serious aspects; or rather, he jumbles up its comic and tragic sides, and illustrates them by the first metaphors which come to hand, with the indifference of nature planting a hedgerow with nettles and honeysuckles, roses and toadstools.

The recklessness with which he squanders his similes is rather a characteristic of his mind than of his style. Next to Shakespeare, he is the most comparative of poets, because, like Shakespeare, he thinks by images, not by abstractions. And he treats each image as a word, not to be followed by a consequent image, as pictorial effect might demand, but by another image-word, which may carry on the sense, without reference to the congruity of the metaphor. He will describe a murder thus:—"Vengeance, like a mountain wave that holds a monster in it,

burst o'er the house, and wiped clean its filthy walls with a wash of hell-fire, and bathed the avenger's name clean in blood." A courtly canon, beginning life at Arezzo to end it at Rome, is

"A star, shall climb apace and culminate,  
Have its due hand-breadth of the heaven  
at Rome,  
Though meanwhile pausing on Arezzo's  
edge,  
As modest candle mid the mountain fog,  
To rub off redness and rusticity  
E'er it sweep chastened, gain the silver  
sphere."

What would Boileau or Pope say to such confusion of metaphor? It is only defensible on the ground that the writer is dissatisfied with the coldness of our bleached abstract terms, and is making a new pictorial or hieroglyphic vocabulary to represent his thoughts.

Sometimes the similes are prolonged into episodes; and in such cases the reader is almost certain to find that in the long-run the picture and the thought are only partially consistent. Incompleteness, first the devil of art, soon comes to receive a Pagan worship, and is then enthroned as a god. It is a grief which the poet learns to wear

"like a hat, aside,  
With a flower stuck in it."

One of the cantos of this poem is a speech of Bottini, an advocate, who, in about a hundred lines of exordium, discourses touching the way in which an artist composes a picture; then, for about forty lines, the principle thus illustrated is applied to his own business, when the orator suddenly finds the application unmanageable, and so takes to a new metaphor. Half-a-dozen lines further on he finds that he must let his new simile go, and invent still another. Perhaps Bottini is no more astray in his application of painting to oratory than the poet himself is in his comparison between ring-making and poetry, from which *The Ring and the Book* has its title. The gold is the dead matter of the poem; the alloy is the "surplusage of soul," which the poet projects into the dead matter to make it malleable; the embossing and shaping is the poetic form; the spirit of acid by which the alloy is washed away is some final act of the poet, by which he removes all traces of himself, and leaves the poem quite impersonal. This Mr. Browning claims to have done:

"So I wrought  
This arc, by furtherance of such alloy  
And so, by one spirt, take away its trace  
Till, justifiably golden, rounds my ring."



But the reader, who will see that each speaker in these idyls talks unmistakeable Browningese, that, however varied the character, the turns of thought and expression always remain similar, and that with the rough hands of Esau we still have the voice of Jacob, will justifiably wonder what spirt it is which has caused that which was only just now alloy suddenly to have become pure unalloyed gold. He may think the process as imaginary as that of the scrupulous Abbot, who, finding himself seated before roast chicken on a Friday, commanded the capon to be carp, and then canonically fell to with clear conscience. For in truth we cannot find that Mr. Browning makes any special spirt to clear away his own additions to the story, except an argument to prove that the alloy is no alloy, but spirit and life. According to him, historical fact is gold, but gold in the ingot. The gold is unformed; the fact unvivified, lifeless, unremembered. An old and dead fact can only be re-created by being infused, transfused, inspired, by the living force of a creative, or rather re-creative, fancy, which is related to fact as alloy is related to gold in making the ring—necessary to prepare it for the hammer and file which are to give it artistic shape and imagery. All facts, as they are performed, live their day, and then fade into oblivion. Some leave their shrunk skin and dry bones in annals, and are entombed in archives. These too are dead, but, like dry sponges, are able to suck up the living water, and so to be raised to a second life, which the artist, from whose breast that water flows, confers on them. God gives the first life; the artist gives the second. The creative force proceeds forth from the poet, mixes itself with the deceased fact, makes the shrunk skin plump, the dead bones to live, and the corpse to stand on its feet, and run on its own legs. However true all this may be, it does not seem to account for any double action of the poet. The alloy is added by one act. An apprentice in the art will make this alloy so personal that the dramatic element will be nil; each speaker will only be a mask to conceal the poet's face, not his voice. A great artist will make the alloy entirely impersonal, and will allow it to contain none of the elements of his own biography. But whatever alloy the poet first contributes remains in the perfect poem, unless he writes it all over again. There are not two distinct acts—first of infusing surplussage of soul, and next of washing it away. Here, as elsewhere, Mr. Browning seems, of set purpose, to let an element of incompleteness, or even error, remain in his similes. An amusing instance occurs in Bottini's speech, where he tells a

very good story of the apostles Peter, John, and Judas. It is somewhat of an anticlimax when, in the application, the faithful apostles stand for two knaves, and the traitor for the hero whose conduct Bottini is defending.

Allied with the incompleteness of his more elaborate similes is the indirectness of his passing metaphors. As he gives life to his story, so he wishes also his diction to be alive and liquid; and to effect this he does not kill and anatomize his images, and make a cabinet of the bits, but gives each in its natural and living totality, even though it may be too great or too little for the matter in hand. As the Chinese represents a foreign word, not by any alphabetical spelling, but by a combination of the nearest syllables which his monosyllabic dictionary contains, so Mr. Browning communicates his ideas, not by images which have been worn down to mere symbols and abstract words, but by whole pictures. It is as if he tried to represent a circle with a number of rough sticks. He could only make a polygon, each side of which would be represented by a most unmathematical piece of rusticity. And this inadequacy of representation he seems to accept, not as a painful necessity, but as a condition of poetical beauty. He compels his eye to view things askance. His metaphors, which are his new words, are generally one-sided and incomplete; so are his poems. The concluding canto of the present poem is like the conclusion of a firework—an empty tube and a stick. It will not do to say of this poem that the end crowns the work; a better motto would be—

"Acribus initia, incurioso fine."

He leaves his work to end in a flourish, like a torso in arabesque. And this gives his poetry an appearance of coarseness of design and execution. There is nothing like vulgarity in it, if vulgarity is a conventional coarseness; nor is his coarseness one of exaggeration, like that of the flabby imitators of Rubens: it is rather akin to the coarseness of the earlier Flemings, in pictures of martyrdoms or of the last judgment. They ransack Noah's ark for monstrous reptiles, obscene birds, poisonous insects, hogs and hyænas, each of which suggests some special ugliness and wickedness, and which altogether make a very grotesque, but a very effective suggestion of hell. Or, to come down to later days, his coarseness is something like that of Gustave Doré, who made a mistake in choosing the sculptured and classical imagery of Mr. Tennyson to illustrate, rather than the Rembrandt-like obscurities of Mr. Browning. The poet of *Childe Roland* has



surely more than the poet of the *Idyls of the King* in common with the artist of the *Wandering Jew*. But though Mr. Browning has no conventional coarseness, yet he is hardly enough on his guard against mannerism. Mannerism of thought is more or less inseparable from individuality of character; but mannerism of representation is a routine unworthy of a great artist. No good painter would paint all his reds with vermilion; Mr. Browning can never see the colour without talking of blood. With him a crimson sun-set is blood-red, tulips are bubbles of blood. If he introduces us to anything painted red, he must hasten to assure us that it is not painted with blood, as if that thought was an inevitable temptation and the first suggestion of Satan.

The satirical element in Mr. Browning's mind is strong; but he is too serious a theologian and moralist to be a genuine satirist. His humour lacks not only the keen edge and fine incisiveness, but the playful and careless dallying, of satire. Satire should appeal to the inner consciousness of the person satirised; he should be made to feel, not only that the cap was made to his measure, but that it fits him. It would be too great a stretch of imagination to suppose that any prelate could ever in his inmost heart have recognised Blougram's apology as correctly representing his own moral situation. This, and several similar poems, wherein the speaker is introduced dragging to public light hidden tendencies and by-ways of thought which he could scarcely see clearly enough to confess to himself, are beyond the range of satire, and come within the category of casuistry. And they assume quite a prophetic character, when we remember the assumptions and pretensions of the poet. For Mr. Browning, in analysing as he does the processes and the characters of men's minds, attributes to himself a kind of infallibility, which ought to be enough to make his judgments haunt his victims like an evil conscience. After giving us his theory of dead fact restored to life by the alloy of poetical fiction, he asks whether this fiction is truth:

"Are means to the end themselves in part the end?"

Is fiction which makes fact alive fact too?"

He gives no very coherent answer to the question; but he makes it very evident that he considers that the artist is the real and only truth-teller. For him the fictions of art, combined with the facts of nature, are of a higher grade of truth than the facts by themselves. Moreover, all human attempts, by means of logic or theories of

probabilities, or criticism, to sift and tell the truth, are failures; "our human speech is naught, our human testimony false;" but

"art remains the one way possible  
Of speaking truth,"—

at least, he adds modestly, to mouths like his. It is fair to say that this truthfulness of art does not in his view apply to personal satire, but only to such art as speaks not to man, but to mankind. The artist, however infallible in his analysis of special character, may be mistaken in attributing it to any special person. This saving clause will make it doubtful whether those rehabilitations of men defamed in history, which have lately been so plentiful, would be regarded by Mr. Browning as so many conquests of artistic truth. Literary artists have persuaded themselves that there are persons who have been shamefully calumniated by the naughtiness of speech and the falsehood of testimony—have been limned by contemporaries as devils, when they were angels disguised. With this conviction, these artists have projected their own surplussage of soul into the dead idols, and have presented us with new Eighth Henries, new Lucrezia Borgias, new Neros. Is the fiction which makes these facts alive fact too? It is not clear that Mr. Browning would deny it. With perfect apparent seriousness he has affirmed that the dramatic scenes of his *Paracelsus* might be slipped between the leaves of any memoir of the man by way of commentary. Hitherto he had not ventured on dealing thus with any of the more articulate and defined characters of history. He had selected its obscure zoophytes, historical mists, cloud-forms, like Sordello and Paracelsus, to try his hand upon. Here he was safe; where history is silent, she does not protest. But in the present poem he has introduced a person as well known as Pope Innocent XII., and has assigned him a long and searching soliloquy. The main outlines of the character show a careful regard of Ranke; the fillings-up smack rather of the poet's surplussage of soul than of any probable opinions of any Pope. Innocent XII. would hardly have propounded as part of his creed the opinions of modern Universalism, nor have gone far towards identifying God with Nature; nor, because he was the first of his line who exhibited either justice or mercy to the Jansenists, would he necessarily have proceeded to compare an "irregular noble scapegrace," whom he meant to praise, with Augustine, or a "fox-faced horrible priest," whom he abhorred, with Loyola; nor, without the gift of prophecy, would he have alluded to and joined in the condemna-



tion of modern civilisation in the Syllabus of Pius IX.; nor, without a kind of presentiment of Hegel's doctrine of the genesis of being out of not-being, would he have formulated his fine theory of the restoration of faith in the latter days through the antagonism of doubt. The poet knows how far he is here wandering from probability; and before the end of the poem he harks back to this supposed Papal doctrine, and says,—

' If he thought doubt would do the next age good,  
'Tis pity he died unapprised what birth  
His reign may boast of, be remembered by—  
Terrible Pope, too, of a kind,—Voltaire."

The alloy which attributes an elaborate theory to a historical person, followed by the spirit of acid which washes out the fiction with an "if," is perhaps the most noteworthy exhibition of this typical process of ring-making to be found in the whole poem.

The artistic truth, then, which is brought out in such an exhibition of a historical character, is not historical truth or verity of fact, but that verity of congruity which allows one to say that if it was not so it ought to have been so. By this rule, the artist shows us not what a man was, but what he ought to have been, in order to place him in conformity, not with the moral law, but with the artist's ideal. For, after all, the truth which the artist contends for is his own ideal—himself. Much must be forgiven to genius; the superior man may well be supposed to have also a superior Ego, besides higher motives to thrust his own personality upon others. But the man of genius should be the first to find out that of all human qualities personality is at once the most familiar and the least communicable, that a man's intercourse with himself, if it is the first object of his own intelligence, is the last object for the intelligence of other people. He that speaketh in this unknown tongue edifieth himself, for in the spirit he speaketh mysteries; but he is a barbarian to others. He speaks, but says nothing; his puzzling no-meaning is as hopeless an enigma as a bankrupt's books. There are thoughts which are not transferable, autochthons that can only live where they are born, and cannot be naturalized in another soil. The youth of genius often makes volcanic efforts to colonize with such thoughts. The effort is excellent to teach him negatively the limits of his power; but its positive results are worthless. Mr. Browning continued his youth far into his age, and for too long a time gave too many occasions to ask whether his lines were philosophy gone mad or madness philosophizing. But there were always oases in his desert; and they gained him a mino-

rity of friends enough to encourage him, while the majority of foes have at last chastened him into tolerable sobriety. In deference to them he has, as it were, cast his skin, and has made an effort for which he clearly anticipated the rare success it has gained,—the success of pleasing his revilers and turning them into admirers. Perhaps the spirit of acid which he speaks of is this suppression of the individual and secret personality which, after so many efforts, he has found to be incommunicable, and the determination only to communicate so much of himself as he can render intelligible in the common tongue. But it was not only the wish to tell his dreams in his own dream-language which made him hard to be understood: his theory of metaphor, and his involved grammar, added the difficulties of construction to the difficulties of interpretation. His character led him to the uncouthness and abruptness of a style full of breaches and pitfalls, just as his appreciation of the value of what he had to communicate led him into amplification and repetition, and the spreading of his thoughts prosaically thin over his poetical pages. He is not a poet who sings by ear only; and he thoroughly well knew what he was doing when he wove the loose texture of his style. It was the proper raiment of his thoughts. He is too good a critic, and has too habitually criticised himself, not to be entirely conscious of the coarse grain of his composition. He wished to impose himself—his own views, his own language, his own sense of the beautiful and the congruous, his own appreciation of himself and others—upon his audience. Knowing well what he did, but not knowing what he could do best, he always tried to be a dramatist; but he is, and ever will be, a critical poet. The author is never off the scene. Like Thackeray, he is always commenting on the sayings and doings and meanings of his dramatic personages. And when he is not formally doing so his readers feel that the process is still going on underground. He is his own chorus, the ideal spectator of his own dramas; and the chorus is often, perhaps generally, more important than the dialogue.

Such appear to be a few of the main characteristics of the poet who infuses his surplusage of soul into the tale told in the *The Ring and the Book*. And they show how it is that, in spite of his theological bias and undeniable Christianity, he is acceptable to the materialistic and positivist thought of the day. The man whose imagination can interpret the soul of brute matter seems to show to other imaginations how thought and soul may be only secretions of matter specially organized, while his decided con-



tempt for reason in comparison with the sentiments must endear him to all friends of Comte's law, "quo l'esprit doit être subordonné au cœur." If we turn to the form into which he has moulded his story, we must be struck with a novelty which has at the same time the merit of simplicity and obvious naturalness. In some respects the design follows the plan of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*; there is a similar prologue, which introduces to the reader the narrators of the poem, followed by a series of cantos or idyls, in which each of them tells his tale. But Mr. Browning's design has a more compressed unity than Chaucer's; for in the twelve books of this poem there is only one complete action, one tune, the subject of twelve variations. He has a theory that the life of a fact consists in the variety of ways in which it is regarded. A truth in which all are agreed gradually fades and dies. A living fact looks differently to each beholder. The "variance and eventful unity" of opinion regarding it make up its thread of life; and therefore the poet, who has to quicken a dead fact, must, as it were, throw its carcass into the arena to be fought over and dragged hither and thither by the lions of thought.

"See it for yourselves,  
This man's act, changeable because alive."

The poet has forgotten to tell us how it is that human speech and human judgment, which he thinks are naught, and which prove their naughtiness by their inconstancy, are able by this very inconstancy to rise to the most sublime function of humanity—poetical creation. But perhaps this is only one instance out of many where our weakness is our strength. Perhaps generalization rests on confusion of memory and forgetfulness of special details; and the absence of logical accuracy and metaphysical abstraction may be a condition for the picturesqueness of metaphor and abundance of imagery which distinguish the poet. It is however a truth, that facts, as mirrored in men's minds, are infinitely variable; and it is this changeableness which makes judicial investigations so interesting, and makes it possible to write a great poem on the present plan. To tell the same story in the same way a dozen times over would be to overdo the loquacious imbecility of Mrs. Quickly or Juliet's nurse. But, in its place, repetition is one of the fundamental laws of art. As nature begins with uniform repetition, and ends with differentiated repetition, so does art. Indeed, a scale of arts might be constructed on this principle. The less articulate and intellectual the art is, the more readily it ad-

mits simple repetition, even in its highest works. In music, the repetition of the tune, the subject, or the figure, is one of the most imperative rules of the art. In Beethoven's pastoral symphony a single bar is repeated ten times successively; fugues, imitations, variations, figures of accompaniment, are all instances of the same law. In architecture, the ranges of repeated members—arcades, columns, pinnacles, the arrangement of the elevation, where mass answers to mass, and tower is flanked with tower—are examples of repetition as simple as that of music. When we advance to the higher efforts of sculpture, painting, and poetry, we find the repetitions veiled, as they are in the differentiated segments of a highly organized vertebrate, though in their lower examples—the frieze, the arabesque, the ballad with its burden—we find the same simplicity as in the less articulate arts. But the same rule of repetition holds good throughout; all the subtleties of rhythm, proportion, and measured flow, depend on the law of repetition and variation. One of the most honoured traditions of the Elizabethan dramatists was the composite plot, in which the subsidiary action answered to the main one as its supplement, its contradictory, or its parody. Much of the stereoscopic solidity of their work may be due to this binocular vision which they afford us of it. The law of repetition applies not only to the creation but to the enjoyment of art. A thing of beauty is a joy forever, not for a moment merely, like a peach, which is eaten and done with; the picture, the play, the poem, is visited and revisited, heard and reheard, read and re-read, by the same people, and by their children, generation after generation. If Raphael never wearied of repeating his Madonnas, the public have never grown tired of gazing on them. Poet after poet, tragedian after tragedian, has taken up the same tale; and the masterpieces of literature have been written on stock stories, familiar as nursery tales. If Mr. Browning's design is new, it is founded on old analogies, and obeys a well-known law.

Another trait of this poem is its hybrid character. Mr. Browning, in his essays to be a dramatist, has gradually been sliding back till he has landed in the archaic simplicity of Thespis. His drama is long monologue, only made dramatic by faithfully portraying the actual and present workings of the speaker's passions and intellect. But this vitality at once gives the monologue or the narrative a lyric character. The monologues are dramatic, because the speakers are placed in dramatic situations, where the event depends upon their suasive power.



They are narrative; for they set before us the history, not the actual development, of an event. But they are eminently lyric, because their chief interest is reflective, lying not in the deed or narrative itself, but in the psychological states of the speakers, and in the various hues which the history assumes when refracted through their various minds. It is with reason then that the poet makes an invocation to lyric love the posy of his ring. This invocation has been everywhere quoted, and everywhere read, rather, probably, for its music than for its intelligence; for it can hardly speak plainly except to those who know the poem. The poet gazes on lyric love, half angel and half bird; and as he gazes its form becomes transfigured, and it seems to be a lost companion, whose presence was once his best gift of song. He still gazes, and the well-known features are glorified into those of the Redeemer, dropping down "to toil for man, to suffer or to die." For to him, poetry, love, and religion, are but three aspects of one great creative force, not logic or reason, though he identifies it with the Logos, but "all a wonder and a wild desire," a pure passion, which he enthrones as Queen of man and the world. Lyric love accepts not the world as it is; that is the dramatist's realm. The dramatist knows that

"there is no art  
To find the mind's construction in the face,"

and so employs himself in exposing the contradiction between the mask and the brain beneath it. But lyric love spurns this world, feathered with deceitful promises and false truths, and makes to itself another world, where the inside corresponds to the outside, where the face is the mind, and the grace of the body is the shadow of the grace of the soul. Such a world is the ideal of art; for art itself is but the expression of truth in its most natural symbols. Its problem is to make the invisible visible, and give articulate voice to the mute feelings of the heart. Shapes and colours, and sounds and words, are its only materials. With these it has to express the shapeless, colourless, inaudible, inarticulate motions of the mind; and therefore, in the interests of its own life, it has to assume a constant relationship, even an identity, between the convex and concave of its world. Words become things, colours become moral qualities; the face is no longer merely the index of the heart, but becomes the heart itself. In the lyric world of art

"What the breast forges, that the tongue  
must vent;"

there is no opposition between being and seeming. Hence the very first doctrine of the lyric philosopher is love at first sight. No other love is love, as Marlowe declares in the saw which Shakespeare quotes. A face, as Mrs. Browning says, strikes like a symbol on a face, and fills with its silent clangour brain and heart, transfiguring the man to music. So it is with the love in this poem. Caponsacchi sees Pompilia once for a moment, and she sees him. He describes the result:

"That night and next day did the gaze endure  
Burnt to my brain, as sunbeam through shut  
eyes,  
And not once changed the beautiful sad smile."

In that instant he learns her whole character. Evil reports come to him; vile papers which purport to be her own letters are brought to him. He knows them to be false and forged. The lips of one of Raphael's Madonnas might as soon drop scorpions as she be foul. He might say of her, as Pericles of Perdita,

"Falseness cannot come from thee; for thou  
look'st  
Modest as Justice, and thou seem'st at a palace  
For the crowned Truth to dwell in."

In the same way Pompilia knows Caponsacchi at a glance; his face is sufficient refutation of all scandal against him:

"Thus I know  
All your report of Caponsacchi false  
Folly or dreaming; I have seen so much  
By that adventure at the spectacle,  
The face I fronted that one first, last time:  
He would belie it by such words and thoughts.  
Therefore while you profess to show him me  
I ever see his own face."

This love at first sight is but one stone of the temple of Lyric Love. The whole constitutes a complete philosophy, distilled from Plato, and coming down to us in a succession of poets, of whom Dante, Petrarch, and Shakespeare in his sonnets, are the chief. It is a philosophy which does not fit things as they are, but perhaps would fit them if they were as they ought to be. If applied to life, it sets it to a higher pitch, translates it to a more refined language, representing it not as it is, but "as you like it," as it may be supposed to go on in the mythical forest of Arden. It lends itself to the drama, and produces a *Romeo and Juliet*. It is the poet's means for raising man above himself. It is the idealism which, joined to the realism of natural representation, gives an elevation more than human to human life and human energy. The passion which it



deifies is not blind human craving, but an ideal passion endowed with intuition, and freed from the roundabout processes of our interpretative reason and inferential logic. Inspired with this, the poet's heroic men and women rise superior to all the thralls of blind passion, to the calculating pursuers of pleasure or interest, to the astute politicians who direct the storm and thrive on others' ruin. The lyric love with which they are inspired makes them examples to follow, touchstones of right and wrong, ideals to guide our judgments, models of martyrdom, and of the supreme happiness of suffering and passion.

Lyric art, in embodying this ideal, has to deal with many other things besides lyric love. Like the chorus in a Greek tragedy, it has to be the supposed spectator of all that happens, and to convey to the spectator of the play a lyrical and poetical expression of the emotions which he ought to feel. It contrasts not only the doings of men with the lyric ideal, but much more their feelings. It has to trace the various ways in which Job's comforters judge him, and to judge their judgments. The Greek chorus represented a whole population; and Mr. Browning introduces populations—half Rome, and the other half Rome—delivering their sentiments upon the actors and action of his story. In this again his ideal approaches that of the earliest Greek drama. There is no such popular running commentary on the action in Shakespeare, except sometimes in the observations of the fool or clown. We know of nothing quite like it in modern literature, except perhaps the social opinion which comes in as Chorus in George Eliot's novels, and gives the judgment of the Raveloe alehouse or the Florentine barber's shop upon the action and persons of the history. The parliamentary and representative fancy that makes an idyl of popular opinion, though a novelty, is yet an advance in the grooves of the great movement of thought. When philosophical criticism regards the hero of literature simply as the spokesman of his age, it proposes to writers the problem of making the characters they invent not individual and idiosyncratic, but samples of common opinion. We have indeed crowds and mobs and citizens in Shakespeare; but they are rather yielding material in the hands of the individual demagogue or orator than masters of the situation. Public opinion has now become a constraining force, as often directing as following those whose hands turn the wheels of society and the State. Literature can represent all that is, and after a time will be able to embody public opinion as poetically as it has exhi-

bited the action of the heroic will or the individual prudence. There is no reason why some of the persons of a drama should not be collective corporations, organized aggregates of men; and there is no reason why these composite persons should not be truly poetical. The people is in its way a poet. To it we owe proverbs and ballads. It seizes on skeletons of facts, and, like a poet, projects its "surplusage of soul" into them, giving them its own colouring, and making them "alive" with its own fictions. On the narrow basis of a telegram it can set up a tower of Babel huge enough to cast a shadow over a whole empire. It can be as wayward and wilful as a baby; it can also be patient and persevering as a spider. As the poet strives to enter into the minds of his heroes, to possess himself of their springs of action, to think and feel in their grooves, so, when he makes public opinion his hero, he can possess himself of its national spirit, of its corporate logic, and represent collective humanity as easily as he can represent individuals. Collective humanity individualizes itself in the average man, and in him manifests its way of looking at things. And in an age of democratic advance the average man's toe comes so near the heel of the hero that he galls his kibe. Some people think that the day of novelists has passed its meridian, and that the sun of journalists is about to rise. For society, they suppose, is growing tired of the exceptional, and is beginning to feel its interest centre in the common action of mankind. The age of chivalry is gone, when one man engrossed all interest, and the rest were only chaff and bran, porridge after meat. The hero has already been served up in every variety of cookery—plain for simple palates, deviled for the uncertain feverish appetite, minced for children to swallow. There is no more gold to be found in these diggings. Those who still work at them are apt to give us the strained products of an imagination groping in the sewers for new spawn of Belial, new networks of improvised fatalities, new atrocities of noble-minded crime. Men turn from this to the dull matter-of-fact of reporters and correspondents and journalists, and find it more interesting. There is on the whole a movement of thought among those who feed on light literature, similar to that which has changed the aspect of historical books. The novel of exceptional character and intrigue is analogous to the history which makes the world depend on politicians and diplomatists, and governs the chariot of progress by the will of the strong checked by the plots of the wise. The history, on the other hand, which no longer



looks exclusively to the erratic course of the eccentric hero, but finds force in the multitude, and law in the uniform flow of average society, obtains in journalism its proper literary expression. When it is commonly recognised that the hero and statesman is no original creator, no imposer of his own private dreams upon mankind, but one who represents their average opinions, and enforces them with extraordinary ability, the hero of literature must become not the eccentric but the sample man. The vagaries of sensationalism seem to herald its dissolution. A moribund school, whether of theology or philosophy or art, is always most rabid in its anathemas, most uncompromising in its logic, most extravagant in its one-sided consistency. There is an autumnal and painted gorgeousness, which is the precursor not of life but of death. Sensationalism may be the last fitful glare of the novel of exceptional character and situation, and journalism the first twilight and the model of a school about to arise. Mr. Browning's poem is cousin-german to a series of newspaper articles. His "horrid murder" is not led up to, hidden, and discovered as in a novel, but bursts upon us like an announcement in a journal. Its interest lies not in its sensational atrocity or pathos, but in its ambiguous character,—the various interpretations which may be given to the acts and motives of the murderer, his wife, her parents, and her friend. And these are just the qualities which would make it fit material for the journalist. A cruel murder, stupidly conceived and clumsily executed, where justice has no trouble in tracing the evidence, and where the motives are apparent and the provocation imaginary, does not become a celebrated cause. It is only when it involves terrible uncertainties of inferential evidence, or when the motives urged in justification are capable of various explanations, that the case becomes meat and drink for journalists. Then society is moved. Then all classes contribute their comments, and improve the occasion to enforce their various social theories, their belief in the corruption of the aristocracy, their distrust of trial by jury, their contempt for the English law of evidence, their conviction of the connection between the increase of crime and the advance of democracy. It is just such a series of comments which three out of twelve of Mr. Browning's cantos furnish. "Half Rome" might be a summary of the articles and correspondence of the daily Liberal journal on the subject, "the other half Rome" a similar digest of the opinions of the Tory paper, while the "Tertium quid" would be the acrid and impartial distribution of universal condemnation

administered by a weekly journal reviewing the perturbations of the world from a region of sweetness and light. These cantos resemble leading articles done into verse, in that they are the lyrical expressions of a chorus of public opinion, exercising itself on the deeds which move its interest, delivering its judgments on their evidence and motives, and recording its sentiments about them. They do not dramatize public opinion; to do so, it would be necessary to exhibit a common wish and will using its own instruments, performing its own functions, and controlling events, with multitudes instead of persons as actors. Here the aggregates of men simply record their sentiments through the mouth of an average member.

Although Mr. Browning makes use of these expositors of opinion, he does not cease to accompany their utterances with a running commentary of his own, sometimes expressed, sometimes understood, forming a perpetual gloss on the text, and ever making us alive to the relationship in which the sentiments dramatically expressed stand to those of the poet himself. He writes with a didactic purpose. He claims to have a mission; and the most direct way of accomplishing it would be to look his brethren in the face, and tell them that they have eyes and see not, ears and hear not, and that what they count faith is foolishness. But besides the peril of making one's-self a common enemy by calling all things by their right names, such a way of delivering his message would be obnoxious to the common charge against all human testimony and human speech. He must therefore deliver his message in the way of art, which "nowise speaks to men, only to mankind," which tells truth obliquely by painting the picture that shall breed the thought, and thus both satisfy the imagination and save the soul. It is not to be forgotten, in considering the complex form of Mr. Browning's poem, that it is in some sense a sermon.

With regard to the materials of the poem, the first thing that strikes one is that it is, both in the plot and in the characters, a renewal of old productions.

"For out of the old fieldes, as men sayth,  
Cometh all this newe corn from year to  
year,  
And out of olde bookis, in good sayth,  
Cometh all this new science that men  
lere."

A comparison of it with the poet's earlier writings will show that it stands to them in that relation of finished picture to previous studies on which Bottini enlarges in the beginning of his monologue. Up to the publi-



cation of the poem, it was generally thought that "The Flight of the Duchess" was Mr. Browning's most considerable work. But as the individual characters of that piece are mostly only developments of previous isolated studies—studies of neglected wives and of heartless husbands—so the whole complex play of characters, their mutual action and reaction, in *The Ring and the Book*, is very much a reproduction and improved version of the play of moral forces exhibited in "The Flight of the Duchess." In both there is the child-wife, great in moral nature and in possibilities of development, but ignorant, innocent, and unformed; in both the icy, formal, heartless husband; in both the "gaunt grey nightmare" of the mother-in-law; in both a deliverer whose presence is like a flash of light to the pining wife, transfiguring her to a daring heroine. In one poem this character is borne by the gipsy, in the other by the canon Caponsacchi. In both there is a censor who relates the story, and delivers his judgment upon the motives and acts of the persons. In one, this office is borne by the old huntsman; in the other it is divided between the three representative speakers who utter the opinions of Roman society, and the Pope who sums up the case, and makes the final award. Certain types have long dwelt in the poet's mind; on them he has persistently brought to bear his powers of analysis and construction; he has often exhibited them singly and in different combinations, in studies of various degrees of extent and intensiveness. In his more extensive studies, where the reaction of the characters on each other had to be exhibited, he has always shown a deficiency in the power of inventing plots. The greatest masters of characterization have often confessed a sheer inability to devise personages or incidents. Even Shakespeare, by his practice of using ready-made plots, indirectly owns to the difficulty or irksomeness of the labour. It is therefore no violent detraction from Mr. Browning's merits to say that his plots are often ridiculous, his incidents absurd, and his personages bizarre. Nothing can well exceed the unreal, unnatural effect of the introduction of the gipsy in "The Flight of the Duchess." If the writer in the exercise of his self-criticism ever felt this weakness, the discovery of his Florentine book, with an interesting story ready made, supplying not merely a likely but a true plot, furnished with the best possible machinery and incidents for a new display of his favourite types of character, must have appeared even whimsically providential. He seized on his treasure, gloated over it, talked of it, investigated the records

connected with it, brooded over it for four years, and told its story over again, with the additions of his own fancy, using it as a mould for recasting all his favourite characters, in the composition of whose metal almost his whole life had been spent. While he designed moulds for himself, he had generally remained perilously near the edge of the impossible or the grotesque.

"Amphora cœpit

Institui; currente rotâ cur urceus exit?"

Now he has found a mould, or rather a collection of moulds, which admits of a variegated display of his potter's craft, and requires a large collection of vessels, some to honour, some to dishonour. All that he could not do he found ready to hand; all that he could do best, he saw room for. His characters were ready; he had only to adapt them, and make them act over again in poetry a drama which had once been really acted by persons more or less resembling his masks.

The story had perhaps another attraction for Mr. Browning in its being Italian. Dutch as he is in his realism, in his distance from the abstract ideal, and in a complexity which buries a fire under the abundance of fuel, he yet shares the Dutch artist's love for the

"Woman country, never wed,

Loved all the more by earth's male lands."

But if he goes to Italy and studies there, he paints Italian subjects in the Dutch manner, and is most attracted by the deposits of the Teuton admixture in the strata of the Italian mind. He may decorously display on his table the masterpieces of Latin art, but under them we find the open volumes of Rabelais, Montaigne, Annibale Caro, Pietro Aretino, or the burlesques of Ariosto and Tassoni. To adduce but one example, the grotesque onomatopœia of the Italians exercises quite a magnetic attraction over him. A nation which delights in giving its most renowned families such names as Head-in-a-bag, Beggar-my-neighbour, Wish-you-well, and Rags, has a certain underground fibre of sympathy with a poet who delights in inventing such noises as Blougram, Gigadiba, or Bluphocks. "Uncouth, unknissed," says Chaucer; but an uncouth name has so great an attraction for Mr. Browning that he not only kisses it, but absolutely chews it, and licks it into shape with the affection of a she-bear for her cubs. The fatted calf, Dominus Hyacinthus de Archangelis, who in one of the cantos is exhibited alternating between the pains of composing a defence of the murderer, and the pathos of intercalary benedictions of his little boy Hyacinth, whose birthday it is, ransacks the whole armoury



of Italian increments for variations on the child's name—Giacinto, Giacintino, Cinino, Ciniccino, Cincicello, Cinone, Cinoncino, Cinoncello, Cinotto, Cinozzo, Cinuzzo, Cinarello, Cinuccio, Cinucciatolo, Cineruggiolo,—where affection prompts a homeliness of sound analogous to the homeliness of meaning in the mother who calls a child by the endearing terms of pig or duck. There is a great deal of expression in names, whether articulate or only musical in their utterance. We see strong character in Shakespeare's Sir Toby and in his Goodman Puff, in many of the names of Ben Jonson's plays and epigrams, and in those prefixed to Robert Herrick's *criminosi iambi*, where the words are generally as expressive in meaning as in sound. It requires, perhaps, a greater refinement of musical ear to comprehend a meaning in the insignificant sounds of a name, and with Victor Hugo to sum up the saintly qualities of a prelate in such a sound as *Myriel*. Mr. Browning's ear is keenly apprehensive of these latent affinities; but his taste leads him rather to the farcical than the beautiful. He does not attempt to make up for other wants by the queeriness of his nomenclature, as Old Shandy would have compensated for his son's loss of nose by christening him *Trismegistus*; but he gladly lays hold of its accessory aid. It must have delighted him to find that the story would fill his lines with *Pompilia* and *Caponsacchi*, and would give him occasion to lug into his verse such agglomerations of syllables as *Panciatichi* and *Acciaiuoli*.

Italians would probably condemn Mr. Browning's Latinizing as a corrupt following of his apostles, and repeat their old proverb, *Inglese italianizzato diavolo incarnato*. If the intricate and rapid rhymes, of which he has heretofore shown such management, have an Italian example in *Leporeo*, *Leporeo* is but a corrupt follower of the rhyming Latin of the mediæval monks. Mr. Browning is Saxon, and not Latin, when he hunts the letter with clash and clatter like *Holophernes*, and ambles along with the artificial aid of alliteration. If he affects crabbed and club-fisted words like *Marston*, it was just for this that the more classical taste of Ben Jonson made him so indignant with that poet. But all these things are probably connected with the retrospective attitude of the poet. As he draws his story and characters from old books, so he draws up whatever he can find in the well of old English, and transfers to his own pages whatever he finds most characteristic. This proceeding has been common to our poets, of all ages and of all calibres. They have all been news-gleaners from old archives, wise scribes

bringing out of their treasures things new and old.

The chief value of the story of Mr. Browning's poem is to form the framework for the display of the characters. These are, first, Count Guido Franceschini, the murderer, a poor nobleman who, having fished all his life in the antechambers of a cardinal at Rome, and caught nothing, in the wane of his years baits his hook with his nobility and catches the wife, and through her the supposed daughter, of a wealthy Roman burgess. Guido is Mr. Browning's *Iago*; in him we have his ideal of wickedness. Guido is not a man of strong passions urged by his nature to vice. He is, on the contrary, an artificial man, one whose hinges turn not on the pivot of passion but on that of reason. He is a walking example of Rousseau's aphorism, "*L'homme qui raisonne est un animal dépravé*." His master passion is a made-up one, the love of money, which, in common with mediæval moralists, Mr. Browning considers the least human and most diabolical of all, because it is simply artificial. Whoever stands in the way of this passion is simply vermin to Guido—first to be provoked to suicide, and in default of that to be led into some crime which may excuse deadly vengeance, and in default of that to be poisoned or stabbed. Add to him pride, not the natural pride of his far-reaching intelligence, or any other natural gift, but the pride of station, another artificial passion, and we have a reason for the cruel vengeance, the "lust and letch of hate" which he exhibits. After his cold-blooded indifference to his wife and her parents has provoked them to confess that she is not their child, and therefore not entitled to their fortune, she becomes the object of all his schemes of vengeance, which he conducts in so astute a manner as to throw the greatest doubt on his own guilt and her innocence. Like *Iago*, he is a man of logical and powerful mind, knowing the world, wary in observation, prophetic in political forecast, looking quite through the deeds of men. This cold, satanic intellect, with the artificial heat organized out of gold and rank, Mr. Browning incarnates in a body almost like a tragic *Hudibras*—short, thick-shouldered, hook-nosed, dark, with a bushy red beard, capable of enduring pain like a brute, but deficient in physical courage. The man is one whose language has a relation to his own interests, but not the slightest relation to truth, except at the last moment, when the terror of death compels him to invoke his murdered wife as a saint, and who, again like *Iago*, permits himself on all occasions the utmost license in talk. In-



deed, Mr. Browning may be charged with not sufficiently trapping the gullies of Guido's uncircumcised imagination.

In contrast with the cold reason and active conventionality of Guido, we have the nature and passion of Pompilia, his wife, and Caponsacchi, her deliverer. Each, either devoid of education or ill-educated, puts to shame the artificial power of education by the natural flow of right feeling and instinct. The woman exhibits this in her innocence and ignorance; the man, in the midst of the frivolities and wild-oats sowing of courtly Italian life. They are both essentially lyrical characters; and in obedience to the lyrical law, they both lack active originating power, but sit down in a boat, without oars or sails, to be luckily wafted over the wild waters of life by the breezes of good feeling and the gales of passionate instinct. Hence they lack striking individuality. Mr. Browning tells us miles more about them than we are told about Hotspur or Cordelia; yet they come miles behind Hotspur and Cordelia in definiteness, dramatic energy, and elevation of individual character. They neither of them flash upon the reader; he has to gather their characters from a multitude of sayings or doings or sufferings. He has to credit them with what they tell him of their own feelings and intentions, and to believe them chiefly because their features are so handsome, and their countenances so open. Nevertheless they are real characters; and the cumulative, painfully heaped up conceptions of them which we gradually agglomerate in our minds become, if not grand outlines, at least grand patches of massive and yet subtle colour. They constitute the masculine and feminine ideals of the poet; and there is great pathos and lyrical power in the monologue and sallies of Caponsacchi, explaining how, like Prince Hal, he lived amidst pleasures which he loved not, and how he was saved from them by a sudden passion. But there is more pathos when Pompilia, like a dying swan, intones the plain song of her life, and gives the history of her weary walk with Guido, and her exciting run with Caponsacchi. The story is a convenient one for a man who can put together last speeches, and knows that

"the tongues of dying men  
Enforce attention, like deep harmony."

Guido's speech to his confessors before execution is one of the most powerful in the poem. But perhaps the most satisfactory on the whole is the monologue of the aged Pope, who investigates the case as if it were his last earthly work, and speaks of his de-

cision as the crowning effort of his life. The ripe observation and mature wisdom with which he characterizes the persons of the drama, and at the same time delivers himself of a multitude of religious, moral, political, and even artistic theories, makes his speech a model of Mr. Browning's lyrico-didactic style. The poet himself speaks behind the mask. It is not however that the poet becomes Romanized, but the Pope becomes tinctured with his presenter, as we have already sufficiently seen. In this canto of the poem, consequently, Mr. Browning's whole circle of teaching, feeling, and criticism may be most conveniently studied. He will be found to possess great unity of principle. It is not only in human characters that he contrasts the gush of nature with the creeping contrivances of art. He exhibits a general scepticism, not about the observed laws, but about deduced precepts and conventional rules of morals, politics, and economy. He includes in the same condemnation premeditated proofs, prepared speeches, made-up marriages, codified rules, regulated education, and routine in general. He enforces his argument by examples of the failure of special contrivances. The clergy are in the world to humanize mankind; yet it was not the clergy who objected to the torture chamber. The seminary and the monastery should wean priests from the world, and harden them for their sharp duties; yet in Mr. Browning's poem it is the regularly educated priests who timidly follow the world, while the "irregular noble scapegrace," the man who should be a priest but is a desultory lover and poet, alone rushes from the ball-room to the battle-field at the call of duty. The physician falls sick, the lawyer cheats, the divine is damned, and the aimless saunterer finds health, success, and salvation.

"The politic  
And cunning statesman, that believes he fath-  
oms  
The counsels of all kingdoms on the earth,  
Is by simplicity oft over-reached."

In the astutest villains he puts such a mixture of the fool as brings to nought the knave. In the extremely moderate Roman jurisprudence he exhibits the mild flame of justice, hidden under the bushel of that plausible desire to avoid disputes which is the palladium of all establishments, and which drives them to let souls perish rather than themselves lose credit; and he shows how the intemperate sallies of those who are right are always matters of righteous blame for those who are temperately and methodically wrong. Nature against art is a central



thought with him; but in his view the fine arts are nature.

After those described, the two most prominent speakers in the poem are two Roman advocates, of whom one argues for Guido and one for Pompilia. For each his brief is his rule of faith. This is an offence as great in the poet's eyes as a marriage of convenience. One is the unpardonable sin against passion, the other against truth. Guido sins in one way, and is foiled; the advocates in another, and become ludicrous. Each, with his piebald language, his forensic quotations, his oratorical conceit, his jealousy of his opponent, his childish arguments, fitter for Euphues than for an advocate, becomes, however tedious, a comic and burlesque personage. One of them, the lean bachelor Bottini, blue-eyed, bright-haired, treble-voiced, screaming

"in heights of head  
As, in his modest studio, all alone,  
The tall wight stands a tiptoe, strives and strains  
Both eyes shut, like the cockerel that would crow,"

seems painted after Chaucer's pardoner. These are the persons who are dramatically brought out. The rest have only an existence in the narrative. These more undefined characters have a great range, from the neutral tints of the Comparini to the black, scarlet, and yellow of Guido's family. A number of them are twin brothers or sisters with men or women in Mr. Browning's former poems, many of whom seem to have missed their vocation in appearing where they did. They would certainly have been more at home in *The Ring and the Book* than where their premature birth has placed them.

Among the materials of the poem would be the place to discuss the minute realism of the poet, his theory of rhythm, his grammar, his style, as distinct and special in verse as Mr. Carlyle's in prose, his felicitous power of working at once upon contradictory models, consciously copying Euripides but producing something even more like Æschylus, and, in attempts to advance beyond the most advanced of the Greek dramatists, falling back upon the mythical beginnings of the Greek drama. His great virtue is that he has an impetus, a rush, which, to a great extent, hides his contradictory faults. It carries the reader over pages of "prose swell'd to verse, verse loitering into prose," over sheets where thoughts lie jumbled together, close packed and without room to move. It carries him over pitfalls of grammar, over empty holes and hard stones,

where a slow coach would be upset or stopped. It carries him on in such wise that he is content only half to understand, to forgive more than he takes in, and to retain but a little of that which passes through his ears. If there were not positive evidence to the contrary, Mr. Browning might be considered a careless poet, bestowing ample pains on amassing his materials, but little on their organization. But whatever trouble he may take he evidently lacks the power to give any great unity to the multifariousness of his farrago. Loaded as his pictures are with details, they can only please at a considerable distance. He writes a symphony carefully, and scores it for an orchestra of "saltbox, tongs, and bones." A minute critic might ask in vain for a plausible defence of line after line of his verse. He must be read running, and read with the eye more than with the ear. To read him aloud, or to let the ear pore over his verse is mortal. But to the intelligence he repays minute study. He presents a boundless chaos of accidental knowledge. The wide horizon of dim distance teeming with suggestions of facts outside the action of the poem gives it an air of reality, life, domesticity, and truthfulness, such as we are conscious of in Homer and Shakespeare. It is as plausible as a letter from home or a police report in the newspaper. Yet the laboured accumulation of appropriate allusions is sometimes rather overdone. In reading his lines also we perpetually arouse fleeting and impalpable memories of the great poets of the reign of James I. But there is at least one of them who knew how in a few paragraphs to anticipate many of Mr. Browning's chief characteristics. The Old City Captain in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Philaster* does not say much. But what he does say is so richly streaked with peculiar metaphor, that he reminds one very strongly of Mr. Browning. When, at the head of the insurgent apprentices, he catches and threatens the Spanish prince, he speaks the purest Browningese—

"Nay,  
My beyond-sea-sir, we will proclaim you:  
You would-be king!  
Thou tender heir-apparent to a church-ale,  
Thou slight prince of single sarcenet,  
Thou royal ring-tail, fit to fly at nothing  
But poor men's poultry."

The difference is that the burlesque of Beaumont becomes serious in Mr. Browning. He knows how infinite should be the changeful flash of the facets of a poem which is destined to live; and he seeks this variety rather in the costume of his charac-



ters than in their differences of expression. Each of them is saturated with his profession. His lawyers speak in terms of the pleas and bench; his divines in those of the pulpit and the schools; and his nobles are all heralds. All are vexed with an itch of making metaphors corresponding to the circumstances of their lives. Hence the style is rather a pudding-stone of dialects, all formed on the same principle, but out of different materials, than a smooth amalgam in which all the materials are made fluid, and worked up into the one comprehensive and dignified language of the cultivated man. There is enough of observation, learning, humour, wit, wisdom, but little charm; "*nihil hic nisi carmina desunt*." Yet there is more to admire than to forgive in Mr. Browning. Like Plato he is a poet because he is a poetical philosopher, though it may be a question whether his philosophy does not tend to strangle his poetry. His power may be guessed by the opposition he has encountered. Smashers clip gold, not copper. But to some his very power is repulsive. There are still many wise men, and men of taste, who would have their teeth drawn or toes amputated rather than read him. And those who can appreciate him are often so struck with the multifariousness of his merits in detail that, without appraising him higher than he deserves, they are apt in criticising him to raise expectations which the reading of his poems will fail to satisfy.

#### ART. V.—THE POPE AND THE COUNCIL.\*

[COMMUNICATED.]

THE attempt to establish the infallibility of the Pope by decree of a General Council is a phase of controversy which the internal disputes of the Church of Rome have made almost inevitable. The Catholic opposition in its several forms, national in Italy, scientific in Germany, liberal in France, has uniformly been directed against one or other of the Papal claims. Amongst the Catholics there are numbers who earnestly condemn the despotism of the Popes, their asserted superiority to all human law, civil and ecclesiastical, the exclusiveness with which they profess themselves sole interpreters of the Divine law, their systematic warfare against freedom of conscience, of science,

and of speech. These men find the arms of their adversaries effectually strengthened by the Papacy, and their own efforts confounded by reproaches which it justifies; but they seldom acknowledge that the causes of their weakness are in Rome. Sooner or later they almost always renounce or silence their convictions. Rather than definitely contradict the utterances of the Pope, or publicly censure his acts, they devote themselves to force or to veil his meaning. They shrink from a direct antagonism, and refuse to let the cause of the Pope be separated from their own. Their dread of a collision, and their obtrusive submissiveness, encourage the enterprise of those whose desire is to promote the Papal authority. Men who succumb in order to avoid the Index cannot be expected to reject what is proposed as an article of faith. If they will not resist a Roman congregation acting in the name of the Pope, they are not likely to resist an œcumenical council claiming to represent the Church. It is thought at Rome that, by declaring the Pope infallible, the independent action of the liberal party may be arrested, and the troubles of internal discussion averted for the future.

This infallibility is already a received doctrine with a considerable fraction of the Catholics. In the Commission to which the question was submitted at Rome, in preparation for the Council, only one dissentient vote was given. Among the Jesuits it has long prevailed; and the Jesuits being now in power, and recognised exponents of the Pope's own sentiments, the moment is propitious to make their doctrine triumph. For the ideas of the Encyclical and Syllabus of 1864, by which Pius IX. desired to remodel society, have not commanded general assent. The mind of Europe moves in other orbits; and nation after nation breaks away from the fetters of the canon law. It is hoped that the Pope's words will be heard with more deference if they are enforced by severer penalties. Obedience or excommunication would be a formidable alternative to the Catholics. The calculation is that it may yet be possible to recover by authority what has not been preserved by reason, and to restore, at one stroke, an influence which is waning, and a spirit that has passed away.

There is no doubt that many of the bishops will be glad if the dogma of infallibility is not submitted to the Council. A book by a French prelate is announced to appear shortly, which proves that the authority and example of Bossuet are not lost upon his countrymen. The German bishops, meeting at Fulda the other day, agreed that

\* *Der Papst und das Concil.* Von Janus. (Leipzig: Steinacker.)



it would be better for the Church if the question were not to be raised. The most eminent amongst them has declared his belief that the effect of the proposed decree would be to make all Germany Protestant. Others are not less forcibly impressed with the injury which would be done to the prospects of their Church in Great Britain. They have all combined to issue a pastoral letter, in which they repudiate with indignation the designs imputed to them. But they declare in the same document that no serious differences of opinion disturb the unanimity of the Catholic episcopate. Men who can utter such a thing in Germany must be capable of doing stranger things in Rome.

It will not be easy for the opposition to prevent the decree. In various ways the bishops are already largely committed. Since the revival of Provincial Synods, their acts have been sent to Rome for approval; and many of them have asserted their belief in the Papal infallibility. In 1854 the episcopate allowed the Pope to proclaim a new dogma to the Church. In 1862 they almost unanimously pronounced in favour of the temporal power. In 1864 they accepted the Syllabus. In 1867 they assured the Pope that they were ready to believe whatever he should teach. At that time the intention to summon a General Council, and the purpose of the summons, were no secret; and the bishops knew that their address would not be received if it expressed their obedience in less explicit terms. They will now be required to redeem their pledges. The most sanguine opponent can hardly expect, if the Council meets, that the dogma will not be proposed, or that it will be rejected in principle, or on any higher ground than that of present expediency. Its rejection, so qualified, might easily be represented as implicit acceptance of the principle, leaving the question of time to the judgment of the Pope. It will probably appear that the question of expediency is the only one which will be fairly submitted to be affirmed or negated by the Council. The managers consider that the doctrine itself is virtually decided, and that only those who believe it are real Catholics. Their object will be gained if the assembled episcopate confirms their opinion by tacit acquiescence, while it determines whether a formal decree is opportune.

No charge is more strenuously repelled by intelligent Catholics than that their faith is subject to be changed at will by the authorities of their Church, and that they may be called upon to believe to-morrow what they deny to-day. Their position in this respect is becoming critical. It is manifestly possi-

ble that a Council, at which their episcopate will be more fully assembled than it has been at any former Council, may proclaim that Catholicism must stand or fall with the infallibility of the Pope. They repudiate that doctrine now: will they believe it if the Council should so decide? On the answer to this question, even more than on the deliberations of the bishops at Rome, the future of their cause depends.

An answer to it has at length been given, and given with such force and distinctness that it cannot be forgotten or recalled. A volume has appeared at Leipzig, on the competence of the Council and the infallibility of the Pope, which will complete that revolution in Catholic divinity, and in the conditions of religious controversy, which was begun by Möhler's treatment of the claim to indefectibility, and by Newman's theory of the development of doctrine. The argument of the book, sustained by a portentous chain of evidence, is briefly this:—The Christian Fathers not only teach that the Pope is fallible, but deny him the right of deciding dogmatic questions without a Council. In the first four centuries there is no trace of a dogmatic decree proceeding from a Pope. Great controversies were fought out and settled without the participation of the Popes; their opinion was sometimes given and rejected by the Church; and no point of doctrine was finally decided by them in the first ten centuries of Christianity. They did not convene the General Councils; they presided over them in two instances only; they did not confirm their acts. Among all the ancient heretics there is not one who was blamed because he had fallen away from the faith of Rome. Great doctrinal errors have been sometimes accepted, and sometimes originated, by Popes; and, when a Pope was condemned for heresy by a General Council, the sentence was admitted without protest by his successors. Several Churches of undisputed orthodoxy held no intercourse with the See of Rome. Those passages of Scripture which are used to prove that it is infallible, are not so interpreted by the Fathers. They all, eighteen in number, explain the prayer of Christ for Peter, without reference to the Pope. Not one of them believes that the Papacy is the rock on which He built His Church. Every Catholic priest binds himself by oath never to interpret Scripture in contradiction to the Fathers; and if, defying the unanimous testimony of antiquity, he makes these passages authority for Papal infallibility, he breaks his oath.

So far the book only asserts more defi-



nately, and with deeper learning, facts which were already known. The great problem is to explain how it came to pass that the ancient constitution of the Church was swept away, and another system substituted, contrary to it in principle, in spirit, and in action, and by what gradations the present claims arose. The history of this transformation is the great achievement of the book. Each step in the process, prolonged through centuries, is ascertained and accounted for; and nothing is left obscure where the greater part was till now unknown. The passage from the Catholicism of the Fathers to that of the modern Popes was accomplished by wilful falsehood; and the whole structure of traditions, laws, and doctrines that support the theory of infallibility, and the practical despotism of the Popes, stands on a basis of fraud.

The great change began in the middle of the ninth century, with a forgery which struck root so deep that its consequences survive, though it has been discovered and exposed for three centuries. About one hundred decretals of early pontiffs, with acts of Councils and passages from the Fathers, were composed and published in France. The object of their author was to liberate the bishops from the authority of metropolitans and of the civil government, by exalting the power of the Pope, in whom he represented all ecclesiastical authority as concentrated. He placed the final criterion of orthodoxy in the word of the Pope, and taught that Rome would always be true to the faith, and that the acts of Councils were inoperative and invalid without Papal confirmation. The effect was not what he intended. At Rome the ground had long been prepared by interpolations in St. Cyprian, and by the fictitious biographies of early Popes which bear the name of Anastasius; and the advantage supplied by the Frankish prelate was eagerly seized. Nicolas I. declared that the originals of these texts were preserved in the Papal archives; and the bishops found themselves reduced to the position of dependants and delegates of the Pope. When Gregory VII. undertook to impose his new system of government on the Church, he, as well as the able and unscrupulous men who helped him, made all available use of pseudo-Isidore, and added such further fictions and interpolations as the new claims required. These accumulated forgeries, with more of his own making, were inserted by Gratian in the compilation which became the text-book of canon law. The exposure of the devices by which the Gregorian system obtained acceptance, and a spurious code supplanted the authentic law

of the Church, is the most brilliant and the newest thing in the volume.

The Councils became passive instruments in the hands of the Pope, and silently registered his decrees at the General Council of Vienne. Clement V. stated that he summoned only a few selected prelates, and informed them that whoever dared to speak, without being called on by the Pope, incurred excommunication. The Papal absolutism was practically established when it was forced on the divines by the same arts. A series of forged passages from the Greek Fathers came into existence, by which it appeared that the Pope was recognised as infallible by the Eastern Church in the fourth century. Urban IV. communicated them to St. Thomas Aquinas, who constructed the doctrine, as it afterwards flourished, on the proofs thus supplied. He was deceived by the invention of a false tradition; and his great name spread and established the delusion. At length men became aware that the decay of religion and the lamentable evils and abuses in the Church were caused by the usurpations of Rome. At Constance it was proclaimed that the supreme legislative and judicial authority, and the last appeal in matters of faith, belonged to the Council; and thus the belief and discipline of the Church were restored to what they had been before the forgeries began. The decrees were accepted by the Pope and by succeeding Councils; but it was a transitory reform. In the conflict with Protestantism the notion of unbounded power and unfailing orthodoxy was wrought up to the highest pitch at Rome. Cardinal Cajetan called the Church the slave of the Pope. Innocent IV. had declared that every priest was bound to obey him, even in unjust things; and Bellarmine asserted that if a Pope should prescribe vice and prohibit virtue, the Church must believe him. "Si autem papa erraret præcipiendo vitia, vel prohibendo virtutes, teneretur Ecclesia credere vitia esse bona et virtutes mala, nisi vellet contra conscientiam peccare." Gregory VII. had claimed to inherit the sanctity as well as the faith of Peter; and Innocent X. professed that God had made the Scriptures clear to him, and that he felt himself inspired from above. The present volume traces the progress of the theory, and its influence on religion and society, down to the sixteenth century, and shows with careful detail how much it contributed to the schism of the East, to the divisions of Western Christendom, to the corruption of morality, the aggravation of tyranny, and the fanatical persecution of witchcraft and heresy, and how the only hope of Christian



union lies in the reformation of those defects which have been introduced by fraud and malice during many ages of credulity and ignorance. If anything can ruin the system which exalts so high the claims and privileges of the Pope, it is such an exposure of the methods and the motives that have reared it.

The author evidently is prepared for the worst. He thinks it conceivable that the Council may err as well as the Pope, and may proclaim as a dogma what is false. The encroachments of the Papacy have left so little independence to the episcopate that the testimony of the bishops is no security for their Church. Their oath of office binds them to preserve and to increase the rights, honours, privileges, and authority of the Pope; they are no longer competent to restrict those rights and authorities, or to resist the proposal to increase them. "Since the time of Gregory VII. the Papal power has weighed upon the Councils far more heavily than the imperial influence of old. When the prospect of a General Council was discussed in the sixteenth century, half Europe justly demanded two conditions,—that it should not be held at Rome, or even in Italy, and that the bishops should be released from their oath of obedience. The new Council will be held not only in Italy, but at Rome itself. That alone is decisive. It proves that, whatever the course of the Council may be, there is one quality that can never be assigned to it, the quality of true freedom" (p. 448).

That is the reply of men versed in all the knowledge of their Church to the anxious question which has been so often asked; and it is not likely that the Council will produce anything more significant than such a declaration of opinion. Catholicism has never taken up stronger ground. Both among Protestants and Greeks there are men in whose eyes the later forms of Papal domination are the one unpardonable fault of Rome. It has always been objected to the Gallican theology that it gave to the bishops what it took from the Pope, and attributed infallibility to the supreme ecclesiastical authorities. But here it is asserted that grave dogmatic error, imposed by authority and accepted without resistance, may long overcloud the Church; that the Papacy has taught false doctrines, and has made their adoption the test of orthodoxy; that it has excommunicated men who were right, while Rome was wrong; that it has been most potent and active in seducing consciences and leading souls astray; that it has obliterated the divine idea and the patristic doctrine of the Primacy. Understood in this

way, and purified from those defects which have proceeded from the arbitrary power usurped by Rome, Catholicism would recover an ample portion of its sway. It will lose at least as much if these detected superstitions are solemnly affirmed. The project has been so long and carefully prepared, and so publicly proclaimed, that the attempt to withdraw it would be ruin. The chronic malady has become acute; and a serious crisis is at hand. Procrastination cannot avert it; and no one can tell whether the ideas of the book which is before us are shared by numbers sufficient to prevail. In the Preface it is stated that they were held by the most eminent men of Catholic Germany in the last generation; and this is true so far as regards their general spirit, their notion of the Church, their practical aspirations, and their moral tone. In this sense the work is the manifesto of a great party, and expresses opinions that are widely spread. But the evidence, the reasoning, the material basis, are in great part new. Many of the investigations were never made before; and the results were not all so clear and so certain as they now are. They are established by many facts which no one knew, and which it was no reproach to be ignorant of; so that the work retains the character of conciliation towards those whose opinions it directly refutes. It constitutes so great an advance in knowledge that it supplies them with some excuse for their errors, and a refuge from the imputation of bad faith.

The author himself has been led by this circumstance into error. It has caused him to underrate the gravity of the charges in which his adversaries are involved. After exposing the fraudulent machinations by which the absolutist theory was set up, he proceeds to assume the sincerity of its advocates. He constantly speaks of the Jesuits, without any qualification, as supporters of the opinions in question. He seems to be utterly unaware that he thereby fixes on the whole Order the stigma of mendacity. It is useless to pretend that, after the progress of learning made known the spurious origin of the documents which are the basis of the modern Roman theory, the theory itself was sincerely believed in by educated men. The power of the modern Popes is retained by the same arts by which it was won. A man is not honest who accepts all the Papal decisions in questions of morality, for they have often been distinctly immoral; or who approves the conduct of the Popes in engrossing power, for it was stained with perfidy and falsehood; or who is ready to alter his convictions at their command, for



his conscience is guided by no principle. Such men in reality believe that fair means will not avail to save the Church of Rome. Formerly, in time of great extremity, they betook themselves to persecution: for the same purpose and with the same motives they still practise deceit, and justify it with the name of religion. The Jesuits continue to be identified with these opinions, because Jesuits conduct the journal that chiefly promotes them. But the *Civiltà Cattolica* is the organ of the Vatican, not of the Society; and there is no small number of the Jesuits who heartily deplore its tendency, and are incapable of imitating its intellectual demoralization. In a passage which is quoted in *The Pope and the Council*, a Paris Jesuit has written, "God does not give His blessing to fraud; the false decretals have produced nothing but harm." And it is not just to say that the terms of extreme adulation applied to the Pope came in with the Jesuits. In the fifteenth century an archbishop writes to Alexander VI., "Te alterum in terris Deum semper habebimus" (Petri de Warda Epistolæ, 1776, p. 331). It is equally wrong to lay the blame of these things on the recent converts to Rome. In this country at least, most of the able opponents of such views among the Catholics are Oxford men.

A more serious defect in the present work is that, having given so much, it has not given more. It is so rich in thought and matter that it creates a wish to see many questions more amply treated which have been only lightly touched. The author tells us that he hopes for a great reform in the Catholic Church; but he does not describe the reform he desires. He hopes to see the evils remedied that spring from religious absolutism and centralization; but this does not constitute a distinct idea of the Church of the future. It would be interesting to know how far the reforming spirit has penetrated among the enlightened Catholics, and how high they place their ideal. There is a long array of problems which would find their solution, and of abuses which would receive their death-stroke, from the consistent application of the principles laid down in this book. Many of them have arisen in recent times, and have grown out of the system established at Trent. On this later ground the author shows himself reluctant to tread. The fulness of his knowledge, and the firmness of his grasp, attend him down to the sixteenth century; but he scarcely glances at the times that follow. The Council of Trent occupies only two or three pages. Yet no example would be more useful to enforce the lesson he is teaching,

or more profitable on the eve of another General Council. The whole system of operations prepared for this occasion is borrowed from the arts that proved so efficacious three centuries ago. And there is one phenomenon which is sure to be repeated. The greatest difficulty of the Legates at Trent was not to resist the pressure of the reforming prelates, but to control the zeal of their own servile followers. They complained that, while the opposition was learned, prudent, and united, the bishops who sustained the policy of Rome compromised it by their obstinacy and the diversity of their views, inasmuch as each endeavoured to excel the others in his anxiety to please the Pope. "Questi ci travagliano non meno che li primi, trovando come facciamo il più delle volte fra loro ostinatione nelle opinioni loro, o diversità, o varietà grande, di modo che quanto è fra li primi di concordia e unione, tanto è discordia e disunione negli secondi, per volersi ciascuno di loro mostrare più affettione l'uno dell' altro alla Sede Apostolica, e al particolare serviggio di N. S. e della Corte; il che quanto noia ci apposti, e quanto disturbo, lassaremo che V. S. Illma, lo consideri per se istessa" (Legates to Borromeo, Jan. 15, 1563).

There is one question of immediate interest to which no answer has yet been given. If the Council were to proclaim the dogma of Papal infallibility, in what sense would those who accept and those who reject it constitute one and the same Church? What bond of unity and test of orthodoxy would remain for them? What doctrinal authority would the Church possess when the Pope had fallen into infallibility? What healing powers are there for such a wound, and by what process of reaction could health be restored? The author avoids these questions. He does not look beyond the immediate issue; and it is probable that, in reality, he feels assured of victory.

For reasons stated in the Preface the authorship of the book is kept secret. The choice of persons capable of writing it cannot be large; and, indeed, the Preface further informs us that it is not the work of one author only. We have disregarded this intimation, because those parts of the volume which have engaged our attention betray a single hand—the hand of one extraordinarily well versed in scholastic divinity and canon law, but not apparently so familiar with the modern history and literature of the Church. There are distinct indications of the school to which he belongs. It is evident that he is a friend of the late Möhler. He censures by name several Catholic writers who have imagined that the



false decretals made no change in the constitution of the Church; and of all recent writers, the one whose error on this point is the most flagrant and notorious is Möhler: yet his name is omitted. Möhler compared the preservation of the faith in the Church to the preservation of the language in a nation. This explanation comes very near to the idea of indefectibility, as the author appears to understand it. Möhler, on the other hand, never adopted the theory of Development which has since been naturalized in Germany by Dollinger, in a work which the author quotes. But the theory is entirely ignored throughout his volume. And this, in the judgment of many who most heartily sympathize with the main spirit and purpose of the book, will appear the one point in which it has failed to maintain its position in the very front rank of science.

---

ART. VI.—THE CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF AUSTRIA.

MODERN history exhibits no such example of the hopeless confusion and seemingly inevitable dissolution of a great historical power as Austria afforded after the defeat of Sadowa. At the close of 1866 men thought that the Empire was falling asunder, and that nowhere among its fifteen constituent nationalities, all strangers to each other in language and race, was there any conscious principle of Austrian unity and independence. At least, no such idea anywhere showed signs of life. Many able politicians considered that the disappearance of Austria from the map was only a question of time; and prudent statesmen thought it necessary to make this eventuality a factor in their calculations of the future. Neither Prussia after Jena, nor the French Empire after Moscow, Leipzig, and Waterloo, nor Austria herself during the Revolution of 1848, can be compared with Austria after the Peace of Prague. Conquered and prostrate, owing her nominal existence to the selfish intercession of doubtful friends, shut out from Germany, despaired of but hardly regretted by her peoples, with her forces demoralized and dissolved in spite of their victories in Italy and on the Adriatic, and on the brink of national bankruptcy, Austria saw her rival and conqueror rise in a few weeks from a dubious rank to be supreme over Germany, and the Dictator of Central Europe, whose commands no one of the great Powers ventured to gainsay, and

whose apparent tendencies to national unity found a ready echo either in the hopes and admiration, or in the fears and hallucinations, of the German populations and their princes.

Three years only have passed; and now, though Prussia has lost none of her material power, though her victories and annexations have entailed no war to restore the equilibrium of Europe, though her supremacy in Germany has been confirmed by conventions and constitutions, though her force in the presence of the weakness of her rivals has enabled her to turn every circumstance to account, and though her endeavours to settle the affairs of Germany are nowhere thwarted by Austria, yet the comparative position of the two Powers has been strangely altered. If there is no example of any such overthrow as that of Austria in 1866, still less is there any of so sudden a resurrection. Without help from abroad, without any special good luck, without allies, and without internal disturbances, she is restored to the position not only of a State, but of a great Power. No one now seriously thinks that Austria is doomed; and all competent and impartial judges recognise the necessity of her existence for the equilibrium of Europe. Statesmen have ceased to make the contingency of her disappearance an element of their calculations; nor do they now dispute her claim to a place among the great Powers. The conditions of 1866 are reversed. The populations of the Empire are, generally speaking, in harmony with the Government, co-operating with confidence and generosity in its efforts to reconstruct the State on a constitutional basis of national and religious liberty. The experience of an older time might perhaps seem to suggest that this progress was only specious, and this apparent unanimity of the heterogeneous elements of Austria merely an accident. But the history of the last three years exhibits causes adequate to these wonderful effects. It tells of unwearying exertion, patriotic sacrifice, prudent self-restraint, and deliberate energy, applied to what was urgently necessary, while ameliorations that required time to ripen them were judiciously postponed; and this not in any single section, but throughout all the elements actively employed in the regeneration of the Empire. This political resurrection has been accompanied by a great development of industry, commerce, and agriculture among the masses—itself a result of revived hopes, and a cause of further regeneration in all orders of society.

Count Beust, the author of these reforms, has already gained an imperishable name in



Austrian history. But his plans would have been abortive unless he had sought and found a congenial basis in the actual and historical condition of the Empire and its heterogeneous population. Austria began this course with her wounds open and her strength exhausted. She continues it with her reforms still incomplete. The harvest she has already reaped would have been impossible if she had not understood how to employ the popular energy, and to direct it so as to meet the needs, tastes, and wishes of her various peoples, and the political, social, and religious tendencies of the age. The announcement of the Liberal policy, which was to regenerate the Empire by means of constitutional self-government, honestly carried out in every province and in every department of public life, ought naturally to have been greeted with delight, not only in Austria, but throughout Europe. But at first, in all the German provinces of the Empire, and even among Count Beust's own followers, there was manifested much indifference and distrust of his bold idea of founding the future Empire upon a dualism, and reconstructing the Austrian monarchy upon a compromise with Hungary. It seemed like the empiricism of an idealist, dangerous both to the internal development and the external power of the State, and not without peril to the free constitutional progress of the non-Hungarian provinces. The aversion from experiments was justified by the sterility of the changes of system in 1848; and the fear of weakening the State would scarcely appear exaggerated in presence of the centralized military Powers by which Austria was surrounded. But the sceptics entirely forgot that the dualism was no new unheard-of or ambiguous political invention, but simply a return to a natural condition sanctioned by history, which had existed during three centuries of the vigorous youth and unquestioned supremacy of Austria. The Italian possessions, the German Empire, and the relations to the German Confederation, which had come upon her only to make her squander her energies fruitlessly, had now been cut away; and it had become possible once more to devote all the energies of the State, in its dualistic condition, to its own internal consolidation. That the realization of the plan must involve endless difficulties and dangers, which it needs the most consummate statesmanship to watch, to avoid, and to allay, is evident, even though we treat as exceptional these three years, which have as yet been insufficient for the complete settlement of conditions new to the present generation, and still more for the incorporation of these conditions into the habits and

customs of the people. Yet no unprejudiced observer, who has watched the course of events during these exceptional years, will have failed to see how difficulties and obstacles which at first seemed insurmountable gradually gave way or vanished, as the single links of the great system were gradually reunited, and the theories of the dualism reduced to practice. Moreover, in the peculiar circumstances of Austria, the restitution of the historical constitution of Hungary, and her free development within the conditions and limits of the Pragmatic Sanction, afford an invaluable guarantee for the stability and for the liberal form of the constitution, both as regards the Reichsrath and the separate Diets of the non-Hungarian provinces. The Delegations, freely elected by the Hungarian Parliament and by the Reichsrath, and constituting a parliament for the general interests of the entire monarchy, are a security against any encroachment of the executive government upon constitutional privileges and liberties, and against any policy of the Crown which might be out of harmony with the tendencies, wishes, and opinions of the Austrian people. The dualism with its common Delegations has thus set its seal upon the tomb of all sudden changes of system, of *coups d'état*, and of all arbitrary measures and illiberal proceedings.

In order to exhibit with clearness the elements upon which Count Beust has founded his reconstruction of the Empire, and brought about the changes of the last three years, it is necessary to refer briefly to the chief points of the political history of the extraordinary mechanism called Austria, which, in its mixture of nationalities and variety of soil, is like a little Europe. Every one knows the old epigram "*Bella gerant alii, Tu felix Austria, nube*;" but few have considered the necessary action of these matrimonial accessions upon the political arrangement of the European microcosm. Austria acquired only a few of her possessions by conquest, and thus could seldom or never deal with them with a conqueror's arbitrary rights. The single provinces accrued to the monarchy by way of remuneration, inheritance, bequest, and convention; each seemed to have a guarantee for the preservation of its own constitution; and the monarchy was but an agglomeration of States till the Pragmatic Sanction in 1713 united them into an indissoluble confederacy. The constitutions of all these States were *ständisch*, favouring the privileged orders, and representing the interests of the masses in a very imperfect way. In Hungary there was no pretence at any representation: the unprivileged masses were only a



*misera contribuens plebs.* The development of the popular order in these privileged constitutions would have given the Empire a resistless force against the aristocratic pretensions and the opposition of Hungary; but, instead of this, the series of Austrian statesmen constantly aimed at adapting these constitutions to the exigencies of an enlightened absolutism. The attempt may be said to have been more or less successful. But the centralizing absolutism of Joseph II. strove in vain against the aristocracy of Hungary; and his successor, Leopold II., was obliged, in 1787, to confirm, by solemn act, the inviolability of the old Hungarian constitution, and especially the equal partition of legislative power between the Sovereign and the Parliament. The 10th article laid down that Hungary, like the other Austrian provinces, was bound to acknowledge the succession of the House of Austria, but that Hungary and its annexes were nevertheless completely free and independent in respect to constitutional and legal government, including the administration of justice. Hungary was thus declared to be not subject to any other State or nation, but to be entitled to its own constitution and administration; it was to be governed by its own legitimate king, according to its own laws and customs, and not after the manner of the other provinces of the Empire. Thus, ever since 1787, dualism has been a legal and professed fact,—on the one side, Hungary, with its annexes amalgamated into a single political body, under its old and obstinately defended constitution: on the other side, the non-Hungarian provinces, forced, in spite of their differences, into political unity, by the agency of a civilizing centralization. If, under the Emperor Francis and the administration of Metternich, the regularity of the Hungarian Parliaments had become impaired, and if the other local parliaments had become mere forms, meeting with closed doors, nevertheless the dualism of the Empire was neither destroyed nor radically altered; and Austria, up to 1848, continued to be a monarchy based upon a dualism. Metternich and the Magyars have both been judged by history, and may be dismissed from consideration. But it is necessary to remark that the Austrian Revolution of 1848, which was only a wave of the great European storm, was altogether unconnected with the historical conditions of the Austrian States, although its sterile character of a *bellum omnium contra omnes* might be traced to the policy of the paternal administration. For the Government, whose principle was to keep all the elements of political self-assertion in a state of passive nonage, had turned to its own

account the general incapacity which it had fostered, and used one nationality to overawe another, by working on the ghastly bugbears of national antipathies. Each province easily found in its own conditions sufficient reason to go to war with the Government; but, although they were all united in a cry for liberty, it did not require very long inspection to see that the meaning of the cry was not simply liberty for each province, but liberty for each to oppress all the others, in the assertion of its own precedence and supremacy. None of the revolutions which swept through the Austrian provinces had any definite political programme to begin with; nor did any of them adopt any, however eccentric, to be adhered to and defended with conscious perseverance. Even in Italy, the national antipathy merely fed on the impulsive reforms of Pius IX., and was only fired in the towns, while the masses still adhered to the Government. In the western Slavonic provinces the aristocracy and clergy attempted to appropriate the agitation which had been communicated to the masses from without, and to turn it against the Austrian supremacy, in order, beneath this banner, to re-establish the feudal and hierarchical organization of the past. In the German provinces the claim of the Corporations to a share in the financial regulation of the State was by no means an adequate incentive to revolution. The Revolution came, conquered, and set up its throne upon a heap of ruins. It came like some elementary cataclysm, with power only to destroy, and not to create or to reform.

It was only in Hungary that things looked a little better. There the Revolution at first based itself on certain concrete and legal claims; but there also, as time went on, and the agitation of Kossuth had overborne the sober elements, and established his sway, the movement forfeited its legal status, and became a separatist rebellion. But before it had gone astray, and lost itself in the bloody paths of revolution, it had already legally brought about the constitutional revision of 1848, which both introduced a mass of improvements in the internal administration of the country, and confirmed, without altering, the relation of the kingdom and its annexes to Austria, as fixed by the Pragmatic Sanction and later conventions. This revision, which does not belong to the Revolution, but arose out of the preceding movement, was sanctioned by the Emperor in his quality of King of Hungary. But now came the event which so greatly changed the relations of the various Austrian systems to Hungary. The first Hungarian Parliament elected under the constitution of 1848, acting by the insti-



gation of Kossuth, encouraged and furnished supplies for war against Austria, and then (after the Imperial envoys had been refused an interview, and assassinated, so that all compromise had become impossible, and Austria had been forced to accept the challenge) publicly proclaimed Hungary to be a separate sovereign kingdom, and excluded the legitimate heirs of the House of Austria from the crown. It was politically a gross mistake in Schwartzenberg to apply the same measures to Hungary, after its reduction, as he applied to the other provinces of the Empire after quelling their revolutions, and to treat Hungary and its dependencies as if they had forfeited all their local and historical privileges by the revolution. But it is difficult to show that his position was illegal, or that his argument was the nonsense which it is generally supposed to be. Hungary, after the conquest, found itself in much the same relation to Austria as the Confederate States in America to the Union, after the war. Of course it does not follow that the vindictive administration of Haynau was justifiable. But these questions would lead us out of our course. It is more to the purpose to remark that, in all the revolutionary processes in the Austrian States, tending to alter their relations with the central government, two distinct and divergent tendencies manifested themselves. The Slavonic and Italian revolutions, and the German democratic movement, each demanded for its own provinces and dependencies an administration wholly independent of the central government, so that the relation to be professedly maintained between these groups and the Empire would differ in name only from the separation avowed in the case of Hungary. But, for all this, the strongest and most predominant nation of each given group claimed to exercise a complete central supremacy over the weaker races and fragments of nations comprised within its borders. In Hungary, this pretension led to the struggles of the Servians and Croats against the Magyars, and to the union of the Ban Jellachich with the Imperial government against Hungary and the Viennese revolution. So in Galicia the Ruthenians supported the Empire against the Poles; the Moravians opposed the pretensions of the Bohemians, and the Slavonians those of the Italians. The Imperial government, as soon as it had put down the revolution and was free to act, was naturally looked to by all these smaller nationalities to protect them from the larger ones, and by the moderate reformers in the German provinces to paralyse the baneful action of the extreme democrats. They all called for the supreme direction of

the central government, acting by uniform institutions throughout the Empire, and thus became a centralizing party which balanced the opposing elements of federalism. The position of the Empire had thus become most strange. As it stood victorious upon the fallen ramparts of the revolution, amidst an unexampled ruin of all the orders and institutions of the State, it was conscious that it had fought its way out of this nameless chaos, and had, for the moment at least, restored itself to absolute power. It was conscious, too, that it had in vain offered every concession constitutionally possible, and compatible with its duties and with its own preservation; and that it had restored its authority, not by the aid of the people, but by its own means of coercion, its army. The leaders of this army were men who, though the revolution was raging in their rear, were victorious upon the battle-fields of Italy. They succeeded too in quelling the revolution of Vienna. But in Hungary they had to see their glory transferred to the standards of a traditionally detested ally, who presented himself on the field unasked, and not without menace. It was natural that the man who was to superintend the reconstruction of the shattered Empire should be chosen from among the leaders of this army. The choice fell upon one whom the Neapolitan revolution had driven back from a brilliant political career into the army, and who had gloriously distinguished himself at Curtatone, Goito, and Custozza. A few months before a poet had said to the venerable Radetzky,

"In deinem Heer lebt Oesterreich,  
Wir andern sind elende Trümmer;"

and now he might have said that Austria and Prince Felix Schwartzenberg were but one and the same idea, so closely is the history of the reorganization of Austria after the revolution attached to his individual person.

Schwartzenberg undertook to reconstruct the Empire with a strong hand, on principles neither official nor reactionary. Simply ignorant of the existence of many obsolete rights and relations between the heterogeneous elements of the Empire, he declared their claims to have been forfeited by the revolution, and proceeded to establish, on the 4th of March, 1849, a centralized and yet really constitutional government. The failure of the attempted compromise with the Parliament of Kremsier, which belonged to the preceding revolutionary epoch, had convinced him that the centrifugal fancies were much stronger in the leaders of the revolution than the idea of Austrian unity.



Under these circumstances no one can blame him either for his principles or his conduct. The wrong-doing of the government began later, when it inconsistently withdrew from the liberal principles of the constitution of March. It thus lost the confidence of those populations of the Empire which constituted the centralizing party, on whose moral and parliamentary co-operation it had to rely. After the dissolution of the revolutionary Parliament, and the withdrawal of the March constitution, each province was allowed to retain its own particular constitution, in acknowledgment and for the protection of the political rights which had been granted by the constitution to the inhabitants of each province. If these separate rights had been allowed to become Imperial rights, and the constitution of March had been permitted to become a parliamentary fact, the general reconstruction of the Empire would have been effected, and Hungary might have borne with the secession of Croatia, Slavonia, and Transylvania, and might have dispensed with those parts of her recovered constitution which did not harmonize with the general constitution of the whole Empire. The Schwartzenberg ministry was clearly guilty of a grave political error by changing the constitution of March into absolutism, and still more, on the 20th of August 1851, by compelling the young Emperor Francis Joseph formally to revoke it. In the peculiar condition of Austria this revocation did a permanent moral injury to the monarchical principle. For when the monarch claims that the various grades of society, the various interests and wishes of mutually jealous populations, should find their central point of indifference in his government, these elements must become impersonal in himself. It was thought and felt that Schwartzenberg had the justification of a clear necessity, when he made it a preliminary condition to his work of reconstruction, that the united crowns should be transferred, from a man in whom they had made themselves deeply obnoxious to the revolution, to a young prince who was without any political past, and was unfettered by any contracts. But when the second great act of this young prince was the revocation of the constitution which he had granted at his accession, then there arose that contempt for the Imperial word, that disbelief of solemn promises, that doubt of any real connection between the public declarations and the private intentions of the government, that want of confidence and energy in the popular elements invited to co-operate with it, that reserved, restless, dissatisfied air in those whose

claims were granted, and that thorough discontent in the masses, which have so remarkably characterized the public life of Austria, and which are not yet effaced even by the complete breach between the present system and the traditions and aspirations of the old Austrian policy.

Truth, honesty, and adherence to the principles of the constitution of March would probably have spared the Austrian people eighteen years of suffering, and would perhaps have saved the Empire from the bitter reverses it has had to endure. Under the pressure of these reverses its successive governments helplessly and desperately drifted from one constitutional experiment to another; but among all these experiments there was only one which could claim to meet the exigencies of the times. The constitution of February 1861 was in many essential points only a reproduction of the constitution of March. The blame of the fatal return to absolutism does not belong to Schwartzenberg so much as to Bach, the Minister of the Interior, who owed his elevation to a political apostasy. The attention of the President of the Cabinet was absorbed in foreign affairs; and his thoughts were exclusively bent on concentrating all the energies of the Empire in a single purpose. Nevertheless, he not merely connived at Bach's reactionary measures, but supported them with all his influence in the Imperial Council. But with him absolutism was not an end, but merely a means by which he hoped to regain that position in relation to Prussia, that influence in Germany and Central Europe, which Austria had lost by the revolution. And this object was gained. But after Schwartzenberg's death in April 1852, his successors, in spite of the stringent absolutism of their bureaucratic administration, could neither maintain the external position of the Empire nor promote its internal prosperity. Once more, therefore, public opinion was in a bitter ferment. Under Schwartzenberg, the constitution of March, though inactive and powerless, yet guaranteed the provincial constitutions; and though he established the privileges and precedence of the clergy, and endeavoured to use their powerful influence in favour of the centralising absolutism, yet he professed that the question of an organic legislation for the whole Empire was still open, and had to be solved without delay. But, after his death, the absolutist administration of Bach could only make a formal and mechanical division of each province into districts and arrondissements, and, after abolishing the civil and criminal code hitherto in vigour in the Slavo-German provinces, establish



judicial and administrative uniformity throughout the Empire. Bach sent to Hungary a legion of officials, who knew nothing of the country, its usages or customs, in order that they might enforce the new regulations, so repugnant to the popular feeling and wishes. Under his rule, an immense army preyed on the vitals of the Empire; the people were burdened with taxes, with famine, with a preposterous financial administration which contracted annual loans on continually heavier terms, and, finally, with a so-called voluntary national loan, most unjust to the middle classes. Of this, 500,000,000 florins were squandered in the wavering neutrality of the Government during the Crimean War, the only results of which were to embitter the relations of the Empire with Russia and Prussia, and to throw uncertainty on its standing with the Western Powers. But Bach's noxious and reactionary policy culminated in the concordat. It was not by that Act, but by the previous abolition of the *placitum regium*, that free intercourse was granted between the bishops and Rome: the concordat of the 18th of August 1855 guaranteed the independence of the hierarchy within the limits of the political state. In this document the claims of ecclesiastical absolutism were so completely acknowledged that, even during the period of its unquestioned supremacy, several of its regulations were found impossible to enforce. But it really endangered the position of the non-Catholic population; and the more it narrowed the political liberties of the people, the greater was the indignation of all orders at the large and unrestrained liberty which it conferred on the Church. Yet the concordat never did what it was meant to do. It did not enlist the clergy on the side of the Government. On the contrary, a multitude of them, especially of the inferior class, among the Italians, Slaves, and Magyars, continued in the party of opposition.

Such was the situation of Austria when the Emperor Napoleon forced her into war with Italy. Gyulay's incapacity and the imperfect military organization on the one hand, and the rivalry of Prussia in Germany on the other, did their work. Prussia strove to turn to account the difficulties of the Empire, overwhelmed by the French and Sardinians, and to appropriate the military supremacy in the German Confederation. With her ready army she overawed the allies who remained faithful to Austria, and so compelled her to purchase peace with the loss of Lombardy, in order to save her position in Germany. The Austrian Government, bereaved of a kingdom, conscious

of its precarious position in Germany, suspecting that the Peace of Zurich would never be honestly observed, and that it could not prevent the creation of the kingdom of Italy, had now once more to appeal to the Austrian populations. That this could only be done by a liberal and constitutional change of Government was declared by all the provinces, by the public press, and by the most experienced patriots. The financial situation proved decisive. The new Cabinet under Goluchowsky fancied that any radical change might be avoided if only the Reichsrath, to which the budget of 1861 was to be submitted, were reinforced. This Reichsrath was the remains of the constitutional body of 1851, which still acted as the Imperial Council. But the Hungarian members refused to accept such conditions; and the rest of the body declared that the grievances both of the Empire and of the single provinces ought to be abated through the action of a body in which both the provinces and the Empire were effectually represented, that the existing Reichsrath was wholly unfit for the purpose, and that the writ of July 17, 1860, which gave it the right to decide on questions of taxes and loans, was no longer valid. Here the old conflict between the federal and the centralist principles once more cropped up. The majority desired the "historical and political personality" of the separate provinces to issue in their administrative and legislative autonomy; the minority, in spite of its declared liberalism, advocated restrictions on provincial self-government. The diploma of the 20th of October 1860 embodied the views of the majority. It called them an irrevocable principle of policy. It divided all public affairs into two classes—imperial and provincial. The former it assigned to a Reichsrath duly elected by the various provincial parliaments; the latter it made over to the legislative bodies of the provinces. Among imperial affairs it enumerated financial and military administration, and foreign commerce and intercourse. All other legislative matters were referred to the provincial parliaments. The old constitution of Hungary, with its communal autonomy, was restored; and the other provinces received back their local regulations. The cardinal affairs of the non-Hungarian provinces, which had long been transacted in common, were to be decided by the non-Hungarian members of the Reichsrath, who were to constitute the Lesser Reichsrath.

These concessions were both too small and too great. Though the Lesser Reichsrath was a manifest memorial of the ancient



dualism of the Empire, the October diploma, as an irrevocable principle of policy, satisfied no one. In the German hereditary provinces there was the utmost dissatisfaction at its ultra-federalist limitation of the competency of the Reichsrath. In the Slavonic provinces the aristocracy and clergy tried to make use of Goluchowsky's provincial regulations as a means of counteracting the liberal tendencies and modern spirit of the imperial constitutionalism. Hungary, instead of its old constitution, demanded that of 1848, which provided for a merely personal union. Goluchowsky was helpless amidst this confusion of his federal theories; and he was succeeded in December 1860 by the able Schmerling, who stood high in the estimation of the centralizing constitutionalists. The chief object of this minister was, under the semblance of developing the irrevocable principles of the October diploma, to set limits to provincial autonomy, by extending the constitutional competency of the Reichstag. He accordingly relied on the German elements of the Empire. On the 26th of February 1861, he published an Imperial patent to regulate the representation. The Reichsrath, instead of being a single assembly consisting of Imperial Archdukes and members chosen for life by the Emperor from the hereditary nobility, now included also a lower house of 343 members elected by the provincial parliaments, and enjoyed the rights of public debating and initiative, which all former Reichsraths had been without.

The Government, seeing the unfavourable reception of the diploma of October, and unwilling entirely to hand over the Reichsrath to the provincial parliaments, reserved to itself the right, when exceptional circumstances existed, or when the deputies could not be elected by those parliaments, of designating certain towns, districts, or corporations, which might elect the deputies instead. The provision was chiefly meant to counteract the Hungarian opposition to the Reichsrath. But there was also some disquietude at the Slave majorities in some of the non-Hungarian provincial parliaments; the more so, as the constitution of February had legally established the right of the Lesser Reichsrath to deal with the common concerns of the Cis-Leithan provinces. On the other hand, the provincial parliaments, no longer elected on the feudal principle but on that of public interests, acquired the right of initiative and publicity. Notwithstanding these inconsistent waverings between the principles of federalism and centralization, it must be conceded that the patent of February was a mortal blow

to absolutism (which was still alive in the diploma of October) by co-ordinating the assent of the provincial parliaments with the Emperor's sanction, as previous conditions to the enactment of all imperial and provincial laws. Constitutional life really began in Austria with this act, although in several of the provinces it was never properly executed. For all subsequent political struggles have turned upon constitutional principles, though from time to time one party or the other may have evinced an intention of abandoning them. The Government, too, has dispensed with the useful expedient of "necessity of State."

This was the position of things in Austria: in Hungary it was otherwise. There the October diploma and the February patent gave rise to the movement for what was called the Compromise, which assumed such proportions, was pursued with such exasperation, and was so complicated with external circumstances, that it became a vital question for the whole monarchy. And as this struggle had its starting-point in the February patent, so also had it to seek there its final settlement. This will be clearly seen if we examine the situation in which the October diploma and the February patent placed Hungary and its annexes in their relations with Austria.

The centralizing constitution of March 1849 not only abolished the constitution of Hungary, but also separated Croatia, Slavonia, Dalmatia, Transylvania, the Wojwodships of Serbia and the Banat, and made them independent of Hungary. The ensuing ten years' absolutism, which attempted to establish a bureaucratic administration in Hungary, inevitably maintained this separation. The situation lasted till the diploma of October 1860 revived the old constitution of Hungary, giving back its former civil and political administration and its own official language, but not restoring its separated dependencies. It was held that the representatives of Croatia and Slavonia ought to negotiate this matter for themselves with the provincial parliament of Pesth. On the 27th of December 1860, the old political connection of Serbia and the Banat with Hungary was restored. Still the question remained open with regard to Transylvania and Dalmatia. The discontent thus caused was heightened by the fact that the patent of February sensibly affected the Hungarian constitution, by limiting the competency of the Hungarian Parliament with respect to matters submitted to the Reichsrath. This movement was a great difficulty to the Viennese Government. It could not, if it would, revert to the theory of Schwartz-



berg and Bach, that the revolution had invalidated all previous rights; for the Emperor had, in a rescript of the 16th of January 1861, declared that the October diploma was not a final settlement, and expressed his earnest wish that the institutions which had such deep roots in the affections of Hungary should be promptly and completely conceded, whereby the other provinces would receive a guarantee for the establishment and development of constitutional measures. There is here, however, an inexplicable contradiction with the patent of February, which placed Hungary in exactly the same position as the other provinces. The October diploma and the February patent had to be submitted to the assent of the Hungarian Parliament before the assembling of the Reichsrath in May. The Hungarian Parliament met in April, and in repeated addresses set forth its reservations and doubts about the two acts, which it refused to accept, seeing that Hungary had its own constitution, revised in 1848, and sanctioned by the legitimate King (the Emperor Ferdinand). On the strength of this constitution the Parliament demanded an independent and responsible Hungarian ministry, and repudiated the authority of the Reichsrath. Schmerling could effect no compromise; and the Reichsrath had to be opened without deputies from Hungary or its annexes. In Croatia and Slavonia, where the loyalty of the people in 1848 had been repaid with injustice by the Imperial Government, the Parliament refused all accommodation with regard to the relations between Dalmatia and Hungary; and in Transylvania circumstances prevented the meeting of the Parliament till 1863. Negotiations were still kept up with Pesth, but to no purpose; the Hungarians summed up their objections in a final address of the 12th of August 1861, which concluded by saying that the patent of February made any understanding impossible. There was no alternative but a dissolution, which took place on the 21st of August 1861. If the conduct of the Viennese Government had been hitherto defensible on constitutional grounds, its further proceedings showed a want of the most ordinary common-sense. With the October diploma the foreign administration imposed upon Hungary by Bach had been abolished, and native elected officials substituted. But now the wild agitation of the opposition, which did not amount to rioting or revolution, was met by the suspension of municipal and communal government, and the establishment of military tribunals. A dead silence spread over the country; and a

deep hatred for Austria struck root in the public mind, like the feeling in Lombardy and Venice after the war of 1848. It is now known that this feeling was encouraged and flattered, if not kindled, by foreign agency, which aimed at annihilating Austria, and relied much on the hot blood of the warlike Hungarians. But for years the Government was in ignorance of this fact, and was unaware of the magnitude of the danger. It was not perceived that the conservative and aristocratic elements of Hungary had lost their influence, and were mastered by the austere and upright constitutional party led by Deak, who had been the master-spirit in the Diet in 1861. Neither was it perceived that the slow progress and inefficiency of the Reichsrath, in its three first sessions, had only exasperated the opposition against the constitutional policy of Schmerling.

When the second session of the Reichsrath was opened, and the advent of the Transylvanian deputies gave Schmerling occasion to proclaim that the Lesser Reichsrath was a parliament for the whole Empire, he referred to the absence of the Hungarians, Croats, and Slavonians, and said, "We can wait." There was never a more incomprehensible delusion. The obstinacy of the Hungarians was greater than that of Schmerling; and, in the third session, the Czech deputies from Bohemia and Moravia followed the Hungarian example, and sent in a protest against the representation of the monarchy by an incomplete assembly. At the same time, the feudal and national opposition to the centralizing development of the October diploma, through the February patent, was gaining ground; and even Schmerling's parliamentary friends were so bewildered by his conduct that they left him, and on several occasions voted against him.

The friends of the Constitution, as such, were moderate centralizers, and therefore could neither acknowledge the "absolute refusal" of Hungary, nor see in the federalist aspirations of Czechs and southern Slavonians anything but a disguised opposition to the general constitutional development. In such a situation, then, it was natural that they should ask what Schmerling's Government had done to consolidate the Constitution, to promote material prosperity, or to secure the Empire from within or from without. The masses were once more violently discontented, and were entirely without confidence, either in the Government or in the Reichsrath. The most favourable judge would have had to confess that Schmerling had only fulfilled the smaller



part of the hopes which he had excited on his accession to office, and that the latter half of his administration was only an inactive waiting for events, with poor expedients for the needs of the moment. No positive legislative reforms had been effected by the Government during the three sessions; nor had the Reichsrath done anything great with its initiative. The constitutional treatment of the budget brought small improvement to the finances; for while the question of the mutual relations of the separate parts of the Empire was open, there could be no mutual economy or general financial superintendence. But during these three sessions the whole financial mismanagement was brought to light—the transgression of the budget, the secret loans, and the ruinous money transactions of former years. It is true that there was little use in disputing over spilt milk; and the sharp criticism of the Lower House, and its votes of want of confidence, which ministers combated in vain by promises, threats, and the interference of the Upper House, only helped the enemies of the Constitution in hastening the fall of Schmerling.

During Count Rechberg's administration of foreign affairs, the relations of Austria with Prussia and Germany had become so difficult that a prolongation of the quarrel with Hungary and with the provinces represented in the Reichsrath would have been a grave danger for the Empire. After the assembly of German Princes, convoked by the Emperor at Frankfort in 1863, to reform the confederation, had been dispersed through Prussian opposition, Count Bismarck ingeniously contrived to destroy the popularity of the Austrian federal policy. He induced Rechberg to join him in taking the Schleswig-Holstein question out of the hands of the German popular movement, and of the middle and smaller States, and, under the pretext of a federal execution, to offer a gross insult to the whole German Confederation. Rechberg, after his retirement, recognised the fiasco he had made, when he saw that Prussia had all the profit, while the expense was borne by Austria. Count Mensdorff Pouilly, who succeeded him in October 1864, was unable, all at once, to break off the one-sided alliance with Prussia; for such a rupture could neither amend the external relations of the Empire with the Confederation, nor improve its internal situation. Russia also was deeply offended with Austria on account of her share in the diplomatic pressure of the Western Powers during the Polish crisis in 1863; and there was something alarming in the new relationship of France with Italy, as evidenced by

the Convention of September 1864. Still, the Prussian alliance was becoming daily more imperilled—on the Austrian side by the increasing divergencies in the Duchies, and on the Prussian side from a calculation of the consequences of those growing difficulties in which Austria was involved with Hungary, Croatia, and Bohemia. During the summer of 1865 an open rupture was prevented by the Convention of Gastein (August 14–20); but it was substantially nothing but a personal interchange of good-will between the sovereigns of Austria and Prussia.

Count Bismarck could well afford to allow this. Through his agents in Austria he was sufficiently acquainted with the opinions of parties to know that a reactionary change made by Esterhazy, a minister without portfolio, in order to effect the fall of Schmerling, would largely contribute to increase the confusion. The Reichsrath had been closed on the 27th of July, in order that the Diete of the eastern portions of the Empire might be opened, when Count Belcredi, the Governor of Bohemia, was called to replace Schmerling. The very first steps of the new "Ministry of Counts" were enough to assure the Prussian Premier that the Empire was verging on that ruin which he had been long providing for, and warned him to complete his diplomatic and military resources for the occasion. He was not deceived. After negotiations with the old Hungarian Conservative party, which seem to have given assurance that the Diet would probably debate upon proposals concerning the relation of the kingdom to other parts of the monarchy, an imperial manifesto was issued on the 20th of September. It announced that, pending the negotiations with Hungary and Croatia, the elections of the Imperial Parliament would be suspended, and with them also the Lesser Reichsrath, since it was legally impossible to debate constitutionally in one part of the Empire the same measure which was enacted by the Emperor's fiat in another. This subordination of the Empire to the kingdom did not fail to produce a popular impression in Hungary, although the soberer portion of the press lamented the suppression of the Lesser Reichsrath, which might have acted without prejudice to the negotiations. The manœuvre was made the subject of public rejoicings in Bohemia and Galicia; but the German populations were indignant at the temporary return to absolutism, which only retained the provincial parliaments till it had ascertained and decided on the results of the negotiations with Hungary and Croatia, and had published its own arbitrary decrees. The German deputies met the



manifesto with a protest and a reply; and when it was submitted to the sixteen parliaments of the Slavo-German provinces in their November session, those of Upper and Lower Austria, Silesia, Styria, Carinthia, Salzburg, and the Vorarlberg, unanimously voted that the constitution of February was still valid. In Bohemia, Moravia, and Carniola, the German minorities did likewise; only Goritz, Trieste, Dalmatia, and Tyrol expressed no opinion. Galicia, Bukovina, and the Czech majority in Bohemia, voted addresses of thanks to the Government. The reply to these addresses was a promise that the Emperor should be crowned as King of Bohemia; and it thus became clear that the Ministry had resolved to rely on the federalist Slaves, the ecclesiastical absolutists, and the feudal aristocrats, against the German constitutionalists. This made the Slavonic majorities in the mixed provinces intolerably arrogant. The Czechs of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia began to claim a political isolation under the crown of St. Wenceslaus, like that of Hungary under the crown of St. Stephen.

Meantime the difficulties with Hungary had not been overcome; and the old conservative party in its struggles with that of Deak had only shown its utter incapacity. Deak's party had drawn up its programme on the 11th of November. The Government had previously endeavoured to meet one of its demands—the restoration of the territorial integrity of the crown of St. Stephen, or the reunion of the dependencies which had been separated from Hungary since 1849—by submitting to the representatives of Transylvania and Croatia a plan for restoring the ancient union. This extraordinary condescension, however, did not induce the Magyars to abate anything of their other demands. The complications in the remaining provinces, and the danger of war both in the north and south, gave them the game into their own hands; and Belcredi's policy had nothing else to depend on than the anti-centralist tendencies of the Western Slaves, and the separatist velleities of Galicia. The Emperor, when he went to Pesth to open the Diet, was received with great enthusiasm. Certain passages of the royal speech of the 14th of December, which solemnly disavowed the "invalidation theory," and recognised the territorial integrity of the crown of St. Stephen, the ancient local constitution, and the legality of the reforms of 1848, were vociferously applauded. But at the same time, the speech made the coronation of the Emperor as King of Hungary conditional on a previous understanding with the Empire concerning the treat-

VOL. LI.

ment of common affairs, and made the validity of the legislation of 1848 contingent on a previous revision. Deak's programme put forward conditions exactly the reverse. He demanded first of all the recognition of the continuity of the constitutional rights of Hungary, which involved the unconditional restoration of the national municipal and communal constitutions, and also the unrevised legislation of 1848, with a responsible Hungarian ministry; then only, and not before, the assembly would be able to negotiate on the management of common affairs, and the revision of the laws of 1848. This point of right was inflexibly adhered to in two addresses, of the 26th of February and the 25th of April 1866, in answer to the Emperor's speech and the rescript of the 3d of March. Neither party came a step nearer to agreement. The negotiations were stopped; and when the war began the Diet was adjourned. The inflexibility of Deak's party was the cause of this situation. But the honesty of their conviction that the connection of Hungary with Austria was no accident, but an organic necessity, was manifested before the adjournment, by the appointment of a commission of sixty-seven deputies (fifty-two Hungarians and fifteen Transylvanians) to draw up a plan for the management of the common affairs.

The history of the war of 1866 only enters in a general way into the present argument. Prussia had lost nothing by the ten months in which Belcredi had been allowed to reduce the Empire to a state of such thorough dissolution that its populations were but contingently interested in its preservation. The political consciousness of Austria was scarcely less eclipsed by his administration than it had been by the events of 1848. But now the result was not the work of a revolution; and the depression was most sensible in those nationalities whose political energies had at other times been most vigorous. That Prussia had counted upon this depression as the most important factor for her decisive stroke was proved by the behaviour of her army in Bohemia, by the proclamations of her generals, addressed to the magnanimous and glorious Czech nation and professing a sympathy with the claims of the Slaves, by the formation of Klapka's legion of Hungarian deserters and prisoners, and by the manifesto to Hungary.

After the Peace of Prague, when Austria was on the brink of utter ruin, it was clear that her only chance was to collect her energies for a last attempt to reconstruct her political organization. Her sole hope lay in the reconciliation of her populations to one another and to the Government. The first



step was to satisfy the claims of Hungary. This had now become the turning-point of Austrian unity. The Hungarians had offered a passive resistance to Schmerling, and under Belcredi's wavering policy had firmly maintained their claims; and now, after the war, they knew that the Empire, driven from its position in Germany and Italy, must, if it would remain a first-class Power, make its peace with them. It no longer pertained to the Empire, but to Hungary, to say what must be the conditions. The Government had no alternative but to accept any compromise the Hungarians might offer, if it in any way provided for the interests of the Empire. The Hungarian Diet had not been closed, but only adjourned, leaving its commission to consider the general terms of a compromise. The commanding position of Hungary after the war made it clear that the commission would not give up an iota of the claims put forward in the addresses of February and April. It proposed to re-establish the union of Hungary with the rest of the monarchy on the basis of the Pragmatic Sanction, under a sovereign of the House of Austria, and with a common transaction of affairs for both groups of provinces, with common and reciprocal obligations. Thus a more real union than had hitherto been proposed by the Hungarian Parliament was indicated. At the same time, meetings of the most influential members of the various German Parliaments were held at Vienna, to agree upon a common plan of opposition to Belcredi's suspension of the constitution. In spite of their bitter animosity to his system, and of their unanimous determination to maintain the constitution of February, they also saw that they must and could avoid quarrelling with Hungary, since the position of Hungary did not exclude her moral co-operation with the other half of the monarchy. But neither the Hungarian nor the German tendencies suited Belcredi's purpose. He went on negotiating with both sides officially, semi-officially, privately, confidentially, but always uselessly. Even the friends on whom he depended — aristocrats, ecclesiastical absolutists, and federalists — more or less deserted him after the war; and the only success he could boast was the doubtful one that the complementary elections for the mixed Diets exhibited a Slavonic majority.

At the beginning of the war, when the King of Saxony with his army entered Austria, he was accompanied by the President of his Council, Baron Beust. At the conclusion of the war, when Saxony made peace with Prussia, this man became a victim of Prussian policy; his dismissal was

made by Count Bismarck a primary condition of the peace. Though the minister of a small State, he had frequently been concerned in questions of European importance; and instructed public opinion had already designated him as the proper guide for Austria in her foreign affairs. By a curious coincidence, he had taken a peculiar part in the Prussian crisis which ended with Count Bismarck's elevation to the Premiership: and Count Bismarck's hostility to him did not begin in 1866, but dates from these previous and little-known circumstances. A short time after the Peace of Prague, it was proposed to make him foreign minister. He had had ample means of studying the affairs of Austria, and had also become acquainted with her populations. But his position only gave him a single voice in the Council of Ministers, and that not a decisive one in home affairs. There were many people who, at his accession to office, thought it safe to predict for him a speedy fall, as soon as he proved an obstacle to Belcredi and Esterhazy. The public at large received him with little confidence, and with small expectation of his liberal principles being carried out. For they did not reflect on the peculiar conditions which affected the system he had administered amongst the middle States. Napoleon III. showed that he understood him better, when he said to him, "Saxony is too small for you." His first act as minister was to issue the pacific circular of the 2d November, in which he defined his position. In this circular he protested that he came to his post perfectly free from all resentment and all predilection, and that the Imperial Government, whose urgent duty it was to efface the traces of a disastrous war, would remain faithful to its policy of peace and conciliation. On the Emperor's return to Vienna, Baron Beust received the further appointment of Minister of the Imperial Household.

On the 19th of November, all the provincial parliaments met to carry on the negotiations, which had been interrupted by the war. The rescript sent to Pesth on this occasion assented to the proposals of the Hungarian Parliamentary Commission, and acknowledged that they comprised the principal points for the compromise, and that the regulation of common affairs was possible on their basis. It declared that the army and navy, customs, taxes, debts, and credit, should be reckoned common affairs; and it conceded a separate responsible ministry for Hungary, and the restoration of its municipal self-government. During the progress of the debate at Pesth on the reply to this rescript, the acts of the other provincial par-



liaments were published. The exclusively German ones were in sheer opposition to Belcredi's suspension system; the Slavonic majorities in Bohemia and Galicia exhibited their repugnance to the constitution of February; and in several of the mixed provinces a middle party imposed silence on the constitutional minority. At last came the reply of the Hungarian Parliament. It expressed a loyal sense of the measures proposed in the imperial rescript, contingent, however, on the previous fulfilment of the promised restoration of the constitution. Further negotiations were opened at Vienna with the deputation which brought the answer from Pesth, to which place Baron Beust went on the 21st of December with the Hungarian Chancellor. It appeared certain that this business had been taken out of the irresolute hands of Belcredi and the reactionists and that the look in the Cabinet was at an end. Still Beust's original and comprehensive ideas had by no means prevailed. Many such brave beginnings had within the last twenty years withered beneath the powerful Court influence of the Austrian nobility and clergy. It was not likely that a foreigner, a Protestant, a "small baron," should succeed in breaking down the bulwark of tenacious traditions, exclusive interests, and inveterate prejudices. Or, if he gained a momentary success, there were still intriguers and flatterers to catch him in their more deceitful toils. Again, there was no demonstration that he was really master of any extraordinary ideas, bold schemes, or daring resolutions, or that he had the energy and prudence to carry them out. In his new career he had not yet succeeded: in his old one he had been baffled. Thus the year 1866 was drawing to a close, amidst the intense expectation of the patriots, when suddenly, just at its end, on the 28th of December, a purely absolutist decree ordered the immediate completion of the army, and a new regulation of public defence for the whole Empire, except the military frontier. The whole negotiation was in jeopardy. The Hungarian Diet, in a protest of the 13th of January 1867, warned the Emperor that such violations of the cardinal principles of the constitution would render any compromise impossible. But a patent had already been issued ten days previously, which made it clear to the non-Hungarian provinces that the Belcredi manifesto of September 1865 had suspended not merely the action of the Reichsrath, but the constitution itself. This patent of the 2d of January revealed the meaning of the Government in decreeing the new army regulations, as well as the financial arrange-

ments of 1867, which had been dealt with in another patent of the 30th of December 1866. For it treated the constitution of February as non-existent, by convoking the Cis-Leithan representatives to an extraordinary Imperial Assembly for the 25th of February, and by dissolving the provincial parliaments, and ordering new elections, so that these parliaments might meet on the 11th of February, though they were only to do so in order to elect members for the extraordinary Reichsrath, which in its turn was only to debate on the constitutional question. And it was clear that the ministry did not wish to revive the constitution; for the alteration of the order of elections for the Reichsrath was an indirect hint to the Slavonic majorities in Bohemia, Moravia, Carinthia, and elsewhere, to exclude all Germans and constitutionalists from the representation. Notwithstanding this desperate game, the constitutional opposition kept itself within the limits of legality. In preserving this attitude it was much helped by the situation of Hungary, where Beust, assisted by the restored political exiles, Andrassy, Eötvös, and Lonyay, was rapidly progressing towards a settlement. Though it was believed that his efforts in favour of the Cis-Leithan constitution were neutralized by the Cabinet of Counts, yet his influence was relied upon; and great encouragement was given to the opposition by the declaration of the Hungarians, in their protest of the 13th of January, that the object of the Pragmatic Sanction could only be attained by the establishment of real constitutionalism not only in Hungary but also in the other provinces. This was the first expression of constitutional solidarity between the two halves of the Empire. The elections in February showed the resolution of the German public. In the German provinces, the constitutionalists were in the majority; but in Bohemia, Moravia, and Carniola the national antipathies bore their usual fruit. Meanwhile a crisis occurred in the Cabinet. Baron Beust threatened to resign if the scheme of the extraordinary Reichsrath were not abandoned, and if the Lesser Reichsrath were not convoked for the parliamentary treatment of the constitutional question. He gained his point. A complete rupture was made with the system hitherto prevailing; and an Imperial decree of the 4th of February restored the operation of the constitution of February so far as it did not affect the compromise with Hungary. Three days afterwards, Belcredi and Esterhazy were dismissed; and Beust then became President of the Cabinet. Deak was called to Vienna, and received in spe-



cial audience by the Emperor; and the opening of the provincial parliaments was adjourned to the 18th of February. By this time the compromise had been effected, and a responsible Hungarian ministry had been appointed. These events justified the language of Beust's circular of the 11th of February addressed to the provincial governors and officials. The intentions of the Government, he said, were by no means uncertain, as the progress of events would show; the compromise with Hungary was the fruit of the suspension of the constitution; and now the approbation of the *Cis-Leithan* countries was necessary to consolidate the arrangement: it was not the province of the Government to decide whether, or how far, the constitution had been violated in these difficult arrangements, and it had therefore become its duty to call together the constitutional representatives; it would submit to them the changes in the constitution, which the compromise had rendered necessary, for its intention was not to interfere with the freedom of the Reichsrath: nevertheless it was confident that a patriotic intelligence would see how much Austria would gain by forswearing the irresolute policy of the past, and how much she would lose if that policy were still continued: any further claims could only be satisfied at the expense of the strength of the Empire.

Thus the principles of the revived constitution were clearly defined; and the question now was whether the practice would answer to the theory. It was a time of deliberate and decisive measures. In the first place, there was a congress of members of the German provincial parliaments, who, though they feared that exorbitant concessions would be made to Hungary, abstained from any agitation till the measures should be proposed by Government to the Reichsrath. In the second place, an assembly of Slavonic deputies tried to limit the competency of the Reichsrath by federalist conditions. At this point the Government, in concert with the Hungarian ministers, proclaimed that the compromise was effected, decreed the acts necessary for its execution, and named constitutional presidents for the *Cis-Leithan* parliaments. On the 16th of February, Count Mailath, the Hungarian Chancellor, was dismissed, and his office suppressed; on the 17th, the proclamation just referred to was made; on the 18th, at the opening of the Landtag, the change of system was announced, and a number of bills introduced to consolidate the new constitutional life of the Empire. The proclamation, and the suspension of the decree concerning the army, were received with enthusiasm in the Hun-

garian Parliament. On the 20th, the Hungarian Cabinet was completed. Count Andrassy was President, Count Festetics Minister *a latere*, Baron Eötvös of Worship, Baron Wenckheim of the Interior, Count Miko of Public Works, Herr von Lolyay of Finance, Herr Horwath of Justice, and Herr von Gorove of Trade. At this moment, when the Government needed to be left in peace to prepare the bills to be laid before the Reichsrath, an address was carried in the Bohemian Parliament by a majority of 156 to 76, declaring that it would send no deputies to the Reichsrath unless that body were reduced to a simple consultative assembly. The reply to this vote was an immediate dissolution of the Bohemian Parliament on the 26th of February. This, however, did not prevent the Parliaments of Moravia and Carniola from following the example of their Czech kinsmen, and they too were dissolved on the 1st of March. The prompt action of the Government was not without effect; and the appeals to the people resulted in the election of three constitutional parliaments, which fully allowed the competence of the Reichsrath. The Reichsrath was not assembled before the 20th of May, nor the convoking patent issued before the 20th of April, because it was necessary that the Hungarian Parliament should have previously accepted a compromise compatible with imperial government. Here also there were difficulties: the democratic party in the Hungarian Parliament maintained an obstinate fight for ten days in favour of the merely personal union; and the victory, at one time considered doubtful, was only obtained by a brilliant speech from Deak, which was followed by a division of 257 against 117 on the 30th of March. In the Upper House the compromise was unanimously accepted, after an insignificant opposition, on the 3d of April.

And now the regeneration of the Eastern part of the monarchy seemed to be accomplished; and Baron Beust was entitled to regard with complacency the results of his system and of his efforts. But he could not forget that as yet he had only half finished his task of reconstruction; for he had to persuade the Reichsrath to accept, *après coup*, a compromise on which it had not been consulted, and he had to establish the constitutional institutions of the Western portion of the Empire on another base of compromise altogether foreign to Hungarian wants and tendencies. As long as there was no ministry for the *Cis-Leithan* portion of the Empire, this whole responsibility rested on Baron Beust himself, although he had provisionally intrusted special departments



—War, Public Worship, Finance, and the Home-Office—to a few thorough Constitutionalists. He was quite aware that the constitutional German majority in the Reichsrath, though liberal, was also for the most part centralizing, and therefore could not be absolutely counted upon either for the compromise or for any other special question. And the Slaves were indignant at having, for the first time since 1861, lost those majorities in the mixed parliaments which they had hitherto preserved by an alliance with the feudalists and ecclesiastical absolutists. Under the dualism their hopes of ever regaining their influence were slight; whereas under a federalist system they had expected in time to win over the Germans of the mixed provinces to their side. Their leaders, encouraged and assisted from without, then threw themselves into the arms of the Russian Propaganda. The pilgrimage to Moscow was a demonstration not altogether insignificant against Austria. For although her Slavonic populations were but slightly moved, yet it showed clearly what dangers might threaten Austria, Germany, and Central Europe from that quarter, especially when the semi-official press of Prussia, clearly acting under instructions, patronized the movement, in spite of the public feeling against it in German Austria, Germany, and Hungary. It has since become known, through publications of Baron Werther, the Prussian Envoy, and others, that Count Bismarck, even after the Peace of Prague, still kept up an extensive diplomatic intercourse with the non-German populations of Austria, in order to throw difficulties in the way of the consolidation of the Empire. The Emperor opened the Reichsrath on the 22d of May, the Upper House having received an addition of twenty-four new life-members, all representatives of science and of liberal views. His speech treated the compromise with Hungary as a fact already completed, and simply expressed a hope that the Reichsrath would not refuse assent to it, seeing how advantageous it was for the position of Austria in Europe, and what security it gave, not only for the constitutional government and liberties of Hungary, but also, as a necessary consequence, for those of the other provinces. To these, it intimated, any autonomic reforms that did not endanger the integrity of the Empire would be granted. A bill was then brought in to establish ministerial responsibility, and another to modify the obnoxious 18th article of the constitution; financial reforms were promised; and the foreign policy was defined as one free from all ideas of retaliation. Meantime the negotiations with Hungary had

advanced so far that there was no obstacle to the coronation of the Emperor as King of Hungary; and the ceremony took place on the 8th of June. The Reichsrath had simply to accept the fact. The Chamber of Deputies did so, because it gave them ground for putting forward all the more resolutely their own demands for a thorough change in the system of government, for concessions analogous to those granted to Hungary, and, to crown all, for a revision of the concordat. The tenor of the address of the Upper House was similar, but more cautious in its demands, and more reserved with regard to the dualism of the Empire. Thus an interchange of programmes had taken place between the Government and the representatives; and it was now in the power of the Parliament of both parts of the monarchy to secure the freedom of the people. The subsequent proceedings of the Parliament may be passed over with all brevity; but the attitude of the Government should be noticed.

For President of the Lower House the Emperor selected the Mayor of Brunn, Dr. Giskra, a liberal and constitutionalist, and for President of the Upper House, Prince Charles von Auersperg, a liberal, and a very popular man. The address was accepted, with only two dissentients, in the Upper House, chiefly in consequence of Count Beust's clear and masterly vindication of his proceedings, and partly through the eloquence of Professor Herbst. The opposition came from the feudal and clerical elements of Bohemia, Tyrol, and Galicia. In Hungary, the Emperor celebrated his coronation by a general political amnesty, which was a few days later extended to the other parts of the monarchy. At this date, the 20th of June, conferences were held between the Imperial and Hungarian Cabinets on the one hand, and the most influential members of the Reichsrath on the other; and both parties agreed to a plan, proposed by Deak, that a delegation from the Reichsrath should meet another from the Hungarian Parliament, to settle between them the details of the common concerns of the Empire, each delegation having equal right and authority. Thus the dualism was not merely accepted as a principle, but reduced to practice. These delegations had first to settle their forms of procedure, and then to arrange the common financial affairs of the two parts of the Empire. To pave the way for this, it was necessary to know the exact situation of the revenue. A committee was appointed for this purpose on the 5th of July, and it received from the minister a detailed account beginning at the year 1861.



It appeared that the national debt amounted to 3,046,000,000 florins, the annual interest on the same to 127,000,000, and an annual quota of 24,000,000 to a sinking fund; and when the committee put the natural question, whether there was any prospect of emerging honourably from this deplorable situation, the minister replied with a most confident affirmative. At this stage of the proceedings, before the committee could arrange the ways and means, it was thought necessary that there should be a responsible ministry for the Cis-Leithan portion of the Empire, for the purpose of protecting the financial interests of those provinces in the debates of the delegations. But the leaders of the Lower House of the Reichsrath, when invited by Count Beust to accept the charge, all declined, on the ground that they could not pledge themselves to complete the compromise on the conditions morally contracted with Hungary by the Crown. It is a characteristic defect of Austrian liberalism to underrate gains which it had previously regarded as impossible, and to criticise them instead of accepting them, and using them for its own consolidation and development. It may seem commonplace simply to put one's-self at the head of a movement already formed, and inherit rather than win the position; but it is also true that want of organizing power and tact exposes the flank of liberalism to dangerous attacks. The parliamentary leaders exhibited this characteristic defect at the time of the final settlement of Beust's great work. Hence the formation of a parliamentary ministry had to be delayed until the compromise had become law; and thus the Reichsrath and the delegations could only receive the financial report, without being able to take action upon it, before the adjournment on the 25th of July. The financial commission indicated that the surest, though uneven, road towards financial reform, was the utmost possible extension of administrative self-government.

But this session of the Reichsrath was prolific of other results. The law of ministerial responsibility received the Emperor's sanction; and the 13th article of the Constitution, which reserved to the Government an almost unlimited right of suspension under certain contingencies, was abolished. The suppression of the office of Adjutant-General to the Emperor, on the 11th of July, gave the War Minister the same responsibility as his colleagues. With respect to ecclesiastical affairs, the Government had, not from principle but from policy, attempted to restrain the initiative of the Reichsrath. The germs of a conflict

appeared to exist when that body, disregarding the warnings of the Minister of Justice, determined to bring forward certain modifications of the law, tending to nullify the concordat in its most essential points.

It is impossible to enter into the details of the measures agreed upon by the delegations. Although the deputies of the Reichsrath, on account of the previous acceptance of the compromise, found their hands tied very closely, they nevertheless arranged with the Hungarians a common plan of operation. They resolved that, after deducting 25,000,000 from the national debt, and transferring it to the Cis-Leithan provinces, the rest should be divided between the two portions of the Empire in the ratio of 70 to 30. After 1869 a distinction was to be made between interest and sinking fund, the Hungarian contribution to the former being fixed at 29,000,000 (12,000,000 in silver), and to the latter at 1,150,000 florins. The Western provinces were to bear the sole cost of converting the various denominations of debt into a uniform consolidated debt, and to enjoy the sole benefit of whatever saving of interest was thereby effected. The two financial administrations were to be responsible each for its own deficit. Common burdens were only to be imposed with the consent of both parties, and were then to be levied in the same ratio of 70 to 30. The floating debt was to remain under the guarantee of the Empire. The railway guarantees were to be charged on the countries through which the railways ran. The customs-duties were appropriated to defray the expenses of the common affairs, residues to be divided in the ratio of 70 to 30. It was significant that these results were received with equal disfavour by the Reichsrath at Vienna and by the Diet at Pesth; but neither was able to substitute anything better. Each considered itself victimized for the other's advantage. It would have been impossible to make Hungary contribute more than the quota fixed; and the Western portion of the Empire was not saddled with much more than it had hitherto been bound to pay. When the Reichsrath, therefore, resumed its session on the 23d of September, the financial compromise, after much earnest debate, at last became law. It contained: (1.) a law upon the contributions of Hungary towards the common administration; (2.) a law regulating its contributions to the general national debt; and (3.) a customs and commercial convention for ten years.

Thus the Reichsrath, with great self-control, advanced the reconstruction of the Empire upon the dualistic principle; and,



while it fancied that it saw throughout the whole compromise a preference given to Hungarian over Cis-Leithan interests, it did not neglect to establish the affairs of the Western portion of the Empire upon liberal and constitutional principles, and to proceed logically and energetically to their execution. From the beginning, Beust had made the realization of his scheme depend upon the equally free constitutional development of both portions of the monarchy; and he never hesitated to acknowledge and promote it. It has been already mentioned that the first session of the Reichsrath revealed the germs of a conflict on the subject of the concordat, which the Government tried to avoid by pointing to the pending negotiations with Rome. But neither the creation of a Lutheran superior synod nor the withdrawal of the ambassador from Rome could avert the storm which had gathered strength in the recess. At the end of August, the Communal Council of Vienna resolved on a petition to the Reichsrath, for the abolition of the concordat. The more important communes of the Western provinces took the same line; and a general meeting of teachers at Vienna in September became a demonstration in the same sense. But the crisis was brought on by the Austrian Episcopate. Just after the re-opening of the Reichsrath, twenty-five bishops of the Western provinces, ignoring the existence of the constitution, directly petitioned the Emperor for the maintenance of the concordat. In the universal tempest which this proceeding excited, it was not forgotten that the bishops had qualified civil marriages as concubinage, and the free schools as anti-Christian. The Emperor's reply, after advising the petitioners to remain within their proper limits, directed them to apply to the ministers. In the Lower House, the marriage law proposed by the Confession Commission was accepted, which re-established the right of civil marriage; and a school law was passed, which left only the religious instruction to the clergy. Finally, in the beginning of 1868, a new plan was adopted for the regulation of inter-confessional affairs. Anticipating for a moment the chronological order of events, it should be observed that the acceptance of these three laws in the Upper House was preceded, in March 1868, by violent debates, in which all Europe took interest. Hungary had never, except in general terms, recognised the concordat; and therefore, as soon as the Emperor's sanction was given to these laws, Austria was emancipated from all unjust hierarchical control. Inveterate traditions had been

broken through; but the Church still retained her rich possessions under the guarantee of the State, and preserved her freedom in all really ecclesiastical matters. Meanwhile it was a logical consequence of their September petition, that the prelates of the Upper House, led by Cardinal Rauscher, should quit the House, with a protest, after the first reading of the marriage bill. But it might have appeared beforehand inconceivable that the Holy See should so forget its traditional prudence, and so ignore the exigencies of the time, as to issue the Papal allocution of June 1868. This allocution denounced the measures adopted with regard to the concordat, and the fundamental constitutional laws of December 1867, as "abominabiles leges," and declared all who had co-operated in making them, the Emperor of course included, to be liable to ecclesiastical censures. The long resistance of the Upper House to the three laws was an exception to its general attitude towards the progressive efforts of the Lower House. The debates proved that most of the opposition arose not from reactionary principles, but from fear of provoking an antagonism with the powerful influence of the clergy. In proportion to the small regard shown by Rome for the change in the relations between Church and State, and to the contempt and injustice with which the Pope denounced the constitutional regeneration of the Empire, was the ever growing flood of the movement against the concordat—a movement which sometimes threatened to become thoroughly anti-ecclesiastical. This seems to show that the real needs of the moment pointed rather to the policy of Herbst, and those who desired to proceed by means of positive confessional laws, than to the radical proposal of Mühlfeld and others, to abolish the concordat at once. The public at last was convinced that on all great questions the liberalism of the Upper House was on a par with that of the Lower, when it was remembered that neither the fundamental laws nor any of the reforms emanating from the Lower House had been rejected in principle, and that the Upper House had been satisfied with performing upon them the functions of a court of revision.

This progress of constitutionalism seemed to go on as a matter of course; it was only on looking back that it became apparent how marvellous was the change effected, how strong the position gained, and how secure its guarantees. Austria at the close of 1867 was already one of the freest constitutional monarchies on the Continent. On the 21st of December, the Emperor,



at the instance of the Reichsrath, ordered that all laws (including the alteration of the constitution of February, necessary to carry out the dualism) which were the titles of the constitutional rights and privileges of the people and their representatives, should be forthwith promulgated and come into operation. Liberal regulations on the right of public meeting and association had previously been published on the 20th of November. And now were added the equality of all subjects before the law; the admission to public offices of any capable subject; the free enjoyment of property; domestic and personal liberty; the liberty of the press; the inviolability of letters in the post-office; liberty of creeds, conscience, and science; the separation of judicial from administrative functions; the independence of the judge; the oath to the constitution, required from all officials, and their responsibility for all unconstitutional measures; the right of the representatives of the people on all matters of taxation and military conscription; the creation of an imperial parliamentary tribunal; and lastly, the enumeration, in the delegation law, of all the public and common concerns of the different provinces, and the method of their treatment. The Lower House at once appropriated its new rights; it elected Dr. Giskra, who had hitherto been President upon the Emperor's nomination, and named its deputies for the delegation before its adjournment. The Emperor then formed the ministry for the common affairs of the Empire. Count Beust became President, Minister for Foreign Affairs, and Chancellor of the Empire—the last being an office which had been dormant since Metternich; Baron Becke was Minister of Finance, and Baron John, afterwards replaced by Baron Kuhn von Künenfeld, of War. At the close of the year also, the ministry for the countries represented by the Reichsrath was completed. Plener became Minister of Commerce; Hasner von Artha, of Worship and Education; Potocki, of Agriculture; Giskra, of the Interior; Herbst, of Justice; Brestl, of Finance; Berger, without portfolio; and Taase, of National Defence and Public Security. Prince Auer-Sperg, who had withdrawn from parliamentary life when Belcredi violated the privileges of the Reichsrath, was chosen to preside over this combination.

The complete change effected by the constitutional laws and the parliamentary ministry had the effect of silencing that systematic pessimism with which the opposition regarded everything that was given and done, and which they made rather an

end than a means. They had been in the habit of opposing a minister simply because he was minister. But the Chancellor Beust, though his position had been difficult at first, had now become the most popular man in the Empire. Still, however, he was looked upon as a foreigner, a Protestant, an exotic accident. It was difficult for a man to realize not being in opposition, though the ministers were the very men whom he had been following till yesterday, as the acknowledged leaders of the majority. Thus it was long before a great ministerial party could be formed in the Reichsrath. Yet such a party would have been most valuable at the beginning of the year. For the enemies of the new order of things availed themselves of this moment, their last chance, to make a combined assault. The Czechs and their allies in Bohemia began the year with demonstrations against Dr. Herbst, the dualism, and the new constitution. In Hungary the democratic demagogues agitated against the compromise, the Deak party, and the Government, in order to get a majority in the Diet, and thus secure the election of delegates for the consideration of common affairs, who would make any agreement contingent on the acceptance of their chimerical dogma of "personal union." The finance of the Western provinces, which imposed great sacrifices on the taxpayers, seemed the most available topic there for the preachers of discontent. The clerical party had tried to make the confessional laws serve the turn, while the Upper House was discussing them. And the social democracy availed itself of the right of meeting and public association, to disseminate socialism amongst the artisans of the towns. Under this threatening aspect of affairs the delegations met. The Hungarian jealousy of being swallowed up in the Empire had insisted upon a method of proceeding which would have paralysed the new constitution in its cradle, had not the practical necessity of working out the problem transcended the speculative need of solving the theorem. It had been provided that each matter should be separately discussed by each delegation, and then simply voted on—yes or no—without debate, in a common session. Thus at first the negotiations were merely mechanical. But at last the two sets of delegates met together at their clubs and in these non-official sittings amended the mistake of their official sittings. In this way they soon arrived at an understanding, the more readily as the Reichsrath delegation yielded on many of the points objected to by the Hungarians. They soon settled



the questions connected with the expenses of the army, foreign affairs, and finance, without any essential modification of the proposals laid before them; and the sum on which they had to decide was one of 110,968,000 florins. A little later the session was closed with the Imperial sanction of its votes. But its great event had been Baron Beust's Red-book, which began the regular publication of the series of papers relating to diplomatic transactions, and their parliamentary discussion, for the whole Austro-Hungarian monarchy. It was an irrevocable mark of completeness stamped upon the constitution. The series of documents gave evidence of a consequent, unimpassioned, clear, and uniform policy, inspiring confidence both by its directness and its persistent freedom. The despatches are written with tranquillity; and the proceedings they record are conciliatory, and at the same time calculated to preserve the dignity of the Empire. This pacific policy suited the actual needs of both portions of the monarchy, and was a guarantee that for the future the Government would not lightly risk the regular development of internal prosperity. The semi-official Prussian press violently attacked the Red-book and its author, and suggested to the Hungarians that this pacific policy was intended to cover intrigues for future retaliation. These attacks had an effect contrary to that intended. For, in the Hungarian parliament, the extreme right and left, which had hitherto listened with much complaisance to the whispers of Prussia, now protested against them; and in the West all parties except the Czechs appreciated the real motive of the Prussian irritation. It was clearly not agreeable at Berlin to see that the tendency of Austria's home affairs was to keep the Western provinces out of the map of war, and that the Chancellor intended to direct foreign policy in conformity with the authority of Parliament—a concession demanded in vain from Count Bismarck by the North German Parliament.

Under such conditions the Reichsrath could with confidence set about finishing the new regulations. The President of the Upper House, Prince Colorado Mansfeld, opened the session on the 10th of February, with a welcome to the newly elected deputies, and with a declaration of his conviction that they represented the earnest wishes of the great majority of the country. For the first time since the establishment of the dualism the Archdukes took their seats—a significant hint to the reactionary party of the nobles. In the Chamber of Deputies, where Kaiserfeld had replaced

Giskra in the chair, the first utterance of the new ministry came from Prince Auer-sperg. He loyally acknowledged the principle of the dualism, which, if it did not promote unity, at least advanced unanimity. With reference to the agitations in Bohemia, dangerous alike to the Constitution and the Empire, he declared the intention of ministers to protect the constitution as a common and inalienable possession, to preserve the legislative authority of the Reichsrath as the palladium of popular freedom, to maintain unfettered the just self-government of each province and kingdom, and at the same time to put down whatever threatened the quiet constitutional development of the State. A few days later Dr. Giskra gave a detailed account of the programme of the Government. He disclaimed any actual separation of countries historically connected, promising them only a larger autonomy, and some measure of administrative decentralization. These were the turning-points of the policy announced at the beginning of the year. The chief debates of the session were those of the Lower House on the reform of the administration in March, and those of the Upper House on the confessional laws. After the Easter holidays the debates turned chiefly on points of economy: the most important were those on railways. Several concessions of new lines were made; and the railway policy of the past was sharply criticised. The commercial treaty with the Zollverein was also approved. Both Houses spent the following months in animated debates on the revenue and expenditure. In May the constitutional laws received some additions,—one to regulate the immediate elections to the Reichsrath; another to abolish the Council of State, which had become meaningless since the establishment of ministerial responsibility; and another to fix the salaries of the ministers, and to regulate the orders of the day in the Reichsrath. The object of the financial debates was a balance between revenue and expenditure—an object which every one knew was unattainable, but towards which all tended with great earnestness. The Finance Minister Brestl, in bringing forward the budget for 1868, avoided the declaration of bankruptcy, which he must have been sorely tempted to make, but did not effect much more. The deputies were not well prepared for the debates; for the budget commission and sub-committee had treated the matter with much confusion, and there were moments when the final decisions seemed like the moves in a desperate game of chance. It is satisfactory that the proposed reduction of



interest by 25 per cent. was abandoned for the 20 per cent. tax on coupons, which has not essentially or continuously affected the foreign credit of the Empire. Important laws were voted for the control of the national debt, for its conversion, for increasing the deductions from lottery-prizes, for a further sale of Crown lands, and for legalizing a floating debt of 25 millions. These measures, with a considerable increase of taxes, great economy in the departments, and a more careful collection of income, reduced the deficit on the Budget of 1868 to 51,000,000 florins, and effected a further estimated reduction of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  millions on that of 1869.

Since the pilgrimage to Moscow the Czech movement had been growing stronger, and continually giving a more unreasonable expression to its separatist tendencies. The Reichsrath was only so far affected by the matter, that the deputies elected under protest by the Bohemian Parliament refused to take their seats; and they were thereupon declared to have forfeited them. But the Government could not make such short work of the movement whilst it seemed possible to come to a compromise with the Czechs on constitutional principles, or to gain them over to political union with Western Austria. Before Schmerling's administration, they had professed a strong antagonism to the Germans within their territories; and since the February patent they had taken up the narrow idea of a separate Czech right, and a Bohemian crown, which was alleged to have been conceded in Belcredi's October diploma. Under this banner war was declared against the dualism and against the Reichsrath. Inasmuch as these agitations were directed against modern constitutionalism, they commanded the adherence of the feudalists and clericals; and inasmuch as they attacked the political unity of the Western portion of the Empire, they enlisted the sympathies of the Czech nationalists. Upon these conditions the coalition of the parties is based. There is no truth in the ordinary distinction between the Taborite-democratic and the feudo-clerical parties: the only question for them all is that of opportunity. When the people grew tired of the demonstrations against the Constitution, an occasion to revive them was afforded by the financial measures adopted to lessen the deficit, and the consequent inroad made upon the pocket. The new right of public meeting gave an opening for "Tabors" and "Besedas," or meetings for political stage-plays, significant ecclesiastical solemnities and commemorations, and tumults express-

ly intended to excite the population against the taxes. In some places these efforts were successful. Negotiations carried on by the Chancellor of the Empire in person proved fruitless; for the leaders rejected all concessions which involved any recognition of the constitution. When the Bohemian Parliament assembled, the Czech members who had been elected in 1867 protested against its legality; and the national press and the mob sympathized so strongly with this last interpretation of Bohemian rights, that the Government, with the assent of the constitutionalist liberals, was at last obliged to secure order in the city and province of Prague by suspending the right of public meeting and association. This exceptional condition lasted from the 10th of October 1868 to the 28th of April 1869. But the Czechs have not recovered a sounder mind. Their claims are founded on an excessive passion for nationality. They do not merely demand equal privileges, in which case an arrangement would be easy; but they wish for ascendancy and the power to oppress. It is not out of any respect for their aristocratic and clerical allies that the Bohemian liberals insist on national emancipation. On the other hand, the Germans in Bohemia are necessarily constitutionalists, since they rely exclusively on the Government for protection. A considerable time must elapse before the Czechs will be contented with that large measure of autonomy which the Austrian Constitution grants to the other provinces. But Bohemia can never become a vital question like Hungary. The position of the Czech party lacks both truth and justice. It is a struggle of the lower against the higher civilisation, and of the prejudices of race against the modern idea of the State. It is an alliance with Muscovitism against Western progress, utterly unlike the demand of Hungary for equality in the Austrian commonwealth. Austria is perfectly justified in opposing such intemperate demands. A considerable party in Galicia advances claims similar to those of the Czechs; but its leaders (aware that the Ruthenian majority, on account of the favour shown to the Poles, inclines towards Russia) neither have transgressed nor intend to transgress the bounds of legal opposition to the Constitution. However wild the agitation, the question will be always one of degree—how much autonomy can be granted to the province. The Poles, whose deathless dogma is the revival of the political independence of their country, aim at what, under present circumstances, would be simply a declaration of war against Russia. But this is beyond both the will



and the power of Austria. Thus the question of Galician autonomy becomes one rather of foreign than of home policy, complicated, however, by the impossibility of contenting the Poles, even with large concessions. But then the Poles consider their position only provisional; and, against the coming conflict, they regard Galicia as the most powerful weapon of Austria against Russia, and perhaps also against Prussia, the Czar's faithful ally. This was shown by the fact that, though the Radicals in the Galician Parliament carried a resolution which in strictness would have excluded its deputies from the Reichsrath, nevertheless at the opening of the session they all took their seats.

The last quarter of this long session, which began on the 17th of October 1868, was not so splendid or dramatic as the others. There was no constitution to rebuild, no compromise to fight for, no concordat to review. All this had been done, and was bearing its fruit, although there was a puerile and misdirected zeal which considered that the harvest yielded only straw. But as the mission of the previous quarters had been to lay a foundation of constitutional principles, the Reichsrath had now to give them their practical application. Since the beginning of the year, the Government and the Parliament had been vying with each other in consolidating the constitutional life, in giving it air and freedom, and guarding it against the return of former evils. The equality before the law paralysed the bishops' opposition to the marriage law. The religious equality secured to all dissenters the free exercise of their civil and religious duties. The emancipation of the schools was completed by the appointment of secular inspectors in all the provinces. That Rome had by this time learned the value of the share yet left to the clergy in regulating schools was shown only a few weeks ago, by the permission granted to the clergy to accept a place on the Board of Inspectors whenever the communes elected them. Before the close of 1868, the military law, based upon the liability of all males to serve, and accepted with amendments by Hungary, was in vigour. If the alteration of the penal code, on the principles of publicity and oral examination, could not as yet be effected, at least the press benefited by the establishment of a jury to try its offences—the highest guarantee for the liberty of the press, which in turn is the fundamental condition of the progress of liberal legislation. The parliamentary organization of the Imperial tribunal for preserving the

constitutional rights of citizens, showed its importance in the case of the so-called "competence conflicts" in all the provinces. And thus the Emperor, in the speech with which he closed the Reichsrath on the 15th of May 1869, was justified in declaring that the Constitution was the true ground on which the populations of Austria might come, and ought to come, to a mutual understanding, and in adding his hope that at the next meeting those who had as yet refused to share in the common work would be found in their places. The *Journal de St. Petersbourg*, after the Emperor's speech, admitted that the Czechs could not reasonably hope to overthrow the dualism; and even the Prussian press, though accustomed to bestow its sympathies now on one, now on another, of the Austrian populations, granted that the Empire had made a considerable advance in the way of its regeneration.

It is not necessary to enter into the debates of the Hungarian Diet, or to describe the exciting struggles of the Radicals at the elections last spring, when the Deak party maintained its position, carried its address, and confirmed the Andrássy ministry. It is more profitable to consider what is the present position of the monarchy. Where for centuries the absolutism of the crown and mitre had prevailed, no one could expect to see the sudden and uniform establishment of free principles in every department of Government. Notwithstanding the best intentions, isolated phenomena arising out of former conditions must from time to time occur. Such natural accidents are to be met with in Austria. The development of her political and religious freedom has had to overcome immense obstacles on both sides. Above, there was an Imperial court and a nobility which had for scores of years been accustomed to oppose change, and to regard the spirit of progress with freezing coldness. And below, there was a populace educated exclusively by a clergy inaccessible to the influences of liberal government. It was impossible for any statesmanlike reformer to disregard these elements. To do so would have been to provoke a certain reaction. But Austria, though yet far from her ideal, has, since Sadowa, accomplished wonders. The regeneration of the Empire upon the bold scheme of Beust is progressing with ample strides. And it must not be forgotten that it proceeds upon the natural, historical, and traditional condition of the Empire, vivified by the modern spirit of the age. No other political body of the Continent keeps pace with Austria in the development of its pub-



lic life. She is rapidly making compensation for the errors and negligences of centuries. And in her progress are to be found the germs of the political revival of the nations of central Europe.

#### ART. VII.—LITERATURE OF THE LAND QUESTION IN IRELAND.

It is customary with many persons to discuss the affairs and speculate on the fortunes of Ireland as though it were not a neighbouring island, but some country far removed from us by time or space. In this way much ingenuity has been displayed, and a considerable amount of erudition wasted. Untenable theories, artistically elaborated and eloquently proposed, have succeeded each other, till the Irish question is overlaid by several strata of them, to the great confusion of inquirers. It does not appear to have occurred to those who occupy themselves with propounding these theories, that the Irish Sea is not wide, and that beyond it exists a nation which has both intelligence to perceive, and a voice to declare, its own requirements. Universities, colleges, and schools flourish there; a host of newspapers is spread over the land; books, pamphlets, and ballads leave no section of the population unrepresented. A serious examination of these sources of knowledge would remove the occasion of that bewilderment of mind which impedes the course of sound policy, and finds its expression now in lugubrious extravaganza and now in melodramatic prophecy. But the characteristic literature of Ireland is little known even to some influential classes in that country itself, and scarcely at all outside it, except amongst the scattered colonies of the Irish nation. It is emphatically the literature of the popular classes; and as such it reveals the wants and wishes of the Irish people, as distinguished on the one hand from the cravings of ascendancy, and on the other from the aspirations of the legion of lawyers.

This literature has arisen like a sea, naturally, from its founts. Two separate currents, the colonial and the extra-colonial, combined to form it. Thus all its Jacobite songs are from the latter source, and were first composed in the Gaedhlic language; all its Williamite songs are the offspring of the English colony. The bond of union between the two elements, the betrothal gold, is the literature of 1782, when Grat-

tan spoke and Lysaght sang. After that comes the forgotten eloquence of the Emancipation time; and then over its fossil animosities spreads the literature of 1848, which may be regarded as a revival of that of 1782, modified by events, and contributed to by both Catholics and Protestants. This is the literature which has most influenced the rising generation, in so far as they have been influenced by any at all. It has been the parent of minor hard innumerable. It has superseded directly, or by its offspring of verse and prose, the popular chap-books which recounted the exploits of the "Rogues and Rapparees," and which had supplanted or taken a place beside the oral narrations concerning old Celtic heroes and the fantastic feats of Celtic demonology. The "Tales of the Western Highlands" had their counterparts in Ireland; and the peasant of the wild west coast of Donegal or Sligo would recite tales identical with them in almost every particular. Extremes sometimes meet. Tales of the Fenians are beginning to appear, and to spread amongst the same people who in Gaedhlic called the historical romances of the ancient Celtic heroes the "Fenian Tales." For Finn MacCumhal was generalissimo of the Fenians in old time; his son, Ossian, was their poet-laureate; and his grandson, Oscar, was their champion without reproach. Future or foreign historians might instance this renewed popularity of the name of Fenian as an indication of a purely Celtic revival, if they were not told that the reappearance of the name is due simply to the fact that one of the principal organizers of the republican brotherhood which bears it was a Celtic scholar, and adopted the name from Keating's Gaedhlic History of Ireland, which he was translating at the time of the foundation of the society. Besides the biographies, tales of adventure, and popular historical works in prose, there is a multitude of songs and ballads. They spring like an abundant harvest from a genial soil; and, as sheaf after sheaf is bound and sent out by the publishers, it is eagerly caught up and converted into mental food by the people. Poetry of passion, of sentiment, and of action, is here in its many phases. With love-ditties, pastoral pieces, boat-songs, fairy-lays, historical chants, dirges, and merry catches, are mingled the exile's plaint and the battle slogan.

Yet, diverse as these productions are in character and in origin, search the earliest and the latest collections of them, and the land-grievance will be seen indicated in all. It is found as early as the year 1556, when



the Irish bard O'Gnive laments that the Gael cannot recognise in the altered country the old nurse of his youth, whilst that nurse doubts, on seeing him, "if that pale wretch be the child of her bosom." It appears again when the Celtic Muse, with hesitating lips, made its first essay in the English tongue. Last century, in the earliest specimens of devotional verse, complaint was made that the "noble gentry" wantonly oppressed the poorer classes, "begging them with rents and rates." In the latest compilation published the charge is still the same. The street-ballad telling the tale of shipwreck and loss of the passengers' lives, says that "from racking tyrant landlords they quit their native land," with a hope of living more happily "among strangers far away." In the colonial portion of the literature similar complaints are found from before the time of James I. There is no other country that has so extensive a literature upon a theme so sad; none, probably, that has any considerable section of its letters devoted to such a theme at all.

But essentially the literature which has grown up in Ireland around the land question is one of prose rather than verse. Disquisitions, essays, orations abound. The tenant-right advocates of Ulster, as of Munster, the Catholic priest, the Presbyterian clergyman, and the Episcopalian layman, have all contributed to it. The landlord, the agent, and the Conservative advocate have also added their pamphlets and volumes; but, probably because they looked for a more sympathizing audience elsewhere than at home, they have generally been careful to select an English rather than an Irish market for their wares. Rejoinders and replies to them which appear in Ireland (and it is there, with barely an exception, that they are published), are little heard of in Great Britain, or suffer under the rule which decrees the same destiny to the absent as to the non-existent. But the circumstances of the time require that those who are not resolved to be misled by a fragmentary literature should diverge from the beaten path to seek its complement, so that whatever judgment they may form at last may be formed after they have heard both sides.

Let us try what can be done in a couple of prominent cases. Donegal and Kerry, counties at the extreme north-west and extreme south-west, have both been set before the British public by delineators who have sketched them from one point of view. The landlord and the agent have given their versions. But there is another mode of

viewing the same matter; and this latter is the general mode adopted in Ireland. If the first description is to be accepted, there would be no reason to expect persistent discontent in Ireland: it would be an irrational anomaly. If the second is to be received, there would only be occasion to wonder if discontent were not strong and enduring. As there can be no doubt about the discontent, it is at least interesting to discover the cause alleged for its existence by those who feel it. None like the wearer can know where the shoe pinches.

From the remoteness of its situation, Donegal maintained its Irish customs in their integrity until the flight of its Earl, O'Donel (Earl of Tyrconnell), towards the close of the year 1607. An anonymous letter, opportunely dropped or deposited in the council-chamber of Dublin, charging him and his neighbour, the Earl of Tyrone, with a conspiracy, broke their last hope of holding their possessions, for which the colonizing lords had manifested much hankering. They feared at last to lose both lives and land, and so fled. This anonymous letter brought some half-million of acres theoretically to the Crown, but practically (and soon formally) into the hands of the hankering lords and their friends. In Donegal there had been great encouragement given to Irish literature; the *Annals of the Four Masters* were compiled there. It is a mountainous country, and was at that time shaggy with woods. But the soil of the valleys was fertile, and was found to produce as well cereal crops as hemp and flax; and in the fashioning of the fibres of the latter into textile fabrics the natives were well skilled. With respect to the tenure of the cultivators, Sir John Davis, Attorney-General to James I., rightly remarked that by the grants of Elizabeth there was but one freeholder made in a country, and that was the chief. The cultivators were overlooked; and yet they were co-proprietors of the land. The chief had had but an uncertain tenure of his chieftainship, for he might be deposed, and could not bequeath it; but the clan had no uncertain tenure of their lands, from which no one could evict them. The terms of the Queen's grant did not matter much in this instance. Externally the recipient might be a feudal lord and landholder: esoterically he was still a chief, with neither power nor desire to confiscate the lands of the clan. When, by his flight, the county of Donegal was divided amongst the planters, it was on a scheme approved by Sir John Davis. He had noted the errors of his predecessors; he had marked all the



evils which had arisen from uncertainty of tenure; and it was expressly intended to avoid in this plantation the remissness which left the cultivator at the will of the lord.

The oppression from which it behoved to guard him was of two kinds—Anglo-Irish and native Irish. Coigne and livery were of the first class. The great lords of the colony made war and peace at their will and pleasure; and they inflicted the expense on the cultivators, because no pay came from England, and for several reigns the standing entry in all the Pipe-rolls, between receipt and allowances, was “in Thesaurio nihil.” All was spent; but all did not suffice. So “the poore subject” was mulcted for the expense of levies, both ordinary and extraordinary. This was tolerable until Maurice Fitzthomas of Desmond, chief commander of the army against the Scots in the reign of Edward II., began “that wicked extortion of coigne and livery and pay.” Man’s meat, horse’s meat, and money, were taken from the cultivators at will, without ticket or return. Afterwards this became general. The idle soldiers of the worst disciplined army known “did eat up the people,” destroyed their husbandry, and made them neglect agriculture, since they had no prospect but that a year’s labour might be made away with in one night. The dispersed English colonies had to keep guards upon the borders and marches round about them; and these guards oppressed and impoverished at their will the poor English freeholder. “And because the great English lords and captains had power to impose this charge, when and where they pleased, manie of the poore freeholders were glad to give unto these lords a great part of their lands to hold the rest free from extortion; and manie others not being able to endure that intolerable oppression, did utterly quit their freeholds and return unto England.” Some went to strange lands. The custom was denounced by Statute as damnable; and an ancient writer says that, although it was first invented in hell, yet if it had been practised there as in Ireland, it would have destroyed the very kingdom of Beelzebub. But, although the cultivators had thus to give up their land in part or altogether, the lord was ready besides to seize it by force; and whilst they grew poor he became rich. In this way, Fitzthomas of Desmond rose from a mean to a mighty estate, “inso much that his ancient inheritance being not one thousand markes yearly he became able to dispense every way ten thousand pounds per annum.” The

English lords placed Irish tenants upon the lands: “upon them they levied all Irish exactions.” These tenants naturally were willing to give up the profits of their labour if their lives were only left them. They could not ask for the rights which the English freeholder claimed as a matter of course; and therefore they could live under circumstances which drove the others forth.

Sir John Davis severely denounces these Irish exactions. On the mind of any not acquainted with the state of the law amongst the Irish at that time, his words would leave the impression that the chief could utterly ruin the cultivator by such means. And yet there are indications which show that he knew there were limiting lines. Those only who are versed in the native or Brehon laws, can understand the full import of his qualifying hints. He believes that the custom of coigne and livery was originally Irish, but candidly adds that when the English learned it, “they used it with more insolency, and made it more intolerable, for their oppression was not temporary, or limited either to place or time.” The Irish tax was limited, and was not so much imposed on the people as contributed by their consent, seeing that the Irish chief was only first amongst equals, and had no lordship over them but what they gave him. Indeed, Sir John Davis remarks complainingly that the chieftain had no estate in the land, that his son did not inherit his dignity. But he confesses that the chieftains had a portion of land allotted to them, even when he urges that their mode of support chiefly consisted in “cuttings and cosherings, whereby they did spoil and impoverish the people at their pleasure.” He was correct in his statements with respect to the chieftain’s tenure of his chieftainship, and correct also in his statement that land was allotted to him, and that he had in addition a tribute in kind. But he was altogether wrong in saying that the elected chieftain could despoil the electing clansmen at his pleasure. An outsider might naturally be misled on hearing vaguely of tribute in kind; but this tribute was strictly defined and limited by the native laws, as were all other services and duties rendered whatever. Imperfectly informed of the relations existing between chief and tenant, Sir John Davis was not even aware that there were definite rents and different kinds of tenants. The food tribute was paid by one kind of tenant, whose farm had been stocked by his chief; and tenants who stocked their own farms paid differently. Service was



rendered for service. If a band of reapers was contributed to reap the corn of the chieftain, and so forth, he, on the other hand, had to preserve the tribe-lands against inroads of enemies, to attend in councils, and to watch over the proper distribution of the proceeds of the reserved land, taking care that the sick got physicians, and the destitute or disabled food and shelter. What the English lords did was to claim service and contribution from their Irish tenants, and give nothing in return—just as they had imposed coigne and livery on English “poore earth-tillers and tenants, without anything doing or paying therefor.”

The words “Irish exactions,” when used by Sir John Davis, must be understood in a sense consistent with these facts, not in the sense which his imperfect knowledge led him to assign to them, and which later commentators have adopted from him without even noticing the qualifying hints we have indicated. Against the state of the tenantry, as he saw it, his soul righteously revolted. He considered their condition worse than that of bond slaves, for “commonly the bond slave is fed by his lord, but here the lord was fed by his bond slave.” To end, destroy, and for ever prevent the several kinds of evils described, the plantation scheme was formally drawn out. It was decreed that “the said undertakers shall not demise any part of their lands at will only, but shall make certain estates for years, for life, in tail or in fee-simple. No uncertain rent shall be reserved by the said undertakers, but the same shall be expressly set down, without reference to the custom of the country, and a proviso shall be inserted in their letters-patent against cuttings, cosheries, and other Irish exactions upon their tenants.”

How comes it then that similar exactions existed till quite lately, and probably still exist in Donegal; that it was left for a landlord of to-day to announce as a new thing, that he had given distinct farms (but not certain estates) to his tenants; and that tenancies-at-will, and uncertain rents, and intolerable exactions, are complained of now, as they were in the days of King James? Part of the fault is chargeable against the plantation scheme, which forbade the establishment of Irish tenants who were not conformable in religion, even on the lands of the servitors and natives, who alone were enabled to accept them as tenants. The English and Scottish undertakers, who were forbidden to alienate to the “meer-Irish,” did not, of course, give them any certain tenures, even when they allowed them to remain. They found them

all the more profitable, exactly as the great English lords had found them, because of their unprotected state. But at least, it might be thought, the stipulations would be carried out with respect to the English and Scottish tenants, who had immigrated on the faith of them. As a general rule, however, it was not so. Faith was broken with them; and if those undertakers who did not fulfil the conditions on which they obtained their grants had been expelled, few indeed would have remained. In Pynnar's survey, made in 1619, we find such entries as these with regard to districts in Donegal (similar entries exist for other counties):—“I find divers planted upon this land, but there is not one freeholder; and they who are upon the land have no estates.” “There are not any freeholders; there are twenty-eight families of the British nation, these hold their lands but by promise.” “There is not one freeholder, and but two leaseholders that could show any assurance. There are many Irish.” “He hath made no estates.” Some had erected buildings, and got up villages, but uncertainty of tenure was generally as bad as ever. Almost the same tale may be told of the Cromwellian settlement—of precautions to plant a secured yeomanry being balked, and of the extruded Irish being permitted to exist, because without them it was neither possible to cultivate the soil nor to obtain rack-rents. Then the spirit of religious intolerance was always interfering to prevent their getting leases, or to cause the exaction of higher rents from Irish Catholics than from Protestants. Thus when, in the later days of the penal code, its regulations were so far relaxed as to allow short leases to be granted to the Catholics, a comparatively higher rent was required from them, just as it had been from servitors for those portions of their lands which were planted with Irish, and as it had also been from “natives.” To these last the worst and wildest parts were allocated; and it is a common thing to see the mountain glens to which the natives were driven now fruitful with harvests from their labour. Yet there a lease is unknown. A little way off, in the naturally rich valleys, the descendants of English or Scottish settlers abide, one or two or more of whom (according to the counties) may have a lease of land at a small sum per acre. This ascendancy privilege has in some cases elevated a tenant, in his own estimation, so far above his depreciated neighbours, that he has forgotten to be as industrious as they, and has fallen into debt. This may account for some instances, occasionally referred to, of lease-



holders who do not effect such results as tenants-at-will. The fact that, in the penal days, a higher rent was imposed by law on a Catholic for the privilege of a lease, may afford a means of comprehending other allegations, such as that tenants have not always been eager for leases—for leases, that is, which contained such or similar penal clauses. An ordinary, fair lease no tenant is more anxious for than the Irish, or would more willingly accept, as is manifest from the very enactment of that penal provision.

Here then, in Donegal, there was a large number of Irish tenants left upon the land. They had not certain estates given them at certain rents. They were simply allowed to remain,—to keep by their old ways amongst themselves; and the new landlords, who assumed the place of the expelled chieftain, got rent, and “Irish exactions,” man-service and horse-service, but service in return gave them none. The chief had been checked by the Brehon and the priest; but the new landlord was judge in his own cause, and where he granted a lease required the tenant to do suit and service at the manor-court as well as grind his corn at the manor-mill. As a consequence of the tenants not having certain estates made for them, the clan system of co-tenancies remained, and still remains, although not now to any great extent. Under the Irish system it was held that the land belonged to the people, that the inhabitants of a district had equal rights to a property which belonged to all. The tenant had an occupation-right (which may have been the origin of the present Ulster “custom”), for he could sell his farm to another. On his death his land and chattels were divided equally amongst his children. Sir John Davis imagined that there was a re-adjustment of all the lands when a tenant died. Later writers describe the system under the name of “run-deal” and “rundale,” and are misled by the simulative English of the name to conclude that the occupiers held confusedly in common. But it is clear that the term, as used in Ireland, is derived from two words (*roinn'-diol*) signifying “divided use,” or “separate share.” Describing the rundale system as found existing in 1801, the author of one of the County Statistical Surveys made for the Dublin Society observed that “the cattle graze in common, but the crops are divided by a narrow margin of a foot broad left unploughed.” Such margins may be seen in France at the present day. When the crops were taken off the cultivated ground in harvest, the cattle and sheep were brought

from the mountain commons, and allowed to graze together there till spring. As the population increased, the evils of this system of joint-occupancy became manifest, more especially as there was no longer any head of the clan, or judge, to settle the disputes that arose. The holding of one tenant might be composed of patches of ground scattered asunder, and intercepted by the lands of other tenants. Improvements in agriculture made fences requisite. In 1801, it was declared by the author of the Donegal Survey that “all the farms lately let to tenants have been let to separate individuals; and the tenants themselves have found the vast benefits of separate holdings and are themselves subdividing (squaring) many of the old takes.” This word “takes” seems to be an attempt at rendering into English the term *Gavail-kind*. In the Celtic it is *Gavail-cine*, which may be translated “takes of the tribe,” or “clan-colonization.” The Irish tenants, it will be observed, were not averse to change when an alteration was proposed which would define their holdings. “All ranks are now clear of the advantages arising from separate tenures, and all are engaged in endeavouring to establish them,” is the statement in the Survey. Mr. Henry Coulter, the author of a work on *The West of Ireland*, published in Dublin in 1862, relates that the lands of the largest proprietor in one county, who owned 176,000 acres, were all in rundale forty years previously. The agent got the tenants of a particular townland to appoint two arbitrators to value their holdings in it; then he divided it into districts equal in number to the number of tenants; these next drew lots to decide their future position; and when that was fixed each got there a farm equal in value to that of his previous lot. After some transitory objections, the agent was “besieged” with applications from the occupants of other townlands to have the new system applied to them also. When the “dividing” or “squaring” or “striping” has not been done in such a manner as to avoid all appearance of unfairness, serious complaints have naturally arisen. But here, as in other matters, it is generally a recent purchaser, and rarely an old proprietor, be his origin or creed what it may, who is accused of inflicting the grievance. A descriptive tour, which was published in Belfast in 1858, by Mr. D. Holland, under the title of *The Landlord in Donegal*, and which rapidly reached a second edition, supplies some illustrative instances. In a book well known in its day, Lord George Hill, a



Donegal landlord, explained what he had done to improve the condition of the people: Mr. Holland disputes the accuracy of his representations, and gives the following version of his dealings with his tenantry:—"In 1838 and subsequent years, he purchased large tracts of land very cheaply in the Guidore district, and straightway he started on a career of improvement and philanthropy. As a commencement he took away considerable quantities of land from the tenants—land which the poor people had more or less reclaimed, and built on it a hotel, a mill, a store, and houses for police and revenue-officers, from which he derives large profit. This he calls improving. In addition to this, he took 10,000 acres of mountain land from the tenantry, which they and their forefathers had used from time immemorial for grazing. He gave no compensation: nay, he raised the rents upon the patches which he left the miserable tenantry to starve upon. These people were in the habit of making their own clothing from the wool of their own sheep. But since the mountain pasturage was taken from them, they cannot feed sheep, they cannot have wool, and they are all in rags." The Tory paper of Londonderry, "hitherto the champion of the landlords," is quoted as declaring that "from the smallest to the largest farm in Guidore, improved by the tenants, who were already paying a high rent, and in many cases a high rate of purchase, his lordship has not only doubled but trebled the rents." The author of *The West of Ireland*, however, who was the commissioner for a Dublin Conservative paper, follows Lord George Hill's narrative of his ameliorations, but unconsciously mars the picture by a touch of his own. "At present," he writes, "there is no cry of extreme distress from Gweedore. Some individuals living along the sea-coast may be in want of food a month or two before the coming in of the next harvest; but the great majority of Lord George's tenants will not suffer severely from distress." To be "in want of food for a month or two," it seems could not seriously hurt Irish tenants. But this writer also has testimony to give about the confiscation of the mountain commons. "Along the shores of Fintragh Bay," he says, "there is an estate, the tenants on which are in a very poor condition. Their land is much more highly rented" than that of the large proprietor, "and they complain that, some four years ago, the mountains on which from time immemorial their ancestors were accustomed to feed sheep and cattle were taken from them, and that

no reduction was made in the rent. This is considered by the people to be a great grievance; it has given rise to much dissatisfaction, and there can be no doubt that it has considerably crippled them in their means. Almost all of them are living at present on meal purchased on credit at a usurious rate of interest. The general aspect of their dwellings and farms is that of extreme poverty." The Belfast author, Mr. Holland, describes a number of such cases, and alleges that the landlords of a large district along the north-west coast simultaneously took away the mountain commons from their tenantry, whilst they did not abate, but even increased the rents. One clergyman of the late Established Church, Mr. Stuart, is extolled as an exception. Of another retired clergyman Mr. Holland writes: "About twelve years ago he came into possession of his property by purchase. At that time the tenants had each a small farm, with a patch of mountain land attached, on which they grazed their few sheep or cows. They had contrived, by their marvellous patient industry, to reclaim a considerable portion of this wild barren mountain. The new landlord took the whole of it from the tenants; for English law—which Judge Pennefather says was made for the landlords and not for the wretched peasants—empowered him to do so; and of course he gave them no compensation whatever. Nay, he continued to charge the full rent upon the portion which he left them, and now they inform me they have received notice that the rent is to be increased immediately. The land here is a mere waste of bog and rock, and it was by means of the few mountain kine and sheep that they were enabled to pay their rents and live. The reverend landlord has taken away from them, I understand, 2400 acres, a considerable portion of which had been made arable by their hard unceasing labour." Another landlord appropriated 2600 acres of mountain common, and, instead of giving compensation, doubled and trebled the rent of the arable land left to the tenants, which they had reclaimed from barrenness. Another, originally a successful attorney, purchased in the famine years a certain property not worth £100 a year, by Government valuation. The selling landlord obtained £150 as rent: the purchaser raised the rent to over £200. In another place, of which he was proprietor, he took from the tenantry 1500 acres of mountain pasturage, at the same time increasing the rent on the arable fractions of their holdings left them. Another had been an agent; and, during his agency, the tenantry fell into



arrears, and were accounted unable to pay. The landlord at last sold the estate; and his agent was the purchaser. From being an indulgent agent, he became a very strict landlord. The arrears were soon collected, and, it was affirmed, equalled the purchase-money in amount. He doubled and trebled the rents. Mr. Coulter found cases similar, and quite as remarkable, in the West of Ireland. "The bailiffs of some landlords," he writes, "practise usury on an extensive scale, and grow wealthy on the gains extracted from the poor farmers. I have heard of persons in this position, common bailiffs, quite uneducated, surprising every one who knew them, by purchasing townlands in the Landed Estates Court, for four, five, and even six thousand pounds. When such persons attain the position of landlords, woe to the unfortunate tenant who holds under them: his land is rack-rented to the utmost, and the rent must be paid with the utmost punctuality." The ex-agent just now mentioned, on becoming a landlord, did not take any mountain-pasturage from his tenantry; for there was none to take. But the tenants had been accustomed to gather sea-weed on that wild Atlantic shore, to prepare kelp with it, and thereby to eke out their rents: their landlord forbade them this, resolving to appropriate the profit directly to himself. And this resolve he would have carried out, if the agent of the proprietor of the royalty had not interfered for the protection of the impoverished tenantry. In another case, the landlord, a new purchaser, compelled half the tenantry to give up their farms and take ship for America, without other compensation than a free passage. Their portion he took to himself, as a farm. He deprived the remaining tenants of the mountain common; and he exacted a tax of one-fifth on the gross produce of the kelp they made. The rental of the whole property, when he bought it, was £200 a year: the rental of the remaining tenants thus mulct-ed he raised to £900 a year. The kind of landlords which the Encumbered Estates Court let in upon the country may be understood from these cases. The mountain pasturage taken in this way from the tenants, the landlords let chiefly to sheep-breeders from other parts; some of it was reserved for reclamation. The mode in which this reclamation was effected deserves attention, because from an eye-witness of the present day we have a narrative which might serve to describe the origin of almost all the reclaimed land in Ireland. With but little change, it would be the history of almost all the arable land of the country

also. In the mountain districts taken from the tenantry, plots were marked out where peasants were invited to settle. One might suppose that humanity had deteriorated since the days of King James; for in his plantation scheme it was provided that English and Scottish undertakers should not pay rent for two years, and even the Irish natives who were to be admitted to have estates in fee-farm were not to pay any rent the first year. The rent for their allotments of sixty acres of the ordinary soil averaged 3s. 6d. an acre. But in fact the landlord's plantation scheme in the present is what the King's scheme would have been theoretically if it had been left to the landlords to draw up, and what it was practically in many districts when it was left to them to execute. The plots on the Donegal mountains were of from four to five acres each. "I inspected several of these plots, on the property of these landlords," says Mr. Holland; "they were square patches of bog, soft and spongy, where the black mould seemed floating in pools of ink. They are colonized in this fashion. A tenant has a strong-limbed son who marries; the married son is not allowed to stay with his father, the landlord will not stand that. He cannot emigrate, for he has no money. What can he do? He takes one of these bog lots from the landlord at from 3s. to 5s. an acre, or even higher. The official valuation is about twopence an acre. He pays one pound 'entrance money.' He thatches up a hut (shed) of peat turf, without chimney or door; and in this hideous place he and his miserable young wife go to live. By something like a miracle they contrive to subsist on sea-weed, turnips, any refuse that can be eaten, and contrive to pay the landlord his pound or 25s. of rent besides. Stone is plentiful enough in this howling wilderness, and the peasant labours at building a cabin of dry-stone masonry beside the turf hut. When this is done he procures a rickety deal table, a stool, an iron pot, and then he settles down in his new dwelling. And of course as he toils on—he and his help-mate—labouring with assiduous industry to raise food from this horrid patch of morass, the benevolent landlord gradually raises the rent. I witnessed this extraordinary system in the different stages I have described. Here the farm was marked out but untenanted; there the 'scraw'-hut erected, and inhabited, with the peasant delving in the squashy bog; and close by the stone cabin built, with the tenant, his wife, and a couple of almost naked children crouching by the fire" (it was December).



The car-driver who drove Mr. Holland through the district had been a tenant on one of these patches or "new cuts," but flung it up on the landlord raising the rent. He was a Protestant. "I'd rather do something to get myself transported at once, than settle down here," he remarked; "I don't know how the creatures stand it. I wouldn't live there if they paid me for it. There they are digging in those bog-holes, and the moment that the cabin is built and the land cleared, they'll have the landlord down on them immediately to raise the rent." He could speak out, for he was independent. Now this is an example which shows how the rentals of many estates have been increased. The system of Maurice Fitzthomas of Desmond may have been more rapid, but was not more sure. It was stated, before a Committee of the House of Commons, of which Mr. Maguire was chairman, that the rental of an estate in Monaghan, in about three or four generations, rose from £260 to £54,800 a year. The agent gave evidence that no money was laid out in improvement by the landlord. The tenants had reclaimed it from a wild waste, and, unaided, brought it to its present value.

Sir John Davis complained that the "Irish exactions" (probably as he saw them practised by the colonial lords), left the lord "an absolute tyrant, and the tenant a very slave:" "cuttings," and "sittings," and "spendings," were imposed on the latter at the pleasure of the former. Charges almost identical, directed against the landlords of certain districts of Donegal, are to be found in Mr. Holland's book. Landlords and agents, he says, were magistrates; and upon them there was no check of public opinion which they regarded. "The landlord or the agent is constantly prosecutor, judge, and executioner in his own case." Fines were inflicted, and cattle seized and sold; but the tenant had no means of testing the legality of the judgments, even if, with his precarious tenure, he dared to desire it. Such a state of things is the parent of disaffection to Imperial rule. "Of British law or justice the peasantry know nothing. British rule is exemplified to them by the landlord-judge, absolute in his frown, by the stern agent, by the cunning bullying bailiff, and by the armed policeman, whose bayonet flashes before the cabin door."

With all these uncertain rents and exactions, cuttings and spendings are also to be found. "Duty-days," "duty-work," "duty-fowl," and "duty-money," may be mysterious words in England and Scotland; but in

the remote parts of Ireland they are not unknown. John M'Evoy, author of the Statistical Survey of Tyrone drawn up for the Dublin Society in 1802, thus wrote of one of several objectionable clauses which he found in the leases granted to those favoured tenants who obtain leases at all:—"There is one clause in particular which, in my opinion, should be scouted altogether, at least from the generality of leases. This is the clause which binds the tenant to supply duty-men and horses, and other dues too shameful to mention. Men and horses are always exacted at busy seasons, which must act against the tenant. The loss of a few men or horses in a dormant season might not be much felt; but this is not the object of the landlord, because cutting and drawing home turf, corn, etc., are the works principally laid out to be performed by duty. In some cases the tenants are bound to perform duty upon a different footing from actual day's-work; the landlord must have his works performed by the tenantry in common, according to the rent they pay. The sooner this feudal relic is got rid of, the better." Such exactions have generally become obsolete in Tyrone during the lifetime of the present generation; but in the neighbouring county of Donegal they are more tenacious of existence. They were flourishing in 1858 on some properties; and even recent purchasers did not let them fall into desuetude. On the property of the retired clergyman who confiscated the mountain commons, and largely increased ("quadrupled") the rents on the farms thus diminished, duty-work was enforced besides. "The peasants come at certain times—they say they dare not refuse to come—and dig, and plough, and sow the landlord's own farm, that is to say, the (arable) land he took from them when he purchased the property, and they never receive a shilling of pay." Nor was this confined to him. Even on the property of a neighbouring landlord, not a recent purchaser, and reputedly one of the wealthiest of Irish landlords, the same system was in action. "His tenants complain that not only have they to give their landlord the 'duty-days,' but they are forced to draw turf, not for himself alone, but for his agriculturist, his steward, his gamekeeper, and any other insolent menial that chooses to bully them in the name of the all-powerful landlord." The retired clergyman built a limekiln; and no tenant afterwards could burn lime in his own kiln with impunity. The fee for burning it in the landlord's kiln was half-a-crown; and that fee was exacted all the same if the tenant burned it in his



own more convenient but doubtless ruder kiln. Evictions presented much the same character there as elsewhere. During the life of a late proprietor, Mr. Lavens, a Presbyterian, built the first slated house in the small town of Milford. The landlord praised and encouraged him. Other tenants thereupon followed their neighbour's example, and soon converted the thatched village into a pretty little town. The son of Mr. Lavens, imitating his father, built a house at a cost of £787, in the neighbouring town of Ramelton. When he had completed it, the proprietor evicted him, and refused him a shilling of compensation. His dwelling-house was converted into a police-barrack.

Lessons like this are numerous everywhere in Ireland; and their influence on the people may be learned in the faithful verse of Mr. Allingham. This writer, a Protestant, is a native of Ballyshannon in Donegal, and in his poem, *Lawrence Bloomfield in Ireland*, he paints, with great accuracy, the different types of landlords and tenants, and the social condition of his native county. Take the case of Doran, a tenant. His father, in combat with a barren soil, succeeds after a long struggle in making it comparatively productive. At first his three sons aid him; then one emigrates, another dies of hardship, and the eldest, Jack, labours on with his father, acts as a drover of cattle for others, goes to Scotland and England to mow and reap, and, returning, adds his gains to the farm. No lease can be obtained; the father dies, and the son becomes tenant instead. He is soon taught the lesson—

" 'Tis wise to show a miserable face.  
A decent hat, a wife's good shawl or gown,  
For higher rent may mark the farmer down.  
Beside your window shun to plant a rose,  
Lest it should draw the prowling bailiff's  
nose;  
Nor deal in whitewash, lest the cottage lie  
A target for the bullet of his eye.  
Rude be your fence and field—if trig and  
trim  
A cottier shows them, all the worse for him.  
To scrape, beyond expenses, if he can,  
A silent, stealthy penny is the plan  
Of him who dares it—a suspected man!  
With tedious, endless, heavy-laden toil,  
Judged to have thieved a pittance from the  
soil."

Jack's son, an active, energetic young peasant, in whose education he takes pride, wishes, in the ardour of his youth, to give evidence of progress, and works to make their cabin comfortable. The conflict between the instincts of an enterprising na-

ture and the influence of lessons taught by sad experience is thus told. The son was

"On house and field improvement bravely  
bent,  
'My boy,' said Jack, 'you'll only rise the rent,  
Or get us hunted from too good a place.'  
And backed his fears from many a well-known  
case.  
He praised their added room, but shook his  
head;  
The small new dairy filled his soul with  
dread;  
To cut a drain might dig their own pit-fall;  
'Twere ostentation to rebuild a wall;  
And did they further dare to stub the whins,  
The Great Folk soon would visit all their sins.  
'We'll buy.'—'But they won't sell.' 'More  
rent we'll pay.'  
'They'll charge three prices or snap all away.'  
What could Neal do?—his parents getting  
old  
Detained him; but his early hopes were cold.  
Improve they must not; if permitted still  
To merely stay, 'tis at the Agent's will.  
They long have struggled, with some poor  
success;  
But well they know, should harder fortune  
press,  
Their slow prosperity is thin and poor,  
And may not even petty rubs endure."

The serf-tenants are "hemmed from the former space of moor and turf;" all privilege and profit from the land is for the "Great Folk," as they are called; and there is no authority that inspires more awe than theirs.

"Mark the great evil of a low estate;  
Not Poverty, but Slavery—one man's fate,  
Too much at mercy of another's will:  
Doran has prospered, but is trembling still.  
Our Agent's lightest word his heart can shake.  
The bailiff's bushy eyebrow bids him quake."

Poverty, however, as well as slavery, they have had in Donegal. The tenantry on the estates, where they had been treated in the manner we have described, soon became the recipients of relief from the humane of the neighbouring districts and counties. In the condition to which they were reduced, a bad harvest was ruin to them. A Protestant journal, commenting on the statement of the condition of the district laid before the Grand Jury, thus pictured it: "Hundreds of families in which there may be half-a-dozen grown females have only one dress among them" (i.e., for each family) "in which any of them can appear in public, and mothers and daughters alternately borrow this common wardrobe when they go out of doors. About 300 families have neither bed nor bed-clothes, but are forced to lie upon the cold damp earth in the rags worn by them



during the day; and there are about 500 families without a second bed—fathers, mothers, sons, and daughters, being all huddled together; and yet these people are rack-rented to the highest farthing."

That is only part of the picture; but the description is one which cannot be confined to Donegal. The tenant is regarded by many landlords, especially of the recent purchaser class, as a rent-maker simply. Barely enough to keep him in existence is allowed him. "You might as well cut off my head as treat me in this way," said a tenant, complaining that his rent had reached starvation-point. "I won't cut off your head, my boy, but I'll shave you as close as possible," is said to have been the landlord's reply. It is impossible for the tenantry on such estates to be provident, or lay by for a rainy season. Then they must live on the charity of neighbours; and the landlord feels no compunction at still requiring rent that must come from alms. Mr. Allingham's remedy is the establishment of a peasant-proprietary:—

"Waste and indebted lands  
Being wisely brought into the nation's hands,  
You might thereon create a novel class  
Of Irishmen, to leaven all the mass  
With hope, and industry, and loyalty,  
(My favourite crotchet—well, so let it be)  
Small Owners, namely—north, south, east, and  
west,  
I'd plant them, and they'd surely do their  
best,  
With great and permanent results, if slow."

That, indeed, would be a natural development of the Ulster custom of tenant-right. Under it the tenant can sell his farm to another, or can buy one from another, either privately or at public auction. The landlord does not necessarily receive notice, and occasionally is unaware of the change until the new tenant comes to pay the rent. Usually, however, he is made acquainted with the intended sale, and usually also claims to veto a new purchaser if the one proposed is notoriously unfit. Arrears of rent are a first-charge on the sale-money. Generally the rent is fixed, or only fluctuates with remarkable fluctuations of the market; it would not do for the landlord to have the right of destroying the "custom" by imposing a rack-rent. Neither can he evict, except for non-payment of rent; and even then the tenant can put up his land for sale to the highest bidder, the landlord getting the arrears out of the money obtained for it. Normally, therefore, there is fixity of tenure and of rent under the Ulster custom; but there have been serious breaches made in it through

the rapacity of recent purchasers. The fate that fell on the natives of the west of Donegal aroused less indignation, because they were almost outside the custom, from situation and religion. But since like deeds have begun in Down there is sullen wrath amongst the Presbyterian and Episcopalian cultivators. They made their demands for a legal recognition of their ancient custom known pacifically in 1852; and if they do not speak again, it is only because they are hopeless of redress, and choose to add to the strength of England's enemies in America rather than to pine in Ireland.

From Donegal in the extreme north to Kerry in the extreme south we are invited to pass by many specimens of land literature. In the *Realities of Irish Life*, Mr. Steuart Trench relates his narrative of improvement from his own point of view. His book is known to the British public, for whom, indeed, it appears to have been written. But the Irish have also in print their own version of the matter for home use, not fully comprehending how much they lose by not having their case put before the world as fully as that of the other side. There is not so much of romance in the Irish version as in Mr. Trench's: it is not melodramatic in form or sensational in language. Set forth in calm but pointed phraseology, the facts alleged to have been discovered in the course of an assiduous examination are allowed to produce their own effect. The clear and concise narrative of the examination conducted by Mr. Thomas Crosbie is entitled *The Lansdowne Estates*, and was published at Cork in 1858. This affords the means of hearing both sides. The landlord was an absentee, and Mr. Trench was the active agent of the property. The condition of the tenantry on the Glenarough or Kenmare estate was first investigated. The irresponsible absolutism of the agent at once struck the inquirer's mind. A tenant's cow had strayed into a wood. The tenant was summoned to "the office" to pay ten shillings fine. Not having gone, he the next week received a mandate directing him to pay one pound fine. He remained at his business, supposing probably that the worst was done, and that he could pay the money on a convenient opportunity. The receipt finally given him tell its own tale:—"Received from —, being a fine for malicious and wilful trespass of grass, three pounds eight shillings and ninepence. May 19, 1857. Also received eighteen shillings and ninepence, law costs." The tenant in this case was, no doubt, blameable, but that does not affect the propriety of an agent (who was also



a Justice of the Peace) being free to run up fines and costs to such an extent in a cause in which he was himself a party. This, it appears, was only a sample of several documents of the same nature. Tenants were forbidden to build houses for their labourers; "the consequence is that men and women servants, no matter how great the number, must live under one roof. Did this take place in any other country, the injury to morality would be dreadful, and even here grave consequences have arisen, that cannot be too much deplored." The rules of the estate, of which this is one, were stringently carried out. Thus a marriage took place between the children of tenants, and the bridegroom and bride came to live at the house of the former's father. A mandate was sent to this tenant when the fact became known, directing him to turn them out. The young married pair sought shelter in the bride's father's home; the mandate followed them. They had to go to America, where the young man died. But this was not all. "The two fathers-in-law were not merely warned, they were punished for harbouring their son and daughter, by a fine of a gale of rent." It was a rule of the estate that there should be no hospitality, "that no stranger is to be lodged or harboured in any house upon the estate, lest he become sick or idle, or in some way chargeable upon the poor-rates of the town-land. I have the names of several tenants who were warned and punished in a similar way for giving lodgings to a brother-in-law, a daughter, a stranger," etc. No weakness for the ties of blood, or feelings of affection, or kindness to others, was to be tolerated. Hospitality was barred out. Marriages could not take place without permission from the agent. This was another rule of the estate. "A poor widow whose cabin I entered had the temerity to get her daughter married without the necessary permission from 'the office.' An ejectment notice was the immediate consequence, withdrawn only on the payment of three gales of rent, raised by a sacrifice of the little produce at her disposal." The *Times* Commissioner was charged by an Irish landlord with slander, when he stated that in a midland county an ecclesiastical dispensation for a clandestine marriage was given because of the ban of "the office." Apparently some landlords know little how the estates of their neighbours are managed.

A number of cases similar to that quoted, and of a yet more serious character, are given in this Cork publication. Take the following:—"An old man, Peter Shea,

of Ardea, lived to the age of eighty-eight years as a tenant on the estate. He was one of those persons whom philosophers would call benefactors to mankind, for he made many a blade of grass grow where none ever grew before. In his young days he entered upon a barren waste, built a house with two out-houses, subsoiled a great part of the land, erected a thousand perches of double fence, and made such other improvements as his skill enabled him on that patch of mountain. During his lifetime he did well, but he lived too long. For at the advanced age I have mentioned he violated the matrimonial regulations by allowing his son to marry a widow possessed of some means. The obnoxious couple were satisfied to emigrate to America, and did in fact go, like the rest of the expatriated, at the expense of the estate. But the poor old man of eighty-eight, with his wife, eighty years of age, was ejected from his little holding." Another case of a peculiar nature follows. A tenant, Timothy Sullivan, of Derrynabrack, occasionally gave lodging to his sister-in-law, whilst her husband was seeking for work. He was afraid to lodge both or either; "but the poor woman was in low fever, and approaching her confinement. Even under such circumstances his terror was so great that he removed her to a temporary shed on Jeremiah Sullivan's land, where she gave birth to a child. She remained there for some time. When 'the officer' heard of it, Jeremiah Sullivan was sent for and compelled to pay a gale of rent (as fine), and to throw down the shed. Thus driven out, and with every tenant on the estate afraid to afford her refuge, the miserable woman went about two miles up the mountain, and, sick as she was, and so situated, took shelter in a dry cavern, in which she lived for several days. But her presence even there was a crime, and a mulct of another gale of rent was levied off Jeremiah Sullivan. Thus, within three weeks he was compelled to pay two gales of £3, 2s. 6d. each. It was declared also that the mountain being the joint property of Jeremiah Sullivan, Timothy Sullivan, and Thady Sullivan, Timothy Sullivan was a participator in the crime, and should be fined a gale of rent. The third, it appears, escaped." Such a case as this would appear utterly improbable were it not that an instance came before the law courts, in which a servile adherence to the rule of the estate resulted in manslaughter. S. G. O. narrated the case in the *Times*, at the period of its occurrence, in 1851. Abridged, it runs thus:—"An order had gone forth on the



estate (a common order in Ireland) that no tenant is to admit any lodger into his house. This was a general order. It appears, however, that sometimes special orders are given; and one was promulgated that Denis Shea should not be harboured. This boy had no father living. He had lived with a grandmother, who had been turned out of her holding for harbouring him. He had stolen a shilling, a hen, done such things as a neglected twelve-year-old famishing child will do. One night he came to his aunt Donoghue, who lodged with Casey. The latter told the aunt and uncle not to allow him into the house, as the agent's drivers had given orders about him. The aunt beat him away with a pitchfork, the uncle tied his hands with cord behind his back. The poor child crawls to the door of a neighbour, and tries to get in. The uncle is called to take him away, and he does so. He yet returns with hands still tied behind, having been severely beaten. The child seeks refuge in other cabins; but all were forbidden to shelter him. He is brought back by some neighbours in the night, who try to force the sinking child in upon his relation. There is a struggle at the door. The child was heard asking some one to put him upright. In the morning there is blood upon the threshold. The child is stiff dead—a corpse, with its arms tied; around it every mark of a last fearful struggle for shelter—food—the common rights of humanity. The rule of the estate was pleaded on behalf of the Donoghues; and the judge in sentencing them characterized it in severe terms. But seven years after, it is found in existence still; and at the present moment it possibly yet stands between the Irish peasant and the promptings of his higher nature. It is unnecessary to do more than indicate the usual complaints of rent being raised on the tenant who made improvements in land or house. The rule against labourers' houses told against progress also.

On the western estate, that of Cahirciveen, there was some difference in the rules. If a son or daughter married, the father was obliged to retire with an allowance of "a cow's grass" or grazing for his support. "Only the newly married person will be left on the land, or any portion of it, even though the farm should contain 100 acres, or even though there should be two farms. This arbitrary regulation operates injuriously in point of morality, and keeps the land uncultivated. The people have to go to Nedeon, a distance of some forty or fifty miles, to get leave to marry." So wrote the parish clergymen; and Mr. Crosbie

gives corroborative instances. "Uncertain rents," which Sir John Davis denounced, were never better exemplified than here. Tenants would be under the impression that they held their farms at a stipulated rent, the same as they had been paying, and would prepare for the next payment under that belief. But that would turn out to be a mistake. Notice of an increase of rent would be given a few days previous to rent-day, and the tenants informed that they were to pay this increased rent, not merely for the time to come, but for the time elapsed since last pay-day. Fines were always inflicted for unpunctuality; yet the exact increase was not always known beforehand. "The notice was exceedingly simple." The local "driver" told such of the tenants as he saw that they had better bring a good deal of money, as he thought it likely there would be a rise in the rent. Those who heard the intimation told their neighbours; and accordingly—knowing the penalties—most of them were prepared. Some from a remote district had not a sufficient amount with them. They were obliged to return with the balance next day, although they had a journey of sixteen miles to make between their houses and the office. The sea-weed and sand of the strand are used for manure. The former agent allowed the tenants to take them at a valuation; under Mr. Trench they were given to the highest bidder. Other proprietors, whose estates were bounded by longer lines of strand, left it free to their tenantry.

On the Drummond estates certain circumstances occurred in connection with the granting of leases, which teach us why leases are not in every instance very welcome. The narration of one case will suffice to show the nature of the stumbling-block: "My farm," said a tenant, "is between fourteen and fifteen acres, and my rent is £14 a year. I gave Mr. Quill, the agent, three pounds to pay for my lease, and he gave me back two shillings. I then went to Mrs. Quill, his wife, and I gave her three pounds for pin-money. She told me that was not enough; that I should give two pounds more. The six pounds I had borrowed, so I had to sell my cow to raise the other two pounds, and I gave it to the lady." Thus a sum equivalent to a half-year's rent went in costs and pin-money. There was considerable stir made on this occasion, and the "pin-money" was returned by the agent, who declared himself unaware of its exaction. However, it was asserted by his friends that it was a general custom throughout the country for the agent's wife to receive a present of pin-money on the



tenant's obtaining a lease. Both Mr. Trench and Mr. Quill were magistrates. During the past few weeks a Wexford newspaper, *The People*, has published a series of letters dealing with the management of Lord Ely's Wexford estate, and adducing a number of cases illustrative of the irresponsible power of the agent, the insecurity of the tenure, and the uncertainty of the rents.

Thus it appears that the complaints in every province are essentially identical, although the details of the cases present characteristic differences. Opinions may vary as to points of policy suggested by the popular writers, and as to the gravity or bearing of particular statements; but it is clear that a thorough understanding of the Irish question cannot be obtained without a knowledge of the existence of this literature, and a careful study of it. To co-operate with others perfectly, it is necessary to enter into their minds, recognise their feelings, and perceive the direction of their thoughts. The case of "improving" landlords has been so frequently and so favourably put forward, that many have been disposed to accept it as an exact and complete statement, and to wonder that such labours have not succeeded in pacifying Ireland. The work of the really good landlords is less heard of. Enjoying popularity at home, they have not needed to seek sympathy elsewhere.


#### ART. VIII.—CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.




1. *Chrestomatie Egyptienne*. Par M. le Vicomte de Rougé. Abrégé grammatical. Deuxième fascicule. (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale.)
2. *Traduction comparée des Hymnes au Soleil composant le XV<sup>e</sup> chapitre du Rituel Funéraire Egyptien*. Par Eugène Lefébure. (Paris: Franck.)
3. *Hymne au Nil publié et traduit d'après les Deux Textes du Musée Britannique*. Par G. Maspero. (Paris: Franck.)
4. *Assyrian Dictionary; intended to further the Study of the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Assyria and Babylonia*. By Edwin Norris. Part I. (London: Williams and Norgate.)
5. *The Origin and History of Irish Names of Places*. By P. W. Joyce, A.M., M.R.I.A. (Dublin: M'Glashan and Gill.)
6. *Sokrates. Ein Versuch über ihn nach den Quellen*. Von Dr. E. Alberti. (Göttingen: Dieterich.)
7. *Le Poème de Lucrèce: Morale, Religion, Science*. Par G. Martha. (Paris: Hachette.)
8. *Saint Paul*. Par Ernest Renan, Membre de l'Institut. (Paris: Michel Levy frères.)
9. *Geschichte Roms*. Von Carl Pöter. Vol. III. Part 2. (Halle: Waisenhauss.)
10. *Liber Diurnus ou Recueil des Formules usitées par la Chancellerie Pontificale du V<sup>e</sup> au XI<sup>e</sup> Siècle, publiées d'après le Manuscrit des Archives du Vatican avec les Notes et Dissertations du P. Garnier et le Commentaire inédit de Baluze*. Par Eugène de Rozière, Inspecteur-Général des Archives. (Paris: Durand et Pedone-Lauriel.)
11. *Die Politik der Päpste von Gregor I. bis Gregor VII.* Dargestellt von Rudolf Barmann. (Elberfeld: Friderichs.)
12. *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland*. Edited by A. W. Haddan and W. Stubbs. (Oxford: Clarendon Press.)
13. *Officium et Miracula Sancti Willigii*. Nach einer Handschrift des XII. Jahrhunderts herausgegeben von W. Guerrier, Prof. der Geschichte an der Universität Moskau. (Moscow: Deubner.)
14. *Anno II. der Heilige, Erzbischof von Köln, 1056-1075*. Von Dr. Theodor Lindner, Dozent der Geschichte an der Universität zu Breslau. (Leipzig: Duncker und Humblot.)
15. *Bibliotheca Rerum Germanicarum*. Editio Philippus Jaffé. Tomus Quintus, Monumenta Bambergensia. (Berlin: Weidmann.)
16. *Matthæi Parisiensis Historia Anglorum*. Vols. I. II. III. Edited by Sir F. Madden. (London: Longman and Co.)
17. *Annales Monastici*. Vols. IV. V. Edited by H. R. Luard, M.A. (London: Longman and Co.)
18. *The History of the Life and Times of Edward III.* By William Longman. (London: Longmans and Co.)
19. *Chronica Monasterii de Melis*. Vol. III. Edited by E. A. Bond. (London: Longman and Co.)
20. *Etude sur les rapports de l'Amérique et de l'ancien continent avant Christophe Colomb*. Par Paul Gaffarel. (Paris: Thorin.)
21. *Les Dépêches de Giovanni Michiel, Ambassadeur de Venise en Angleterre, pendant les années de 1554 à 1557. Déchiffrées et publiées, d'après les documents conservés aux Archives Nationales de Venise*. Par Paul Friedmann. (Venise: Imprimerie du Commerce.)
22. *The Letters and Life of Francis Bacon*. By James Spedding. Vols. III. and IV. (London: Longman and Co.)
23. *Les Mariages Espagnols, 1602-1615*. Par F. P. Perrens. (Paris: Didier.)
24. *The Life of Fra Paolo Sarpi*. By Arabel- la Georgina Campbell. From Original MSS. (London: Molini and Green.)
25. *Zur Deutschen Geschichte vom Religions- frieden bis zum dreissigjährigen Krieg*. Von L. von Ranke. (Leipzig: Duncker und Humblot.)
26. *Prince Charles and the Spanish Marriage, 1617-1623: a Chapter of English History*. By Samuel Rawson Gardiner. (London: Hurst and Blackett.)
27. *Adrian van Ostade. Sein Leben und seine Kunst*. Von Theodor Gaedertz. (Lübeck: Rohden.)


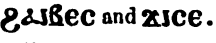








28. *Memoirs and Correspondence of Bishop Atterbury*. By Folkestone Williams. (London: Allen.)
29. *Life and Newly Discovered Writings of Daniel De Foe*. By William Lee. (London: Hotten.)
30. *Notes on Venetian Ceramics*. By William Richard Drake, F.S.A. (London: Murray.)
31. *La France sous Louis xv*. Par M. Alphonse Jobez. Tome v. 1757 à 1763. (Paris: Didier.)
32. *Geschichte des Bairischen Erbfolgekrieges*. Von E. Reimann. (Leipzig: Duncker und Humblot.)
33. *Joseph II. und Katharina von Russland—Ihr Briefwechsel*. Herausgegeben von A. von Arneth. (Vienna: Braumüller.)
34. *Geschichte des Preussischen Staates und Volkes unter den Aohenzollern'schhen Fürsten*. Von E. Von Oesel. I. II. (Leipzig: Duncker und Humblot.)
35. *Le Chevalier de Sapinaud et les Chefs Vendéens du Centre*. Par le Comte de la Bouteillerie. (Paris: Académie des Bibliophiles.)
36. *Thugut, Clerfayt, und Wurmser*. Von Dr. A. von Vivenot. (Vienna: Braumüller.)
37. *Die Politik der Deutschen Mächte im Revolutionskriege*. Von K. Häffer. (Münster: Aschendorff.)
38. *Der Rastatter Gesandtenmord*. Von Karl Mendelssohn-Bartholdy. (Heidelberg: Bassermann.)
39. *Histoire des deux Concordats*. Par Augustin Theiner. (Bar-le-duc: Guérin.)
40. *Bonaparte, le Concordat de 1801, et le Cardinal Consalvi*. Par J. Crétineau-Joly. (Paris: Plon.)
41. *The Life and Administration of Robert Banks, second Earl of Liverpool*. By Charles Duke Yonge. (London: Macmillan.)
42. *Wellington*. Ein Versuch von Max Büdinger. (Leipzig: Teubner.)
43. *Blätter aus der Preussischen Geschichte*. Von K. A. Varnhagen von Ense. (Leipzig: Brockhaus.)
44. *Recollections of a Busy Life*. By Horace Greeley. (New York: Ford.)
45. *Geschichte Oesterreichs vom Ausgange des Wiener October-Aufstandes, 1848*. Von G. von S——n. (Prague: Tempsky.)
46. *The Life of Rossini*. By H. Sutherland Edwards. (London: Hurst and Blackett.)
47. *Democracy in the United States*. By Ramsom H. Gillett. (New York: Appleton.)
48. *Die innern Kämpfe der Nordamerikanischen Union bis zur Präsidentenwahl von 1868*. Von Heinrich Blankenburg. (Leipzig: Brockhaus.)
49. *Die zwei Wege in Deutschland*. Von H. Ewald. (Stuttgart: Gröninger.)
50. *Eine Ferienreise nach Spanien und Portugal*. Von W. Wattenbach. (Berlin: Hertz.)
51. *Les Pays Bas. Impressions de Voyage et d'Art*. Par Émile Montégut. (Paris: Bailière.)
52. *Philosophie de l'art dans les Pays Bas*. Par H. Tayne. (Paris: Germer Baillière.)
53. *Hiatus: The Void in Modern Education, its Cause and Antidote*. By Outis. (London: Macmillan.)
54. *Italian Sculptors: being a History of Sculpture in Northern, Southern, and Eastern Italy*. By Charles C. Perkins. With Etchings by the Author, and Engravings on Wood from Original Drawings and Photographs. (London: Longman and Co.)
55. *Materials for a History of Oil-Painting*. By Sir C. L. Eastlake, P.R.A. Second volume. (London: Longman and Co.)
56. *A History of Pottery and Porcelain, Mediæval and Modern*. By Joseph Marryat. Third edition, revised and augmented. (London: Murray.)
57. *Miscellaneous Poems*. By the Rev. J. Keble, M.A. (Oxford: Parker.)
58. *Poems and Romances*. By George Augustus Simcox. (London: Strahan.)
59. *Idylls and Epigrams*. Chiefly from the Greek Anthology. By Richard Garnett. (London: Macmillan.)
60. *Homer's Iliad in English Rhymed Verse*. By Charles Merivale, B.D., D.O.L. (London: Strahan.)
61. *The Poems of Ludwig Uhland translated into English Verse, with a Short Biographical Memoir of the Poet*. By William Collett Sandars. (London: Ridgway.)
62. *A Treatise on Counterpoint, Canon, and Fugue, based upon that of Cherubini*. By the Rev. Sir F. A. Gore Ouseley, Bart., Mus. Doc., Professor of Music in the University of Oxford. (Oxford: Clarendon Press.)
63. *Nouvelles Etudes de Littérature et de Morale*. Par M. Albert de Broglie, de l'Académie Française. (Paris: Didier.)
64. *Select Writings, Political, Scientific, Typographical, and Miscellaneous, of the late Charles Maclaren, F.R.S.E.* With a Memoir and Photograph. Edited by Robert Cox, F.S.A. Scot., and James Nicol, F.R.S.E., F.G.S. (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas.)
65. *Essays, Philosophical and Theological*. By James Martineau. Vol. II. (London: Trübner.)
66. *Immortality*. Four Sermons preached before the University of Cambridge, being the Hulsean Lectures for 1868. By J. J. Stewart Perowne, B.D. (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell, and Co.)
67. *De l'Impôt sur les Valeurs mobilières*. Par L. Foubert. (Paris: Guillaumin.)
68. *Statistique de l'Enseignement supérieur*. (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale.)
69. *Die Bronzen und Kupferlegirungen der alten und ältesten Völker, mit Rücksichtnahme auf jene der Neuzeit*. Von Ernst Freiherrn von Bibra. (Erlangen: Enke.)
70. *Vesuvius*. By John Phillips, M.A. (Oxford: Clarendon Press.)
71. *How Crops Grow; A Treatise on the Chemical Composition, Structure, and Life of the Plant, for Agricultural Students*. By Samuel W. Johnson, M.A. Revised, with numerous Additions, and adapted for English Use. By A. H. Church, M.A., and Wm. T. Thiselton Dyer, B.A. (London: Macmillan.)

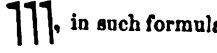



1. The second part of M. de Rougé's *Chrestomathie Egyptienne* treats of the substantive, the adjective, and the pronoun, and ends with a valuable summary of the elements of metrology and the notation of time. In completeness and accuracy, in severity of method and soberness of speculation, M. de Rougé is surpassed by no philologist. And, considering the very recent growth of a branch of philology cultivated by men differing in so many respects as the Egyptologists of France, England, Germany, and other countries, the slow and often tentative process by which alone true results can be obtained, and the fresh and important discoveries which are made from time to time, it is in the highest degree satisfactory to think that in the present book there is probably not a single grammatical form described about which scholars can be said to differ practically. There may be, as among classical scholars, a speculative difference of opinion with regard to the origin and history of this or that particular form; but when the form is found in a text there are not two ways of translating it. A different theory, for instance, is perhaps preferable to that of M. de Rougé about the forms ; but both theories lead to exactly the same result when an Egyptian text has to be rendered into a modern language.

One of the principal points upon which M. de Rougé's view is open to objection concerns the feminine termination . His doubts as to the phonetic nature of this ending seem hardly necessary. The loss of the ending in Ooptic appears to be the result of phonetic decay; and there are traces of both the masculine and feminine  in the final C, to which M. de Rougé gives another origin. 

*chaibet*,  *t'et*, may be recognised under  and .

The pronominal form , *peten*, seems to be not only plural but feminine. The only known instance which appears to oppose this view is  (in the inscription of Una), which M. de Rougé translates *ces soldats*. This translation is no doubt sufficient for the sense of the passage; but the word for a body of soldiers may have been feminine. Collective nouns in Egyptian, as in Hebrew, are feminine. In Hebrew the idea of collectives is expressed by the feminine ending. From , *a fish*, we have , *placium genus*. It would appear that in the oldest Egyptian inscriptions  is constantly used in the sense

of , in such formulas as . In like manner, a dis-


tinction may be made, perhaps, between the





of the Pianchi inscription and the





of the Una inscription: the former of





these groups representing an individual and the latter a collection of individuals. But, whether this view be tenable or not, there is no doubt that collective plurals like .


and even such as , when referring exclusively to male individuals (see *Todt*. 18, 18, are feminine.


M. de Rougé identifies  and , and considers these groups as a plural article or demonstrative pronoun. In *Todt*. 8, 2, the former, and in 22, 2, the latter of these groups agrees with a singular antecedent. See also

*Todt*. 17, 80,  this is the abyss of heaven.

It seems probable that  and  are two completely distinct pronominal forms. They are identical in meaning; but the former is an inseparable affix at the end of a word, whereas the latter is separable, and may come either before or after a verb. M. de Rougé identifies them absolutely. He says that the former "peut remplacer seul un substantif et servir de sujet à un verbe." Are there any examples of this? The examples given by M. de Rougé are only available for the latter.




The ideographic  is surely identical with  in the sense of *countenance*. The analogy of the Hebrew  will most exactly explain the pronominal use of the Egyptian .






The Greek transcriptions of royal names are in general so very unlike the Egyptian spelling that it is quite illusory to appeal to such evidence on a question like the present. There does not seem to be any reason why those who made *Mendes* out of *Ba neb Tattu* should not also have made *Mencheres* out of *Men cheft Râ*, especially if it is remembered that a sound like *cheft* would be sure to lose its last two letters on being Hellenized. As important evidence upon the nature of the group in question, reference may be made to those innumerable monuments on which the royal effigy is surmounted by the explanation .




The identification of this group, in the "base period," with the notion of *name* may have arisen from a confusion between  and the half of a royal ring or cartouche, which was used ideographically for *name*.

As regards the transcription of Egyptian signs or groups, there are but one or two other points upon which M. de Rougé's view is ques-











tionable. Is it quite certain that we must recognise a feminine termination in ? This sign appears in certain cases to have been copied by mistake for the Hieratic ; ,





for instance, instead of . Generally, in Hieratic writing, as in Hieroglyphic transcription from it, the sign , placed beneath a horizontal character which comes either alone or between two tall ones, seems to be used like the Hieroglyphic  merely for the purpose of squaring the group. At all events, if there be such a word as *neteri*, it is masculine as well as feminine: e.g.   *divine essence* (*Denk.* iii. pl. 199).


Is the sign  phonetic in ? Probably not. It appears to be merely ideographic of the sound *ket*. It is very frequently found as a determinative of sound in .




Compare the Coptic *KOT*, *circulus*.

























There can be no doubt that  or , when used as an interrogative, has the same phonetic value as when it appears as a verb. Now as to its value when a verb there is very positive and unmistakable evidence. There is a formula which occurs on a great many tablets of the Old Empire,    ,

where the first group is written indifferently , (Sharpe, *Inscriptions*, i. 86; De Rougé, *Album Photographique*, No. 146), ,

(Sharpe, ii. 95),   (*Ib.* i. 78), or   (*Ib.* ii. 86). *Mes* or *Mds* is therefore

certainly the sound of the interrogative in question. It has elsewhere been pointed out that the verb  has the sense of the Coptic

  , *potiri*, *superare*. This is its meaning in the very first chapter of the *Book of the*


*Dead*, line 3,                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              









often be a difficulty as to the proper place of a word in the Dictionary. This difficulty Mr. Norris has well met, by entering characters under their earliest initials, irrespective of their sound in the different words. Thus all words

commencing with  are entered under DN, although the sound may be either *dan*, *kal*, *idlu*, *lab*, *rib*, *gurus*, or *agru*. In arrangement, Mr. Norris has adopted the order of the Hebrew alphabet, which is the most natural for the purpose, since the Assyrian language is Semitic. The language of the inscriptions was essentially the same through the whole valley of the Euphrates; but there were slight differences between the Assyrian and Babylonian dialects, one of which was in the use of mimination, which was very common in Babylonian, but is found very seldom in Assyrian.


The presence in Semitic inscriptions of a large number of Accadian words is another difficulty; for in many cases both pronunciation and meaning are unknown. These Accadian words belong to the language which was spoken in the valley of the Euphrates before the Semitic race conquered the country. The Accad was a dead language in the time of the great Assyrian empire; but a large part of the literature of the country, together with the syllabary and most of the mythology, was borrowed from it. The Assyrians have left hundreds of bilingual inscriptions which were for the purpose of teaching the Accad to their own people; and these serve to give us an insight into this older language. The meanings of many Accadian words are well known; but the pronunciation is at present uncertain, because the rules of the grammar have not been made out. The Accad is considered to be a Turanian language; and Mr. Norris notices the Turanian affinities of some of the words.





Excellent as the present work is, there are several points in which it requires correction: this could hardly fail to be the case in the present condition of the study. The Syllabary which Mr. Norris has placed at the beginning of the book is very imperfect. Although all the more common characters are present, there are over one hundred signs omitted; and, as a general rule, not more than half the phonetic values are given. This fault extends through the volume, the author appearing not to recognise several phonetic values of the signs.

, the determinative of beasts of burden, is throughout confounded with .



the syllable *tu* or *tum*; whereas in the inscriptions they are always distinct.


In page 8 we have the word *abub*, which Mr. Norris translates corn, connecting it with the Hebrew אֲבוּב. But the word does not occur on any of the contract tablets in which the sale of corn is mentioned; and the translation does not suit the texts in which the word occurs. The meaning of the word *abub* is the whirlwind; and it is connected with the Arabic هَبِيب, *habīb*. The first example, *abub tam-hai*, is whirlwind of battle; and the third one (which should be divided as stated in the note,


*rakip abubi*, not *kip abubi*) means rider on the whirlwind; the value of , in connection with *abubi*, is not well ascertained.

In p. 30 occurs the word  , which Mr. Norris reads *akin*, the true pronunciation being *amir*; but the meaning given, a messenger, is correct. In p. 36 we have a variant of this word,  : and here the author, while getting the phonetic reading correct, misses the meaning, calling it a master; all the cases should be read messenger or envoy.




The examples given under *ani*, in p. 39, will serve to show the difference between the Accadian and Assyrian languages; and the nature of some of the Accad words can be illustrated by the word *son*, which in Accad is written

 , and consists of two parts—the first





 meaning small or a child, and the second


 a male; thus the word is literally the male child.

In p. 42 the author gives an example under

  , which he says he does not un-

derstand. A comparison of this passage with some of the plates in *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, Vol. II, will give the required explanation; the passage reads *itti asi kalbi sukhi usesib-sunuti*, i. e., with *asi*, dogs and deer I placed them. In p. 58 we have the geographical name *Tel-assurri*, evidently the Telassar of Isaiah xxxvii, v. 12, for its inhabitants are called *Atan*, the Eden of Isaiah. In the word

    Mr. Norris does not recognise the sound *a* for the first character, and thus calls the name *pitan*, instead of *atanu*.

The sound of *a* for  is given in *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, II, 3, No. 562, and quoted in p. 2 of the Dictionary, and again in p. 69. The passage in which the names of Telassar and Eden occur is as follows:—

*Dais Barna nakru*




Trampler on the Barna









*azqu* *asibuti* *Tel-assurri sa*  
extremo rebels, dwelling in Tel-assar, who  
*ina pi nisi* *Mikhranu Atanu*  
in the speech of the people of Mikhran, Eden,  
*inambu zikarsun*;  
their name is called; i. e., whose name, in the speech of the people of Mikhran, is called Eden.














In p. 70 Mr. Norris says that probably the word *Babil* may sometimes mean the country of Babylonia, and not the city. No doubt this is correct; and a good instance of it occurs in the following extract from a hymn to Nebo:—  
*Itti bit-ka bit-Zida bitu ul issannan*  
With thy house bit-Zida, a house unrivalled;  
*itti ali-ka Barsip ailu ul issannan*  
with thy city Borsippa, a city unrivalled;  
*itti ikli-ka Babili iklu ul issannan*  
with thy land Babylonia, a land unrivalled.








The words *Buħar* in p. 81 and *Buħhir* in p. 82 are from the same root, the initial sound being rather *p* than *b*. The meaning of *buhar* is collection or gathering; it is not used for intention, plan, or choice; it is used for an army because the men were collected together. Mr. Norris's second example at the head of p. 82 will show this: *ana aħai ikrubu va puħar-sunu innindu*, to each other they approached, and their gathering (i. e. army) they brought together. The example of *buhru* (which is from the same root) quoted here from Syllabary 398, is given again correctly in p. 188.


In this extract the monogram  is stated to have the value of *uqqi* in Accad and *puħru* in Assyrian. A variation of the Accadian word *uqqi*,   *uqu*, is in p. 294 rightly translated people or army; and Mr. Norris points in p. 288 to its probable connection with *uku*, another Accad form used for men.


The geographical name    given in p. 98 has long been a puzzle to students. A bilingual fragment in the British Museum shows that this name and    are both equivalents of  , the city of Assur, at one time the capital of the country, and now represented by the ruins of Kileh Shergat.



At the head of p. 101 Mr. Norris gives a passage which he confesses his inability to make out the meaning of. The difficulty is in the word    , which is one of the remnants of the old Accad language. Its meaning is the sun-set,   being the equivalent to *erib*, to enter or set. In an astrological tablet giving portents from the appearance of Venus     is used for the rising sun or morning, and    for the setting sun or evening;


thus we have—"When in the fifth month and sixth day Venus in the rising sun (morning) is seen; and again—When in the sixth month and seventh day Venus in the setting sun (evening) is seen," &c.

In p. 144 under the head  a number of forms are given the meanings of which are obscure, but which from their position and use are interesting. These are  with the reading *cus* in the Accad and *damu* in Assyrian,  with the reading *lugud* in Accadian and *sarkat* in Assyrian, and  with the reading *Adama* in Accadian and *Adamatu* in Assyrian. Now  means day, white,

good, &c.; and  means night, black, bad, &c.; the second and third of these monograms therefore, having respectively good and evil signs, the signification is most likely altered accordingly.

In p. 159 we have the word , which Mr. Norris reads *gab*, with the meaning back; but when used as a sign of position it always means front or presence; and Mr. Norris himself translates it presence in his first example. He finds a difficulty because it is followed by






 instead of . The reason of this is that when it means front it is sounded *gar*, and *su* changes into *su* after dentals and sibilants, making *gar-sunu* their front, or in front of them. This monogram never means back,

but is given as distinct from , the monogram for back.

In p. 163 Mr. Norris notices the redundant *sa*, which is so frequent in the Assyrian inscriptions. One other example is in Mr. Layard's *Inscriptions*, p. 73, where Benlader, the father of Rezon, is mentioned,—*bit-at i-sa sa Rezani*, &c., the house of his father of Rezon, &c., i. e., the house of the father of Rezon. Many other examples of this idiom might be quoted.

In p. 169 we have the Babylonian word *ga-gada*. This corresponds with the Assyrian word *gagqadi*, p. 109, meaning head; and in the same manner the Babylonian *gagari*, p. 170, corresponds with the Assyrian *gaggar*, p. 167, meaning earth. Both Babylonian words appear to be mistaken by Mr. Norris, who gives *gagada* the meaning of abundantly, and translates *gagari* as all together. The passage in which the latter occurs is so clear that it ought not to be mistaken; it reads "four thousand cubits of earth," which Mr. Norris has rendered "four thousand cubits all together."

In p. 193 there is a note on the subject of the conjunction *va* (or as Mr. Norris sometimes calls it *ma*). A number of very good instances of the use of *va* are given; and, as most of the passages are to be found in full in other parts of the Dictionary, students have every facility for forming a judgment. *Va* as a conjunction follows verbs; and in the cases mentioned by Mr. Norris it follows pronouns, and in one case a noun. *Va* is often found at the close of genealogies of the Assyrian kings. Besides the instance given by Mr. Norris from Tig. iii. 92, others are found in the following published texts,—*Cuneiform Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 26, line 114; Mr. Layard's *Inscriptions*, p. 43, l. 2, p. 76, l. 9, and p. 83, where there are four instances.

Mr. Norris considers that the  in    , which he has entered in p. 199 is a mistake; but it does not appear so; for the sign has several sounds, and among them the required one, *mil*.

In the case of the passage at the foot of p.



223 which Mr. Norris translates rising sun, the meaning is clearly, sea of the setting sun. There is a variant for this passage in Mr. Layard's *Inscriptions*, p. 88, l. 27, which gives

*tanti sa salmi camei*, sea of the setting sun. Mr. Norris gives this passage on the previous page without recognising that it is the duplicate of the one which follows. is equivalent

in this inscription to *salam*, to set.

is rightly translated wife, in the two cases mentioned by Mr. Norris in p. 238; but this sign meant either husband or wife, and sometimes only relative. In Sir H. Rawlinson's *Inscriptions*, Vol. II, p. 10, lines 2, 4, 9, and 10, it is sometimes translated into Semitic *mut*, husband, and sometimes *assat*, wife.

In p. 319, by accident apparently, Mr. Norris gives at the bottom of the page a curious translation of two passages in the annals of Esarhaddon, which he reads *akkisa ziqqat-su*, I cut off his re-reat, or I destroyed his hiding places. The reading of each passage is *akkisa qagqad-su*, I cut off his head; and the heads of the two kings we are told, were taken to Nineveh. In p. 109 Mr. Norris rightly gives *qagqad*, the head.

In p. 387 the word *zahuru* is probably an error for *zariru*. Its meaning is obscure. The character which Mr. Norris calls unknown,

is the monogram for the word *russu*, beaten. *Zariru* is an epithet of gold, and probably means shining (*Zendzairi*, golden): this passage may mean beaten gold.

Some of the errors we have pointed out appear to arise from the desire, which Mr. Norris expresses in the preface, to find cognate words in other Semitic languages. Cognate words are a valuable help; and the student could scarcely do anything without them. But the cognate words are not always those the sound of which is nearest to the Assyrian. Thus the

Assyrian word for an ass is *imir*; but it is not connected with the Hebrew *imr*, but with *imr*. In the same manner the name of the Tigris mentioned in p. 128 commences with I, while the Hebrew

name, Hiddekel, commences with h or kh. And in the case of the word *zakiki*, which Mr. Norris translates pure or purity, he gives an exactly corresponding Hebrew root in ; but the identification is by no means satisfactory. These difficulties with which Mr. Norris has had to contend have affected the published translations of other students; but almost all well-known words would be translated in the same way by different scholars, and the progress of investigation gradually reduces the number of doubtful ones. In cases where the meanings of words are doubtful, Mr. Norris

brings together in this Dictionary every example he can find of the use of the words in question, and thus affords the means for other students to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion, even in cases which he has not been able to solve himself. In this First Part, he has given over one thousand Assyrian words, and their meanings, with translations of a multitude of passages in which they occur. On the present scale, it will require at least three more Parts, of the same size as this, to finish the work. The defects which are found here and there in the present publication will, no doubt, be corrected as the work advances.

5. THERE is perhaps no country in Europe which has so systematic a topographical nomenclature, or possesses such ample means of investigating the meaning and origin of the names of its places as Ireland; and they have found in Mr. Joyce an explorer who has an enthusiasm for his subject, and many qualities to fit him for the task. An immense mass of materials lay ready to his hand in the manuscript letters and field-name books of the Ordnance Survey, chiefly the work of the late Dr. O'Donovan, in the notes to the *Annals of the Four Masters* of the same scholar, and to the various works published by the Irish Archaeological Society. Mr. Joyce divides his *Origin and History of Irish Names of Places* into four parts. In the first he explains the plan he has followed in ascertaining the meanings of names, the changes which have taken place in process of time, in Anglicizing them, etc.; in the second he discusses the names of historical and legendary origin; in the third, the names commemorating artificial structures; and in the fourth, the names descriptive of physical features, and animal and vegetable life. Nothing could be better than this plan; and, considering the difficulty of connecting the modern corrupted or Anglicized forms of names with the older forms, it has been very well worked out.

The first part, though of necessity the introduction to the others, is in reality the result of the investigations embraced in them. The value of the author's inductions depends therefore upon the accuracy of his analysis of the names. Analysis of this kind requires for its perfection, in the first place, a thorough knowledge of the modern spoken and of the old or obsolete Irish, of the legendary lore both historical and mythological connected with each place, of the physical characters of the localities, and of the methods and practices of modern scientific linguistic analysis. Of these qualifications the last is the one which can be best dispensed with in the earlier essays in the subject. Scientific analysis cannot create facts: it can only test them when gathered. Hence philologists who endeavour to work out the meanings of local names without reference to the history and legends of the places are much more likely to go astray than one who, like Mr. Joyce, works almost exclusively by means of such history and legends, a knowledge of modern Irish, and an acquaintance of a more limited kind with ancient forms. As might be



expected from the nature of his subject, the author has fallen into errors, some of which are important. Yet compared with the ground gone over they are not many; and notwithstanding them the book is full of interest, and is a real contribution to Irish, and also to Scottish, topographical nomenclature.

It would have been well if Mr. Joyce had given the simple root-words of each compound, and always used the singular nominative form of proper names, at least wherever he could make it out, so that it might be seen how the words grew from each other, and were modified by the case-endings. His forms are more generally based on the genitives singular and plural, and the dative singular, than on the nominatives; and yet he invariably translates as if the words were all in the nominative singular. At p. 57 he says that *nd* was used very generally for *nn*, implying thereby that the latter ending was more ancient than the former, and that a change from *n* to *d* took place. In support of this view he says that Zeuss gives the form *Cenn*, a head, from an old Irish ms. of the eighth century, while in middle Irish the form *Cend* occurs. Now both forms occur in the oldest mss., often within a few lines of each other; and this merely proves that the *d* began to pass away at a very early period. The name of the river Boyne is spelt, apparently in an oblique form, *Boind* and *Boinn* (whence the modern name), in what Mr. Joyce calls, after Mr. Whitley Stokes, middle Irish. But many of the mss. included under that term contain tracts written in Irish as archaic as some of the mss. used by Zeuss, while the name, as given in his book from Ptolemy, in whose time the Irish was certainly old enough, is *Bououindia*—a clear proof that such an exceptional change as that from *d* to *n* did not take place, but the natural or converse one.

Mr. Joyce translates the word *lis* in every case where it occurs, simple or in combination, by *fort*. One of the difficulties which a scholar has to contend with in Irish is the absence of fixed orthography; but, even if this were not so, the analogy of form and sound would easily lead to the confusion of words so much alike as *lios*, a fort, and *lias*, an ear of corn, whence *Rath na leise*, or the rath of the ears of corn. Again, we have *lis*, or in another and apparently more modern form, *lias*, a cattle-pen, or enclosed space for live stock of any kind, whence has come *airlis*, a special fence or wall surrounding the house of a nobleman, and marking the extent of his sanctuary. This word in modern times has been almost invariably translated "upon a fort," as if *air* were a preposition; when the supposed preposition was dropped, all the paddocks and cattle enclosures became forts. And again we have the word *les* and *leis*, a fire or light of any kind. If we put these words in a table, with their genitives and diminutives, it will be at once seen how easily they might have been confounded.

	Genitive.	Diminutive.	Genitive.
<i>Lis</i> , <i>Lios</i> , a fort,	<i>leas</i>	<i>leatin</i>	<i>leatin</i>
<i>Lis</i> or <i>lias</i> , a pen, or enclosure,	<i>leas</i> or <i>leat</i>	<i>leatin</i>	<i>leatin</i>
<i>Lias</i> , an ear of corn,	<i>leat</i> , <i>leas</i>	<i>leatin</i>	<i>leatin</i>
<i>Les</i> or <i>Leta</i> , a fire,	<i>leat</i>	<i>leatin</i>	<i>leatin</i>

All appear to belong to the same declension, though a closer analysis may give a different result. Now, the last form *les*, a fire, demands special attention, because in ancient times every man who had a *forus*, that is, whose house served as a place of assembly for legal or other purposes, etc. (cf. Latin *Forum*), was entitled to a lawn or *Faithche*, upon which he was bound to keep a *leas* *faithche* or lawn light, that is, a signal light, for travellers on dark nights; and there can be no doubt that many of the places in the names of which *le* occurs are derived, not from *lis*, a fort, but from *les*, a fire. For example, Drumlish is not the ridge of the fort, but in some places, beyond doubt, the ridge of the beacon light. So many, if not all, of the names, *Lissau*, *Lissen*, *Lissan*, etc., which Mr. Joyce (pp. 251, 252) derives from the diminutives *lios* and *liatin*, or little fort, are derived from the genitive *leis*, of a little beacon light or fire. At p. 251 he gives the genitive of *lios* or *lis*, a fort, correctly, but says it is pronounced *lassa*; this cannot be so, except when the language is very corrupt.

He derives all the words in *law*, such as *Portlaw*, *Luggelaw*, *Clonderlaw*, etc., from a supposed word *lagh*, a hill, cognate with the word *law* in names of Anglo-Saxon origin (p. 356). This derivation is probably not correct in any case, but certainly not in that of *Clonderlaw*, which was originally written *Cluain idir-da-bhla*, or the plain between the two *blaia*. A *bla* was a legal fence or meering, of which the laws mention at least twelve kinds.

Under *Tulach*, a hill, Mr. Joyce has placed names which are probably derived from three different words,—*tulla*, a green or common; *taiglach*, a residence or home of a chief and family, and *teallach*, a possession or settlement. Indeed, he proves this where he says that *tulach* is sometimes spelled *tealach*. There is direct evidence that *Tully*, the name of a parish in the neighbourhood of Kingstown, near Dublin, which he writes, after O'Curry, *Tulach na n-espuc*, the hill of the bishops, was written *Tealach na n-espuc*, that is, the home or residence of the bishops. He also mentions (p. 356) *Tallow Anierin*, or, as it would be written in Irish, *Tealach an Iarainn*, in the county of Waterford, as the hill of the iron, but it really means the place of the iron, i.e., the iron mine. In connection with this last name, it may be mentioned that *tealach* and its genitive *tealaigh*, sometimes, under the influence of an obscuration of certain letters, called by Irish grammarians *eclipse*, become *tealach* and *tealaigh*, the latter of which is Anglicized *Shallee*; at one place of this name, in the county of Tipperary, are rich argentiferous lead and copper mines, which appear to have been worked in very ancient times.

Mr. Joyce connects the places *Inan*, *Inane*, and the rivers *Inagh*, *Eany*, etc., with *eideann* or the diminutive *eidhneann*, ivy (pp. 460, 461). As to *Inagh*, in the county of Clare, he would be certainly wrong, as it got its name from the *Glas Aigneachs* who cleared the forest and built the ancient church of *Inagh*. Some of the places may, no doubt, have derived their



names from that of the common ivy or from that of the ground ivy, a well-known popular medicinal plant; but ivy is not a characteristic of rivers, and marshy places are not special habitats of the plant. It is more probably connected with *en*, *ena*, *eanan*, genitive *enach* and *enaigh*, plural *enaighs*, pieces of water, such as lakes, enclosed estuaries, rivers, etc. It is sometimes written *ean*, genitive *eanach*, plural *enaighs*, exactly as we find it in *Gleann Eanaighs*, the glen of the lakes, an old name for *Gleann-da-loch*, the glen of the two lakes, or Glendalough in the county of Wicklow. It is also written *ana*, genitive *anach*, dative *anach*, one of the ordinary forms of the word for river.

At p. 326 is an instance which shows the necessity of studying very closely the legendary history of places, in order to determine correctly the true forms of ancient names. Mr. Joyce here says that Ballyleague, the port of the town of Lanesborough, on the west bank of the Shannon, was called *Ath-liag-finn*, the ford of the white stone; but the word *finn* is not the adjective white, but the proper name Finn, that is, the celebrated Find MacCumhaill. It should be properly translated the Ford of Find's flat stone; about this there is a beautiful legend in the curious ancient tract called the *Dindsenchas*.

At p. 362, Mr. Joyce says that *cor*, as a topographical name, has several meanings, the most common being a round hill. Now *cor*, *coira*, *coirin*, never, so far as we know, have any other meaning than river passes, bars, or weirs, etc. He gives as an example Correen-feradha, near Knockainy in the county of Limerick, which he says is in Irish, *Coirin-feir fhada*, the round hill of the long grass. Now *coirin* is the genitive of *cora*, a weir; and the place is properly *Cora Fir Fí*, or the weir of Fer Fí, a half mythological personage, whose father, Eogabhaill, a Tuath Dé Danann chieftain, was slain by the celebrated Munster king, Oilioll Olum. There is a curious legend about this Fer Fí in the ancient ms. known as the Book of Leinster, in connection with the causes that led to a battle, celebrated in Irish story, fought at Magh Muchrume.

*Fert* or *Fearth*, plural *Fertas*, and all its forms and compounds, are always translated grave by Mr. Joyce. But this very important word has many meanings, e.g.:—1. a weir or bar upon a river, in which it is equivalent to *fer-tais*, and to Mr. Joyce's *fearthad* and *forsets* (p. 331); 2. a mound, as *Fearth na n-ningean*, or the mound of the maidens at Tara, *Fert Maigin na' Aonaig*, the mound of the sanctuary or Fair; in both these cases it is true the mound may have been raised over the dead; 3. a wall or rampart, as *Ardfert*, i.e., the hill of the rampart, and not, as Mr. Joyce has it, the height of the grave (p. 188); we are told in the ancient laws that "Oilioll Olum then settled on Magh Locha with his hosts, and he dug up a *Fert* of yellow sods around his people, and hence it is called *Ard-Ferta* to this day;" 4. an axle-tree of a chariot, plural *Feirtas*, as *Ath na feirtas*, the ford of the axle-trees, in Meath, mentioned in the ancient heroic tale of the

Cattle Spoil of Cooley (*Táin Bó Chualgne*); 5. an exploit, e.g., *Movarta* in Clare, called in Irish *Mugh Fearlaí ui Bricin*, or the plain of the miracles of Bricin, the patron saint of the parish, and not the plain of the grave, as Mr. Joyce explains it (p. 318).

At p. 418, *Maathail* (rectè *Maathal*) is stated to mean soft spongy land. Mr. Joyce correctly derives Mohill in the county of Leitrim from it. There are also several other places the names of which may be traced to this word, e.g., Cahermoyle in the county of Limerick. *Maathal*, however, means a refectory or meal composed of meal, originally, it would appear, of nut-meal (a circumstance which carries us back to the time when noorns were the food of men), milk and cheese or curd.

There are a great many other things worthy of remark in this very interesting book. The weakest chapter is that on the "Sub-divisions and Measures of Land." Among the terms in this chapter which Mr. Joyce has failed to explain correctly, are the very important ones of *Tate* or *Tath*, and *Ballybo* (rectè *Ballyboe*). Following Dr. Reeves, one of the best living authorities, he assumes the former to be English; and the latter he translates cowland upon the same authority, and misled by the common form of the name.

6. It is long since the striking paradox of Forchhammer made the character of Socrates the topic of a controversy which has not yet ceased to be popular. One of his disciples, Dr. Alberti, of Kiel, has published a life of Socrates, in which he endeavors to clear away the mist of fable that obscures it, and to ascertain exactly what reports can be relied on. He begins by accepting only those facts which are to be found both in Plato and in Xenophon, and declines the testimony of either of them alone. But he afterwards modifies the rigour of his canon in favour of Plato. "Platonischen Zeugnissen von ihrem Gewichte zu nehmen ist man nicht berechtigt" (40). His argument is, first, the strictly historical character of the *Apologia*; and next, the fuller and exacter knowledge which Plato shows of those sophists with whom Xenophon also relates that Socrates had intercourse. Whatever merit the book possesses lies in the case which is made out for the superior authority of Plato, not as a reporter of facts, but as a faithful expositor of the circle of ideas and motives in which Socrates lived and thought and spoke. There is justice in this view; for the influence of Socrates on mankind is not due to his doctrines so much as to his method, which can only be understood by its application to the surrounding opinions. Dr. Alberti is also to be commended for the consistency with which he rejects the whole of the later, legendary, history of Socrates. The result is a less detailed and finished picture; but the ideal character of the man is shown in greater purity and grandeur by his contemporaries than by later tradition. The attempts to explain that marvellous life degraded it gradually to a vulgar level. It is unfortunate that Dr. Alberti's way of writing would confuse the clearest results of sound critical principles.



There is a well-known story that Plato's lecture was so dull on one occasion that the whole audience melted away, and the end was heard by Aristotle alone. The author has the bad taste to suggest that the composition which dispersed the assembly was the sublime and dramatic *Phædo*.

7. THERE is a class of French literature which it is sometimes difficult to estimate in a satisfactory manner. The author gets up his subject; he expounds its obvious bearings with sufficient accuracy, and a facility and fluency which are almost tedious; he flavours the whole with some reflections that hover on the verge of originality; and then he retires in the apparent belief that he has made a substantial contribution to science. Of this class M. Martha's *Poème de Lucrèce* is decidedly a favourable specimen. It brings out very clearly that the system of Lucretius was distinctly superior, both morally and intellectually, to the popular prejudices which he assailed, and that he was not in conscious antagonism either with Stoical morality, or, still less, with Platonic spiritualism, which, as the author points out, had disappeared almost entirely by the first century B.C. Nor is M. Martha blind to the defects of Epicureanism because he recognises with Seneca its real austerity. He condemns it on intellectual grounds, not as a system of rationalism, but as a system of misology; he condemns it on moral grounds, not as a system of self-indulgence, but as a system of quietism. In fact, he regards it as liable to the same objection as Stoicism—that in suppressing passion it suppresses life. He has some exceedingly good remarks on the difference between Lucretius's view of the shortness of life and the *carpe diem* philosophy of Horace, and on the parallels to be found in Pascal and Bossuet to the meditations of Lucretius on human littleness. Copious extracts are given, generally in verse, which retain a good deal of the massive fervour of the original. Of course the details have to be sacrificed; but M. Martha has generally saved all that could be saved. There is a somewhat exaggerated estimate of what Epicurus did to bind his successors, by bequeathing his gardens to the head of his school: in this he seems only to have resembled all the founders of philosophical sects.

8. M. RENAN'S *Saint Paul*, although a continuation of his *Vie de Jésus* and *Les Apôtres*, and written with exactly the same views, is far less open to objection than its predecessors. Its value is in every way incomparably greater. The limits of the subject give no opportunity for the expression of his ideas upon the Person of Christ; nor do they allow him to indulge freely in those faults of historical method which make his *Vie de Jésus* a mere "sacrilegious novel," as it has been called by critics who are as little disposed as himself to admit the Divine origin of Christianity. The Gospel history is full of supernatural events, which are either true or purely legendary; and M. Renan, who considers them as absolutely impossible, nevertheless picks, chooses, interprets, and combines details

inextricably bound up with them, regarding any other check than what his own imagination imposes upon him. But the narrative of the new book is chiefly based upon authorities which, from their nature, admit only to a very limited extent of that manipulation to which he has subjected the Gospel history. "L'art de divination et de conjecture" is not altogether forgotten; but is obliged to play a very subordinate part. The conjecture that St. Paul, married to Lydia, can only excite a smile; the ridiculous details like this only occur when M. Renan has no evidence at all, or when he believes that before him to be mixed with the fable. He writes very differently when dealing with evidence which not only he but every one else considers trustworthy. No other book gives so admirable an account as this of the topography of St. Paul's history. The author has himself travelled over all the ground described, except Galatia. In no other book is so much important light brought to bear upon the contemporary history of the different places visited by St. Paul, and the ideas then current, whether among heathens or Jews. M. Renan has not only studied with minute accuracy every passage in sacred and profane literature which has the least reference to his subject, but has availed himself, with a success not heretofore attained, of the aid of coins, medals, and inscriptions. The propagation of Christianity, and its first introduction into Galatia, Macedonia, Corinth, Ephesus, Phrygia, and (above all) Rome, have never before been described with so much learning and eloquence.

M. Renan, who admits as indisputable the genuineness of the Epistles to the Galatians, Corinthians, and Romans, considers the Epistles to the Thessalonians and Philippians as certainly genuine, and those to the Colossians and Philemon as probably so. He doubts however, the genuineness of that to the Ephesians; and he holds those to Timothy and Titus to be certainly spurious. The arguments against these Epistles are not new; but they certainly had never yet been presented with so much force and clearness. On this literary question M. Renan, with all his acuteness, is open to refutation: the state of the controversy leaves it possible that arguments more powerful than his may still be discovered in behalf of the Pastoral Epistles. But on the great dominant fact in the history of St. Paul's teaching, the old illusions cannot recover their former power. There was no such doctrinal uniformity in the Apostolic Church as used to be imagined. The day of Pentecost did not put the Apostles in possession of a dogmatic system even of the most elementary kind. The theology of St. Paul was at variance with that of St. James; and there was no living oracle to decide between them. On a most vital question of religious practice St. Paul resisted St. Peter to the face. It is not M. Renan who has discovered all this; but his book gives a most lively description of the independent course pursued by St. Paul, and of the opposition which he met with from the Mother Church of Jerusalem. The author is often wrong in details; he is harsh and prejudiced against the party of St.



James; and his conjectures are generally baseless. But the main course of his narrative is thoroughly borne out by the express authority of the Great Apostle himself, and the contemporary evidence of the last chapters of the Acts of the Apostles.

9. DR. PETER has completed his Roman history by a volume which extends from the death of Nero to the death of Marcus Aurelius. Writing many years ago on the method of historical study, he advised students to avoid Gibbon, because he is frivolous and rhetorical; and the first impression in reading his own work is that he has succeeded admirably in escaping those defects. He has grown grey in the schools, and he writes for students, that is to say, simply, and always with the object of giving results, definite, clear, and certain. There is no art of composition, and little discussion of authorities, except where he defends the veracity both of Tacitus and of Josephus against Mr. Merivale. He prefers facts to ideas; and the rise of Christianity and of the Roman law, the two things which make the empire memorable, scarcely occupy one page each. He is a decided opponent of Mommsen's view of Roman history, and of the belief that the military monarchy was the legitimate and proper result of the democratic government. Even in the age of the Antonines he points out the symptoms of decline. In his former volumes, and especially in an essay on the Machiavellism of Rome, after the second Punic war, which is printed in his critique of Mommsen, he has painted the Roman character in the blackest colours. Yet he attributes to that national character, and to its faults themselves, the greatness and power of Rome. When the degenerate citizens lost the energy by which they had ruled the world, men who were free from the polluting influences of the capital, men fresh from the provinces, became masters of the State, and brought with them that marked improvement in society and government which, if we except the reign of Domitian, endured for a century. The vigorous life of the provinces reacted on the exhausted city. The administration was far better than under the Republic; a great system of public charity was introduced; Stoicism refined the ideas of right and mitigated the evils of slavery; great part of the population was converted to Christianity; and the contact of purer doctrines caused the reform of Paganism. Dr. Peter, who anticipates somewhat, and over-estimates the action of Christianity at the time, sees in all this new elements of decline. The specific narrow qualities which were the strength of the Roman people were diluted by the admixture of better things. There is something crude in this view, which the author would have avoided if he had sought the real history of the time less in public transactions and affairs of State, and more in the silent uprising of ideas which were to outlive the twelve centuries of Romulus and govern a world unknown to Rome.

10. As printed forms are now used for a

great number of business writings, so in the middle ages every great Government Office had its book of forms, by the aid of which deeds and letters were composed. Cassiodorus, in his *Varia*, left a collection of models for the Chanceries of the Ostrogothic kings. They can only have been in use for a very short time; but they are a most important source of our knowledge of the Gothic kingdom. For the business of the Papal Court the time of Gregory the Great forms an epoch. He introduced order into the administration, reformed the finances, and exercised the closest supervision over the bishops and abbots under his immediate jurisdiction. At the same time, he was the most learned man of his time, the last of the great Doctors of the Church, and a complete master of the ecclesiastical language, which had not yet succumbed to barbarism. From the laboured and affected style of Cassiodorus or Eudodius he is entirely free; and it is no wonder that his letters were carefully collected and preserved in transcripts, or that his successors followed his models, and as much as possible made use of his forms. Accordingly, in the book which, on account of the daily use made of it, was called *Liber Diurnus*, many of the letters are those of Gregory I. Others perhaps belong to an earlier time; and many were added later. Mention is made of the sixth Council (681), and of the Emperor Constantine Pogonatus, who ascended the throne in 685. The book contains all the documents used on the occasion of a vacancy in the Papal chair—letters to the Emperor, the Exarch, and the Archbishop of Ravenna, the Pope's confession of faith, and the form for his enthronization. There is also the whole correspondence arising out of the various relations of the bishoprics, the monasteries, and the great estates of the Roman Church.

The confusion resulting from the Iconoclast controversy, followed by the conquest of the Franks, deprived the *Liber Diurnus* of much of its practical value; but it seems to have been still used as far as the altered circumstances would allow, till a wholly new state of things arose in the eleventh century. From that time it fell into oblivion; and isolated passages from it are only found in Gratian and other canonists. At last, in 1644, Lucas Holstenius discovered the old manuscript, and at once began to print it. The edition was almost ready, when the Papal censor interposed, and prohibited the publication. Why this sensitiveness should have been shown at a time when men were zealously engaged at Rome on the history of the Church, is a question which the learned editor treats at large in his very interesting and instructive Introduction, where he also fully explains the origin and contents of the book. The point at which offence was taken at Rome was the confession of faith to be made by the Pope-elect, because in this formula a preceding Pope, Honorius, was branded as heretical. This did not harmonize with the view of infallibility maintained at Rome. But it was all the more welcome on that account to the scholars of the Gallican Church. The passage was not unknown to them. They had



already a general acquaintance with the book; and the prohibition of its publication naturally excited attention. The French Jesuits had an old manuscript of it in their college of Clermont; and in 1680 Father Garnier published this with an air of the utmost unconcern, as if he had never heard of the Roman prohibition and the learned controversy it had occasioned. Later on, Benedict XIII. allowed the edition of Holstenius to see the light; and Mabillon furnished Garnier's edition with supplements from the Roman manuscript. There have also been reprints by Hoffmann at Leipzig, and Kiegger at Vienna. But the use of the book by modern scholars has been seriously restricted by the want of a really critical edition. This want has now been supplied by M. de Rozière, who has already earned great merit by his *Recueil Général des Formules*. He found in Paris the edition of the *Liber Diurnus* which Baluze had prepared but left incomplete; and he received from the *Académie des Inscriptions* the careful collation of the Roman ms. which had been made for the Academy by M. Darenberg and M. Renan. Both the old manuscripts formerly existing in France have unfortunately disappeared. M. de Rozière has therefore given an exact reprint of the Roman ms., with all its errors. These may be corrected by the different readings of the earlier editions, and the notes, especially where the letters of Gregory I. furnished a guide. For the rest, the writing of the eighth century is so bad that it is impossible to tell which errors are due to the copyist, and which to the original draughtsman; and the book, just as it is, affords a glimpse of the condition of the Papal Chancery at the time. The notes of Baluze, like everything that emanated from him, are proofs of comprehensive learning and acuteness. M. de Rozière's painstaking work has increased his own high reputation, and has helped to revive the ancient fame of true French scholarship.

11. It is no ordinary undertaking to trace the policy of the Popes from Gregory I., who laid the strong foundations of the Papal power, to Gregory VII., who claimed for the successors of St. Peter an absolute supremacy over all sovereigns and nations, and who, although he did not reach his aim, yet pointed out the way which his successors pursued. It is the passage from a well-established and self-conscious spiritual power, unavoidably concerned in worldly affairs, and confronting the powers of the world without fear, to the attempt to establish a real theocracy, and to transform the princes of Christendom into vassals of the Church—an attempt which Gregory VII. was the first to make by means of external force. The period that lies between them is one of very complicated events and deep moral decline. Much has been done for its elucidation within the last ten years; and Herr Baxmann in particular devoted to the subject an immense amount of reading. He so far mastered it that there is scarcely one single document worthy of note that can be said to have escaped his attention; almost every passage of his book is supported by proof; and in his notes he care-

fully weighs the respective value of conflicting opinions. He is free from all narrow prejudice, and endeavours to judge the character of his history impartially according to the ideas that prevailed at the time, and the surrounding circumstances. But he has not succeeded in penetrating to the heart of his subject; and he fails to paint a vivid picture, or to fascinate his readers by the clearness of his logical exposition. The book is only adapted for scholars who may be occupied with the questions it concerns. And for this purpose it is admirably suited, by the conscientious citation of the ancient sources, manuscripts, and modern books, which come under consideration at every passage. The author died soon after his book was finished.

12. THE first volume of the *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland* is none the less welcome for having been long waited for. Mr. Haddan, who is thus far the sole editor, gives the best justification of the delay by the careful and full execution of his work. We now have all the available materials for a history of the early British Church, of the Welsh Church down to the time when Wales practically became part of England, and of the short-lived Cornish see. The only desirable addition would be a volume of Lives of the Early Welsh Saints. Unhistorical as they are, they contain some materials which Church annalists will always need to take into account; and they are practically buried at present in Capgrave's *Nova Legenda*, or in the volumes of the *Acta Sanctorum*. Mr. Haddan, however, supplies a useful list of such among them as have been printed; and the whole have been admirably described in Sir Thomas Hardy's Descriptive Catalogue. We can therefore endure to wait till they find an editor.

Mr. Haddan probably goes as far as learning and judgment will permit any one to go in supporting the time-honoured views of Parker and Usher as to an early and independent British Church. But the result is of course very meagre. He can find no better authority for the martyrdom of St. Alban than a local tradition within 125 years of the last persecution. He accepts the very suspicious list which gives among the bishops of Gaul present at the Council of Arles an Eborius, Bishop of Eboracum, and two bishops, one from London and the other from Colonia Londinensium (surely Lincoln rather than Caerleon), adding a priest, "Sacerdos," and a (? German) deacon "Arminius." Considering the composite character of the list, it does not seem impossible that Crabbe's version, which refers two of these prelates to the province of Byzacena, in Africa, is the more trustworthy; and that Britain, if it had any representative, had only one, from either London or York. It is at least curious that the presence of British bishops, eleven years later, at Nicæa, cannot be certainly proved; and that the fame of their participation in Sardica (347) rests only on some vague expressions of Athanasius, and is contradicted by the extant lists. It seems more certain that they were present



at Ariminum (359), and consented to Arianism. Anyhow, we may probably refer the organization of a Christian Church in Britain to the beginning of the fourth century at least, though tradition and the evidence of monuments alike show that it was not for some time wealthy or powerful. Mr. Haddan gives a careful list of such remains as may be presumed to be Christian in Roman Britain. It adds rather in the number of instances than in real weight to those quoted by Mr. Merivale in his acknowledged article in the *Quarterly Review*. Generally the cross or monogram is found intermixed with Pagan symbols; and of the many monuments scattered along the line of the Roman Wall not one shows any traces of Christianity. It may be added that, if we except a doubtful painting at Ilkley, a silver cup at Corbridge, and some pottery at Catterick, which might easily have been carried up from the south, there seems to be no real evidence that Christianity was established north of the Humber. Yet this province in Roman times was seemingly second to none in population and wealth. Eborac, for any evidence to the contrary, may have been the only Christian in his diocese.

In dealing with the British Church during the period of the Saxon conquest, Mr. Haddan brings fresh evidence to prove that its difference on the subject of Easter was derived from the Western, not from the Eastern Church. The Britons in fact "still acted upon the cycle which the Church of Rome had used, with some changes, up to 458;" and there is thus incidental confirmation that our early histories are not far wrong in assigning the Saxon invasion, and the consequent suspension of British intercourse with Rome, to about the middle of the fifth century. For this and for the succeeding period down to the end of the schism the materials are of course very scanty; but Mr. Haddan has added a list of sepulchral Christian inscriptions, and the Penitential of Gildas, which had not appeared previously in an English edition. There are also some decrees of the early Welsh Councils, one of which contains an interesting witness to the importance of the struggle against the Saxons. Any man acting as guide "to the barbarians" is to do penance for thirteen years, though no bloodshed shall have resulted; but if Christians have been killed or carried away, he is to spend the rest of his life in penance. In a valuable Appendix Mr. Haddan adduces evidence for believing that the British Church had a Latin Bible of its own. The history of the Saxon period consists chiefly of the Laws of Howell Dda; but Mr. Haddan adds some extracts from the Book of Llanaff. With the Norman period we come of course to some thing like continuous history. Mr. Haddan prefixes a striking extract from a letter of the Welsh Princes to Pope Innocent III., complaining that the Archbishops of Canterbury invariably supported the English arms by spiritual censures on the whole province. There is ample and very amusing evidence of this. Within two months, Llewelyn, the last sovereign of North Wales, was excommunicated for declaring war, and

the Bishop of St. Asaph was cautioned not to proceed against the Englishmen who had hurned down his cathedral, "intending to put down the public enemy according to the common fashion of the country."

The next volume of the work, Mr. Haddan says, will comprise the early Scottish and Irish documents. The third, in which Professor Stubbs is to edit the documents of the Saxon Church, will give for the first time the genuine Penitentials of Theodore, Bede, and Egbert, and will exclude several works that have been improperly issued under their names. It is not very creditable to English scholarship that such work should have been left to the present generation: it is satisfactory to find that it is now in competent hands.

18. A contribution from Moscow to the history of the German middle ages is a phenomenon which demands attention. The book is the *Officium et Miracula Sancti Willigisi*, from a ms. of the twelfth century. It is beautifully printed, and contains a facsimile of the manuscript, with the musical notation of the time, and two well-executed chromo-lithographs, which show the ecclesiastical vestments with great clearness. But it does not elucidate the history of Willigis. He was one of the most distinguished prelates of the middle ages, and was Archbishop of Mentz from 975 to 1011. He founded a monastery in honour of St. Stephen at Mentz, which a century and a half later was raised to new splendour by its Provost, Hartmann; and, in the year 1147, one of the monks conceived a wish to procure the canonization of the founder. Stories of miracles were not wanting; and accordingly he compiled this manuscript. At the beginning of it are two letters purporting to be from the deceased Archbishop himself, to the Archbishop and to the Provost, in which he asks for the translation of his remains, and for a public cultus. The zealous monk had already composed the requisite office. But in the year 1153 Archbishop Henry was deposed, and succeeded by the Chancellor Arnold, the reputed author of his fall. The citizens of Mentz had a passionate hatred for Arnold; and in 1160 they burned him, together with the monastery of St. James, in which he had taken refuge. The leader of his enemies was Hartmann, at that time Provost both of the Cathedral and of St. Stephen's. It is clear therefore why the ingenious plan did not succeed. The manuscript, being now of no use, remained unnoticed till the dissolution of the monastery in 1802, when it came into the hands of an antiquary, who transferred it to Moscow. There it fortunately fell in the way of Professor Guérrier, who had studied in Germany. He has edited its contents admirably, provided it with a learned introduction, and dedicated the whole work to his former preceptor, Professor Jaffé of Berlin.

14. BEFORE the outbreak of the great struggle between Church and State, which has continued to the present time, the ecclesiastical principalities were almost the only States in



which a higher culture existed. Intimately connected with Italy, they promoted the better cultivation of the soil; and with the advancement of scientific education they combined artistic and commercial activity. The ecclesiastical immunities afforded a promise of comparative security; and it was in the Episcopal cities especially that merchants collected and the citizens flourished. Kings and emperors increased the power and wealth of the ecclesiastical princes, not from piety alone, but also because they found in them their best advisers, and a counterpoise against their turbulent and ambitious vassals. To the German Emperors this policy appeared all the more congruous because they exercised the greatest influence on the nomination of the Popes. Henry III. had caused the right of appointing them to be formally transferred to himself. But he also promoted that hierarchical tendency which led to the destruction of this state of things; and the monastery of Goslar, which he highly favoured, was a nursery of ecclesiastical zealots. From this place, and not, like the majority of the earlier bishops, from the Imperial Chancery, came Archbishop Anno of Cologne, a man of great energy of will, with a burning zeal for the Church, and an austere life, but without either feeling or perception for the needs of the Empire. After the death of Henry III. (1056), he succeeded by craft and violence in making himself Regent, and master of the King, who was a minor; but he only employed these advantages, at the expense of the realm, to silence his colleagues, and to aggrandize the church of Cologne, by continual donations. For this purpose he did not shrink from acts of positive injustice. He endeavoured to subjugate the free monasteries of the Empire; but in this project he was thwarted by the tenacious opposition of the monks. He founded new convents with a stricter rule; and these, especially Siegburg, he nursed with the most devoted care. In these foundations his memory continued to be held in great veneration; and it was by them that his canonization was brought about. But in his city of Cologne, he was very differently esteemed. He was a harsh superior, refusing to recognise any rights on the part of the aspiring and prosperous citizens as against their lord; and when they rose in insurrection against him, his revenge was so bloody and barbarous that the city was for a long time made desolate. Towards the Papal See his attitude was not one of compliance. He desired to maintain the dependence of the Church on the Empire, as it had existed under Henry III. But he was no match for an opponent like Hildebrand, and was obliged to give way.

To work out the picture of such a character would be a difficult, though an attractive, task. The information which has come down to us about Anno is not so abundant as might be desired; and many questions remain un-olved. But still it would be possible to sketch a vigorous outline; and the relations between Church and State, the great and powerful Archbishop-elect of Cologne, the conventual life of the time, the growing self-reliance of the burghers,

are the elements which should compose the background. Dr. Lindner does not attain to this end; nor does he appear to have even proposed it to himself. But his book on the subject is executed with industry and care. He endeavours to do justice to his hero, without concealing his weaknesses; and his research will be valuable to historical students.

15. THE famous collection of Pertz's *Monumenta Germaniæ Historica* has been of the highest service to students; and every new volume of the work continues to supply most useful matter in the way of chronicles and biographies. But the collection is so comprehensive that it necessarily proceeds at a very slow pace; and of the different divisions it is only one very important one—that of letters—has not yet been even begun. Thousands of letters have come down from the middle ages—sometimes in collections, and sometimes copied singly on the blank leaves of manuscripts, or in the original. These letters are, for the most part, written by persons of importance, who have taken an active part in the politics of the time; and accordingly they constitute the most valuable evidence, for the understanding of events and characters. It has led Herr Jaffé to arrange the plan of his *Bibliotheca Rerum Germanicarum* so that every volume contains a large number of letters with other kindred documents annexed. This great work, which he edits without assistance, and of which the fifth volume has recently appeared, reflects the highest credit on its projector. The documents are given in full; and the texts are excellent throughout. The notes, indeed, are rather too short, but they generally contain what the reader wants.

The imposing position which the Emperor occupied in the early middle ages, makes it obvious that the importance of these collections is not in any way confined to Germany. The earlier volumes, containing letters from Boniface, Gregory VII., and Eginhard, and letters from and to Charlemagne, are of universal interest. The present volume gives the so-called Codex Udalrici, a collection which was composed in the year 1125, by a Bamberg ecclesiastic, as a model for the Chancery of the Bishop of Würzburg. The investiture controversy was then just closed; and there are many letters relating to it from Gregory VII. and the Antipope Clement, from Henry IV. and from many bishops. The important document is also given in which Siebert, the learned monk of Gembloux, protests, in the name of the Church of Liège, against the injunction of Urban II. to Count Robert of Flanders, to attack it by armed force, and generally against the new despotic policy of the Roman Court, introduced by Gregory VII., with its reliance on material force. It is a writing worthy of notice, for the nature of its contents, as well as for its high literary merits. And these letters had been already printed; but they had not before been critically examined, arranged chronologically, and illustrated. It is now for the first time possible to read them with ease and real profit. The volume in-



cludes a choice collection of other letters, some of which are printed for the first time. Amongst these, one of the Emperor Henry iv. to the Romans, calling upon them to aid him against Gregory vii., is given from a manuscript in the Lambeth Library.

Many of the letters either emanated from Bishop Ocho of Bamberg, or are addressed to him. Ocho was a man of remarkable character. Though extremely pious, he adhered to the King when under sentence of excommunication. He understood how, in the midst of the struggle, to avoid a breach with either party; and, as became a good ruler, his first care was always for his bishopric. Nevertheless, he found time to convert the heathen Pomeranians, a mission which he accomplished with extraordinary skill; and he combined the greatest zeal for the Church, and even the desire for a martyr's death, with that worldly knowledge and prudence which in such cases are too often lacking. It fortunately happens that we have ample information on the subject in two biographies of the Bishop, which were composed, not long after his death, by Ebo and Herbord, two monks of Bamberg. Herr Jaffé has given a critical revision of the text of these works, and severely tested their credibility.

16. SIR FREDERICK MADDEN's researches have added so much to our knowledge of Matthew Paris, perhaps the best known among English chroniclers, that it is now, for the first time, possible to appreciate what his real services to English history were. Hitherto the general belief, not indeed among professed scholars, but among ordinary students of history, has been that we possess two independent histories of the reign of Henry iii., or its greater part—one by Matthew Paris, a monk of St. Albans, and another by a Matthew of Westminster, whose date was assigned by Bale to the fourteenth century. The late Mr. Buckle, who must certainly be regarded as a person of more than average historical culture, refers to Matthew Paris accordingly as "the most eminent historian during the thirteenth century," and to Matthew of Westminster as, "after Froissart, the most celebrated historian of the fourteenth century." The first of these statements need not be disputed; and it is not matter of very great importance if some of Mr. Buckle's quotations from Matthew Paris are in fact derived from Wendover, whose History Paris incorporated with some additions in his own. Mr. Coxe first established the extent and importance of Wendover's History, which goes down to the year 1235. From that year, Matthew Paris continued it down to the year of his death (1259), writing first what is now known as the *Historia Major*. Probably this work was found practically to be too diffuse for general perusal or reproduction; and Matthew Paris accordingly abridged it down to the year 1249, giving his compilation the name of *Flores Historiarum*. This more popular manual was continued by other hands down to the year 1307, and through some mistake of a copyist was described in two manuscripts as the work of an imaginary Matthew of West-

minster. Mr. Buckle improved upon this error by giving the unreal author a celebrity of which it would be hard to find any evidence, and by quoting him as authority for three legendary stories, of which two are interpolations in the manuscript, and the third in Parker's text. Better evidence could scarcely be needed how important it is for English history that even printed works should be edited again, if the first texts followed were corrupt or the first editors slovenly. Sir Frederick Madden proves the printed text of the *Historia Major* to be absolutely untrustworthy. Archbishop Parker seems to have thought that an elegant Latin style was more important than the reproduction of his author's words or sense, and classicalized the mediæval Latin pitilessly. He also objected to gaps in the text; and in one instance inserted eleven lines, altered from the *Flores Historiarum*.

As the rules of the Record Commission forbid the republication of printed books, except when these have become as rare as manuscripts, Sir Frederick Madden probably had no alternative but to edit the *Historia Anglorum*, instead of preparing a correct text of the *Historia Major*. On the whole, the necessity need not be regretted, though the two works are of very different value. The *Historia Anglorum*, often called the *Historia Minor*, seems to have been written for presentation to Henry iii., and accordingly omits or modifies many passages in which the royal family or the Papal exactions were attacked. That these suppressions were solely against the grain cannot be doubted. Sometimes a whole paragraph has required a second toning down. Thus a passage in the *Historia Major* attacks the friars for receiving vows to go on a crusade from women and old men, whom they afterwards absolved for money, and adds that Earl Richard profited by their gains. In the first reproduction of this passage, Matthew Paris contented himself with omitting the allusion to Earl Richard. But he gradually became more cautious, and substituted a brief statement, with perhaps a touch of irony, that the friars had reaped fruit of various kinds, accepting the will for the deed, and mercifully ransoming many people. Of course these alterations affect the credit of the author. Yet it may be said in his behalf, that he sins only by suppression, not by suggestion; and if no one would guess from the *Historia Anglorum* that he was the bitter foe of the Mendicant Orders, no one would set him down as their cordial friend. Moreover, the fact that he has softened down so much makes the testimony he still bears—as to John's treachery and violence—doubly valuable. The King whose craft, folly, and fury were openly censured in a book destined for his son's eyes must have been infamous in no ordinary degree.

An interesting passage in Sir Frederick Madden's Preface to the third volume describes a series of maps by Matthew Paris: one of the World, one of Britain, one of the Roman roads in Britain, and one an Itinerary for pilgrims going from London to Jerusalem. He observes justly that "it would be very desirable to have



the whole of the maps relating to Britain photographed by the zincographic process of Sir Henry James, from the earliest period to the end of the fifteenth century."

17. MR. LUARD has established a reputation as a careful and competent editor; and the present volumes of his *Annales Monastici* will add to it. The first of them (the fourth of the work) contains the Chronicle of Osney, now printed for the first time, and curiously completing the well-known Chronicle of Wykes, which probably issued from the same monastery, and which Mr. Luard gives with a correct text. The Annals of Worcester, which make up the volume, were already partially known by the extracts printed in Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*; but these were somewhat capriciously made, and the book is now rather scarce. There was good reason, therefore, why they should be printed in full. Mr. Luard has thus pretty well accomplished the task which he proposed to himself, of collecting the most important chronicles written during the thirteenth century. Yet having done so much so well, he might usefully go on and employ himself on the Lanercost Chronicle, and some of the smaller monastic annals which he alludes to. That a book has been printed for the Bannatyne or Maitland or for the Roxburghe series ought not to be considered any bar to publication.

It is now known pretty well that no great discoveries are to be made from the new chronicles brought to light. The main facts of history found their way naturally into one or other of those more popular versions from which the histories of a century past were derived. Roughly, too, it may be said that the ordinary way in which a monastic chronicle was formed was by insertions in the text of some current authority, with perhaps an original portion during a few years of a single monk's life. Thus Mr. Luard finds it difficult to decide whether Wykes was enlarged from Osney or Osney from Wykes, the early portions in both showing marked correspondence. But during the important twenty years (1258-1278) which embraced the Barons' War, the two writers take opposite sides; and Wykes, writing at greatest length, is perhaps our best authority for the history of the times. The different views which the inmates of the same convent might hold are of course of peculiar interest. To Wykes, De Montfort is an ambitious self-seeking rebel, whose chief associates are young men moulded like wax in his hands. To the other annalist of Osney, De Montfort is the servant of God, "who shed his blood for the honour of God's name and the laws of his fatherland." As in this way the temper of the times can only be learned by a comparison of different chronicles, so there is often reason for trusting one in particular above others. Two cases of heresy were brought before the Council of Oxford in 1223, which have a peculiar interest, as they ought to illustrate the law of England on the subject. One was of a deacon who had apostatized to Judaism, the other of an impostor or madman, who asserted

himself to be Christ, and exhibited the signs of the Passion. Unhappily, the accounts of the sentences given differ materially in different chronicles. Matthew Paris, in the *Historia Minor*, tells with great detail how the deacon was put out of the Church and murdered by Fawkes de Bréaute: Bracton and Wykes say he was burned by the secular power. Similarly in the case of the pseudo-Christ, Paris says he was condemned, but does not say to what: the Chronicle of Meaux, a late authority, says he was crucified at Abberbury: Wykes says he was imprisoned for the rest of his life on bread and water. Now the testimony of Wykes acquires very great additional value since Mr. Luard has shown that he lived at Osney, and would therefore be well acquainted with the local history of Oxford. The case of the deacon is very difficult to explain; but it is possible that he was handed over to the secular arm as Bracton states, and was irregularly cut down by Fawkes de Bréaute. His body may afterwards have been burned, lest it should seem that he had escaped the full sentence. Anyhow, there appears to be no doubt that heresy was a capital offence in England during the thirteenth century, though we do not remember any other instance in which the penalty was incurred. On the other point, Wykes's testimony may now be regarded as conclusive. The mistake in the Chronicle of Meaux probably arose from the annalist's misunderstanding of a charge against the offender, who had gone, it seems, through the ceremony of a mock crucifixion.

Mr. Luard's fifth volume contains a very full and apparently very careful index. It may be worth noticing that the Gurtibo which Professor Stubbs identifies, we think rightly, with Quillebœuf (it is called Gnitebo in Rigordus), was not the well-known Quillebœuf in the mouth of the Seine, but a village between Evreux and Le Neubourg. Sniffeld Firth is probably to be looked for near Sheffield. The castles of Haldesham in Yorkshire, and of Horrestan near Derby (i. p. 458), ought perhaps to have found a place in the index. These trifles, however, do not detract from the sterling value of the book, which is the more creditable to Mr. Luard, as the indexes were the worst feature in the early volumes of the Record series.

18. MR. LONGMAN's work on *The Life and Times of Edward III.* is a careful and sound digest of the materials at present available for the political history of the reign. That it does not add much to our actual knowledge is attributable mainly to the fact that recent publications in England and France have not seriously increased our store; and that Froissart and Rymer are still the great sources of information. Nevertheless it is a great gain to literature that the additions and rectifications of those who have written since Lingard and Pauli should be presented in a compact form by a writer of sound judgment; and Mr. Longman's style is fluent and clear. The chapters on foreign policy and campaigns are perhaps the best in the book; the weakest parts are



those which relate to the general causes of Edward's wars, or to the social condition of England under him. Yet even in his weakest parts Mr. Longman does not so much fall below the level of his predecessors as below that which it was now possible to attain. He has wanted sound guidance in the comparatively unexplored tracts of history.

Take, for instance, the causes and real significance of the great war with France. It was partly a question of the relations between vassal and lord-paramount, partly a dynastic question of succession; and to both these determining causes Mr. Longman does justice. But it was also something more. During an almost unbroken peace with England of more than a century, and under the rule of wise and vigorous kings, France had become not only the first power in Christendom, but a power that threatened the independence of every other nation. Her population, by the lowest current estimate, was nearly four times that of England; and England was the only power that could confront it. Germany, Spain, Italy, the Low Countries, were all more or less paralysed by internal divisions. The turbulent chivalry of the Templars had been absolutely swept away; the liberties of the Flemish towns had received a crushing blow at Cassel; and the Pope was rather a powerful vassal than an independent ally. The obvious policy of the Crown of France was first to consolidate its internal power by reducing its great feudatories to real subjection, and then to advance to the conquest of all Europe. There seemed no reason to apprehend danger from England. The prestige of her soldiery had been tarnished at Baunockburn, and almost ruined by the Northumbrian campaign in Edward's first year. Men whom the French regarded as mere savages had been able to insult England at pleasure; and the English victories of later years at Dupplin Moor and Halidon Hill were only the doubtful triumphs of civil war. French statesmen might easily believe that they could occupy England on the side of Scotland, and add Aquitaine to the royal domain almost without a blow. That English statesmen, knowing the odds against them, should deliberately accept a challenge which it was possible to evade without dishonour, seems scarcely less wonderful than that the issue should have been what it was. Edward's martial ardour was, no doubt, among the chief determining causes. But it is also probable that more reflective men than the king believed that a war with France could only be deferred, thought it wise to attack while the French power was not yet fully consolidated, expected the support of foreign alliances, conceived that Scotland would be best conquered in France, and held that it was safer to invade than to await invasion. The experience of English history went far to prove that fortune favoured the assailant.

The first years of the war showed a strength in England, a latent weakness in France, which seems to have escaped the calculations of statesmen on both sides. Foreign alliances did little for Edward; and he found it neces-

sary to secure Calais as a starting-point for his operations, instead of making the Flemish towns his base. But it presently appeared that the fighting strength of the two nations was more even than had been thought. The French knights far outnumbered the English; and the French armies were accompanied by vast hosts of peasants, equipped merely with knives or sticks, to whom the English forces had no counterpart. But to the English bowmen Philip was forced at Crécy to oppose Genoese; and everywhere throughout the campaigns the battles were fought by troops supported by artillery against men comparatively without artillery, and helpless except at close quarters. Now this difference was not merely one of strategy. To be an archer required the training of years, and commonly implied that the man was more than a mere serf, and lived in a country where the people at large could be safely trusted with arms. Precisely these conditions were present in England and wanting in the greater part of France. During a century and a half at least, the tendency in England had been to substitute laws for arbitrary power, and a modified personal freedom for modified bondage. The great earls who had once kept the Crown in check had almost died out of the land; and the baronage had long been powerless against any competent king. In France the very reverse of all this was the case. The kings had won half their provinces by foreign conquest and alliances with revolted nobles. The very extent of the country was against that concentration of authority which all statesmen saw to be desirable, and which those of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were at last able to carry out. The feudal system had worked well in its day; but it was powerless against the vigour and elasticity which England had derived from constitutional liberty. It was a war of freemen against serfs, of commercial wealth against feudal service; and it is significant that the best military intelligence, strategy, engineering, and artillery, even to the use of cannon, were all found on the side of the commercial people.

Where England broke down, fortunately for herself and for the world, was in the attempt to wage war as a speculation. The invasion of Spain was only prompted by one honest motive—the conservative sentiment for a legitimate prince. Its real reason must be found in the fact that English imagination had been demoralized by the successes achieved in France, and had come to regard war as the most profitable of adventures. What good work England could do had by this time been done. The danger of one too powerful State was at an end: and even policy should have dictated the consolidation of the conquests from France, or should have sought fresh annexations within the four seas only. Unhappily for both countries, the English success had been too great, and the secret of it was not yet understood. England was doomed to renew the fatal blood-feud with fresh glory at Agincourt: France required the discipline of fresh defeats before her nobles could be reduced un-



der the needful power of the Crown. It probably will not be given to this generation to work out adequately and fully that social history of the two countries, without which an exact measurement of these differences is impossible. If Mr. Longman's work scarcely attempts to supply the deficiency, neither does it misstate or mislead. Like all books that deal honestly with facts, it even suggests the problem, and partly, though undesignedly, indicates the solution.

19. MR. BOND has at last concluded the interesting *Chronicle of Meaux Abbey*. In many respects the third volume is the most attractive and important. It deals with the latter portion of the fourteenth century, the time in which the chronicler lived, and one for which our sources of history are rather meagre. Here and there valuable notices of contemporary events occur. Thus we learn that "the ford across the river Seine between St. Valery and Crotoy was betrayed to Edward by an Englishman," born in a part of Yorkshire where the convent of Meaux had estates. Incidentally, too, we have a full and trustworthy record of the ravages made by the sea on the convent property near Hull. The whole town of Ravenserodd, once the most important fishing settlement on the coast, was swept by successive inundations into the sea (1356-1367). Still more valuable for the historian are the notices of the great social movement which ended in the emancipation of the serfs. It is evident that many of the English bondsmen had gradually acquired the position of a substantial yeomanry, were extremely well off, and disposed to assert their independence in every possible way. At this time serfdom to the Crown was apparently the least onerous form of servitude; and the villeins of a whole estate succeeded in inducing the royal exchequer to claim them. The movement might easily have become general; and the Abbot of Meaux was compelled to strain every nerve, even travelling to London, and bribing largely, before his legal rights could be vindicated. It seems that his claim was undeniably good; but the feeling of the country and of the royal council was very generally against him. Even the Court that gave a verdict in his favour recommended that the bondsmen should not be punished for their proceedings. It is necessary to assume either a strong feeling against the great Church proprietors, or paramount reasons of justice and policy on the side of serf-emancipation, to explain this current of feeling among the classes most interested in enforcing the strict rights of property.

Meaux Convent was no exception to the rule that monastic rentals declined during the century and a half preceding the Reformation. The depreciation was not very startling, amounting only to about four per cent. (£603 against £626); but it is not easy to see why lands comprising 20,000 acres should have been worth less in 1588 than in 1399. Had the wars of the Roses been more permanently ruinous to posterity than the French wars, the black death, and the misgovernment of Richard II.? Or is

it to be assumed that monasteries in the fifteenth century were worse ordered than in earlier times, and abbots afraid to raise their tenants' rents? Probably the latter reason is the truer. There is no necessity to suppose any criminal mismanagement. Every generation of men might see the fortunes of the house frittered away by a wasteful or incompetent superior; and in this respect the twelfth century was no better than the fifteenth. But in the twelfth century the monks had many advantages over their lay neighbours, which were lost in more orderly times. They were more essentially farmers and traders, the barons and gentry more essentially soldiers. Taxation fell lighter on the Church when monasticism was yet a power than when it declined. Besides, in the epoch of the Crusades, men of wealth constantly took monastic vows in old age, and endowed the monastery they entered. It is probable, therefore, that in any case many small monasteries would gradually have been extinguished by this time. But assuming the others to have remained untouched, and supposing England to have reached anything like her present position in manufactures and commerce, the wealth of the great corporations that survived would make them virtually masters of the kingdom. Meaux only derived rather more than half its income from the rents of its lands. Twenty thousand acres, with woods and commons, and the tithes of many rich benefices, would now represent the fortune of a large landed proprietor. Yet there were many first-class abbeys in Yorkshire besides Meaux.

Mr. Bond adds a sufficient index, and gives a very valuable catalogue of the Meaux library in an appendix. His preface is an excellent digest of the scheme; and it is only to be regretted that he has not given references to the pages referred to. The matter is a small one; but nothing that assists the student should be omitted in such a series as the present.

20. M. GAFFAREL has passed in review whatever is known or has been conjectured about America before Christopher Columbus. His book on the subject is divided into three parts, which deal respectively with myths, tradition, and history. In the first part he speaks of the Atlantis and the Atlantines mentioned by Plato in the *Timæus* and the *Critias*,—a subject on which Solon, and Plato himself after him, attempted a poem which remained unfinished, and of which only a few insignificant fragments attributed to Solon have been preserved. He cites Meropia, the mysterious region which, according to Theopompus, as reported by Ælian, was revealed by Silenus to King Midas, and also the Cronian continent mentioned by Plutarch in his treatise *De facie in orbe lunæ*. In the second part, after maintaining the general possibility of relations between America and the ancient continent, he treats of these relations with reference to the Jews, Phœnicians, Greeks, and Romans. He then comes to the Middle Ages, and enumerates the Christian legends of the earthly Paradise, the travels of St. Brandon, the isles of the



seven cities, Antilia, etc. (which would have been better placed in the mythical part of the work), and the national traditions of the Celts, Germans, Africans, Arabs, Basques, etc. In the historical period he mentions the discoveries of the Northmen, and the voyage of the brothers Zeni, and ends with the immediate precursors of Christopher Columbus, whether men of science or simple travellers.

The author has treated his subject in its whole extent; and none of his matter is irrelevant, since myths and traditions have their natural places before history begins. But when stories are classed as myths, their mythical character should be respected; and purely gratuitous suppositions should not be given as traditions. Plato has spoken of the Atlantis as a great island in the west, swallowed up 9000 years before his time by the wrath of the gods; and modern science has perceived in the Antilles the possible remains of some submerged land. But it does not follow that the Atlantis is the land of which the Antilles are the remains. Such an inference is sufficiently refuted by the Atlantines themselves: they were the inhabitants of an island submerged 9000 years before Plato, and were conquered by the Athenians. Plato dreamed of the Atlantis: only modern visionaries have been able to see the reality of his dream in facts which could not become the object of a positive notion till our own time. The same may be said of all other lands imagined by the ancients beyond the ocean: what they placed beyond the ocean they might have placed in the moon, if they had thought it large enough for the purpose.

The authors own notions of the Atlantines and their place amongst the races of antiquity need not be examined. He considers that Berbers, Basques, Sicilians, Sicilians, Etruscans, and Egyptians, are all of American race. For his proof in the case of the Egyptians he alleges the representations where the colour of the men is red and that of the women yellow. If the race is to be inferred from the colour the inference ought to hold with regard to women as well as men. It would be a remarkable people in which the children of the same father belonged to two different races—the boys to the red race, and the girls to the yellow one. The author's discourse on the possible emigration of the Canaanites to America after Joshua's invasion of Palestine, and the similar emigration of the Jews after the conquest by Nebuchadnezzar, may be relegated from the department of tradition to that of myths, or rather of fables, and fables of the worst kind—those which spring from the lucubrations of the learned, and not from popular imagination. As to the Phœnicians, if any of them, driven by tempests or drawn on by the equatorial current, were cast upon the shores of America, it is pretty certain that no one ever returned, and that consequently nothing is known of them. If any philologist should undertake to trace them by the clue of language, it may be hoped that he will adduce some more convincing, if not more complete, analogy than that between the words "cannibal" and "Hannibal." The author's error is, that after he has justly

characterized certain stories as myths, he has sought in them a basis of truth, and has pushed the hypothesis over the threshold of absurdity. His collection, however, is full of interest; and so also is his account of the authentic discoveries connected with the American continent before Columbus. These discoveries in no way detract from the merit of Columbus himself. Others before him went to America without intending it, and without knowing it. He himself discovered the New World without knowing it, for he supposed himself to have landed on the shores of Asia. But his glory is the deliberateness of his purpose. He had set his face to the ocean, and resolved that he would pass beyond it.

21. THE description of England under Mary Tudor by the Venetian ambassador Michiel was long known to our historians, while his despatches, being partly in cipher, remained inaccessible. Photographs were sent to England in vain. The key had not been found, when Mr. Friedmann arrived at Venice. He had employed himself for several years in investigating the history of Philip and Mary, and had brought together a rich collection of materials. Having resided at Simancas in the company of the late Mr. Bergenroth, he had acquired skill in the art of reading ciphers of that date; and he succeeded, after much labour, in discovering the key that was used by Michiel. He has now published the despatches, in a volume disfigured by many misprints, but full of curious details for the two years 1555 and 1556. He has written an Introduction in French, briefly describing the contents of the documents, from a continental or international point of view. He thinks poorly of Cardinal Pole, and attributes the enmity of the Caraffas to his political blundering. "Paul IV., dont le sentiment de rectitude était extrêmement fort, ne pouvait voir sans chagrin ces cumuls honteux, qui avaient permis aux représentants du Saint-Siège de devenir les ministres d'un autre souverain." Mr. Friedmann's indignation is misdirected. Caraffa and Pole were divided by deeper and earlier differences. During the last years of Paul III. the Roman prelates formed two distinct and hostile groups. The severity of the contest with the Reformation, and the greatness of the danger, had banished the carnal and worldly habits of the age of Leo; and the earnest desire of a moral regeneration prevailed in the Church. There were some who thought the breach might yet be repaired, and advised the maximum of concession and conciliation. They were the most virtuous men of their time; but they were not always clear in the choice of objects, or vigorous in the use of means. They were outstripped, thrust aside, and stigmatized as heretics, by passionate men, who kept distinctly in view the ideal of the Church, such as it had been designed by mediæval pontiffs, and sought to realize it by unscrupulous means. In three conclaves Pole was the candidate of the moderate party. Caraffa was the foremost of the zealots; and, having succeeded in excluding Pole, he became Pope himself in 1555. It was the victory of



the Mountain over the Gironde. The resolute and consistent fanatic triumphed over the weak, vague, and well-intentioned reformer. Violence and falsehood became the accepted weapons for the defence of the Church. Paul IV. published a Bull for the express purpose of excluding from ecclesiastical power men like Pole and Morone. He sent Morone before the Inquisition; and Pius V. afterwards declared that he accepted his election to the Papacy solely because Morone would otherwise have been Pope. Pole, if he had returned to Rome, would have been in the same position.

Mr. Friedmann explains the remarkable fact that the Spanish divines did not encourage the cruelty which dishonoured Mary's reign, by assuming that Philip did not learn till long after to be a persecutor: "Celui-ci n'était pas à cette époque, le bigot intolérant, tel que nous le dépeignent les historiens de la seconde partie de son règne, entouré d'hommes de la trempe des Carranza, des Cazalla, des Cano, des Soto et autres." It is quite true that there is a marked difference between the general policy of Philip during the first and second half of his reign. He became, as he grew older, less moderate, and more enterprising and despotic. But it would be hard to show that he became more intolerant; and it was certainly not by the influence of the men whom Mr. Friedmann names. Cano died in 1560. Carranza was imprisoned by the Inquisition in 1559. Soto died in 1563. None of them could influence the later part of Philip's reign; and two of them, Carranza and Soto, were in England under Mary.

Mr. Friedmann points out and explains a strange coincidence between many of Michiel's despatches and those of the French ambassador, Noailles. Noailles had bribed the secretary of Michiel for sixty crowns a month. The fact that he made so much use of the despatches shows the estimation in which the Venetian was held; but it somewhat diminishes their novelty at the present time. The information they supply about the parliamentary session in the autumn of 1555 is curious; but the ambassador's attention is chiefly directed to foreign affairs. He has an immense esteem for Gardiner, and describes Pole as averse from business. He mentions Philip's idea of eventually marrying Elizabeth as early as April 1555, only nine months after his marriage with her sister; and he thinks that the idea of sending Elizabeth to Spain, which was spoken of in the spring of 1556, was seriously entertained. Touching the persecution, we only learn that Mary was not duped by the recantations of Cranmer.

22. THE last instalment of Mr. Spedding's *Letters and Life of Francis Bacon* treats of a period which is of the utmost importance to those who wish to form an accurate judgment of Bacon's moral character and political position. As a biographer, Mr. Spedding is no doubt in the right in refusing to pass a final judgment till he has the whole case before him. Yet, even as the matter stands at present, it is no inconsiderable gain to have learnt that, what-

ever may be thought of Bacon's cringing to the great, it is not to be accounted for by Macaulay's hasty theory that his intellectual perceptions were dulled by moral weakness. The private memoranda, now printed for the first time, in which he sought to jog his memory, lest he should forget to pay sufficient court to men whom he despised, "do no doubt imply a deliberate intention to do those things, and a conclusion of the judgment that it is: under the circumstances to do them." Nor do these volumes fail to supply information as to the limits which he placed upon his conduct in this matter. To Salisbury, of whose objects he approved, though he thought his methods ruinous to the State, he wrote in the highest strain of compliment. But, in the midst of the wildest expressions of personal devotion, he never allowed a word to slip in which would express the slightest approbation of the Lord Treasurer's political blunders. His coolness towards Somerset is still more striking; and when we remember what was the language with which he subsequently addressed Buckingham, it can only be accounted for on the ground that he saw injury to the King and the nation in the predominance of the favourite, who had allied himself with the party of the Howards, which was by this time making itself conspicuous for its advice to James to look to the King of Spain rather than to his own people for the supply of his necessities.

For it is evident that the key-note of Bacon's political aims is to be found in his efforts to counteract those forces which were introducing disunion between the Crown and the House of Commons. All through the various scenes of James's first Parliament, which have not been fully represented till the appearance of Mr. Spedding's book, he never ceased to urge the Commons to refrain from irritating the King, whilst he never ceased to show his opinion that it was an absolute necessity for the King to place himself in harmony with the feeling of the Commons. It is, however, in the bold advice which he gave to the Crown after Salisbury's death that his prescience culminates. At a time when most men considered the embarrassments of the Exchequer as hopeless, he actually recommended James to meet his Parliament without saying a word about his financial difficulties, and, assuming a confidence in the future, which he could hardly feel, to trust to the beneficial legislation in which he was to take the lead, as a means of winning a voluntary grant of supplies from the grateful Commons. He had thus anticipated, by two centuries, the saying of Baron Louis: "Give me a good policy, and I will give you good finances." Even Mr. Spedding seems hardly to do justice to this advice of Bacon's, the character of which has been so misapprehended by former writers. For he is evidently under the impression that the King's position was worse than it really was; and his readers will be apt to think that Bacon was recommending James to play a game of brag, which might have resulted in utter failure if the Commons had proved recalcitrant for more than one or two sessions. The cause of the King's difficul-



ties, he says, "was simple enough. Large estates are costly to manage. The nation had increased greatly in wealth and population; the business and cost of government had increased along with it; but the fund out of which the cost was to be defrayed was comparatively stationary." No doubt it is true that the subsidies were steadily decreasing; but, as Mr. Spedding has pointed out, it was not out of the subsidies that the regular cost of the government was met. And so far was the regular income of the Crown from being stationary that, whilst it reached about £815,000 in 1607, it expanded, even if Salisbury's new impositions be omitted from the calculation, to £377,000 in 1614, to £400,000 in 1616, and to £430,000 in 1619. And it is an undoubted fact that, during the last six years of his reign, James managed to pay his way, as far as his ordinary expenditure was concerned, without the help of Parliament.

The cause of Bacon's failure, therefore, was not that his advice was in any degree faulty, but that he characteristically expected too much from James. Not indeed that there was the gulf between the two men which is usually supposed to have existed. As far as mere opinion went they were, for the most part, bound together by the "*idem sentire de republica*." For Mr. Spedding is right in holding that whenever the King "was at variance with the popular judgment of his own time, it was by being in advance of it." If there had been nothing else to unite James to his Solicitor-General than the memory of the days in which they had stood shoulder to shoulder in combating the popular prejudice on the subject of the Scottish Union, it would have been sufficient to make Bacon very reluctant to remove his standard to the ranks of the opposition. It was James's sluggishness whenever action was required, and his intemperate haste when speech could be made to take the place of action, which was the bane of his government and policy. Bacon has paid dearly in public estimation for his imperfect recognition of his sovereign's weakness. The present generation is beginning to learn, under Mr. Spedding's guidance, that the mistake, so far as it was one, had its root in the nobler, and not in the baser, parts of his own character.

23. WHEN the wars of religion had been terminated by the reconciliation of Henry IV. and the peace of Vervins, it became the object of the Catholic party to consolidate an alliance between the two great powers, France and Spain. For this object a double marriage between the two royal families was proposed, as soon as their children were born. Henry, who was revolving schemes of war, allowed the plan to be pursued without any definite result. His widow, unable to obtain the support of a strong national opinion in a country threatened with religious tumult and feudal anarchy, sank under the influence of Spain, until the advent of Richelieu to power; and the Spanish marriages were concluded with the vain hope that they would confirm the authority of the crown. M. Perrens, who is

best known as one of the many biographers of Savonarola, has published an ample history of these negotiations, founded on the papers of Ubaldini, the nuncio, of De Brèves, the French ambassador at Rome, and of several agents of France at Madrid. Copious extracts from these unpublished sources give a solid value to the book. The newest and most curious are those which are taken from the Madrid correspondence. The papers of De Brèves have been largely used by Goujet, by Gaillard, and others. The manuscript of Ubaldini consulted by M. Perrens is incomplete. Besides a hiatus during the first seven months of 1608, which occurs in other copies, there is a defect at the beginning. M. Perrens says that a despatch, dated Christmas Day 1607, is the earliest of the embassy. Ubaldini arrived at Paris on the 17th of November; and there is a series of important despatches written during the five weeks following, which do not, however, give any particulars upon the match with Spain. It is a drawback to the pleasure of reading M. Perrens's book, to remember how much more interest there is in other topics spoken of in these manuscripts. Much of the matter which he gives is not very significant; but he has succeeded in presenting a tolerably accurate picture of the diplomatic situation among the powers that were engaged in that protracted negotiation. It entered prominently into the more important question of the truce between Spain and the Low Countries; and M. Perrens would have found some papers belonging to his subject in the *Gedenkstukken van Oldenbarneveldt*. There are also clear indications of the ideas under which French statesmen acted, in the letters found by M. de la Ferrière in Russia, and described by him in the *Revue des Sociétés Savantes* for 1864. M. Perrens has pointed out the active part taken by the Catholic clergy, and especially by the Jesuits, in promoting the marriage; and he has shown that the celebrated Father Cotton, Henry's confessor, was zealous in its favour. A circumstance has escaped him which Cardinal Borghese related to Ubaldini in a letter of the 5th of January 1610:—"Il Padre Cottone scrive qua ad un amico suo che se il Rè di Spagna vuole offerire la Navarra in dote d'una delle sue figlie, massime della maggiore, il Delfino la pigliará, e che il secondogenito di S. M. Cattolica havrà quella delle figlie di Francia che essa vorrá, quando sia destinato dal Padre successore della Fiandra."

24. ALTHOUGH few men are equal to the task of writing the life of Sarpi, it is hardly possible to read the book of his new biographer without disappointment. It is written by a lady who has enjoyed good opportunities of clearing up points that are still obscure, who has examined at leisure the twenty-nine folios which contain the literary remains of the great historian, and who has had access to documents consulted by no previous writer. Of these the most considerable are the despatches of Francesco Contarini, who was ambassador at Rome in 1607, at the time of the attempted murder of Sarpi. They are of so grave an import, and



contradict so emphatically the account given by Cantù (the most diligent of those who have treated this question lately) in his *History of the Italian Heretics*, that it is seriously to be regretted that they have been so imperfectly used. Some of the most important of the despatches have been overlooked; and the extracts are translated so incorrectly that the author can scarcely have seen the translations of that excellent Venetian scholar, Mr. Rawdon Brown, which are spoken of in the Preface. An adventurer, described by Contarini, as "Alfiero già in Cattaro," is called "late ancient Cattaro." The ambassador writes, literally, that when the ancient and the captain were released from prison at Rovigo, the captain was sent with his company to Padua." Sarpi's biographer says: "After that, the ancient and the captain were released from prison, Rovigo, the captain, was sent with his company to Padua." The words, "Si saprà anco per altre vie la verità del fatto," are translated: "The truth of the fact, moreover, would not be known through other channels." Bellarmine complained that a false report had been spread (*divulgato*). The translator makes him say that it was *divulged*. "Non vidi nelle lettere altro particolare; mostravano di haver scritto per avanti," which means that the writers had been corresponding before, is done into English thus: "I saw no other detail in the letters; they appeared to have been written previously." There is a puzzling description of two men with "black beards, chestnut-brown, and thin," where it appears that *castagne* has been read for *corte giù*. The writer has not even read the whole of Contarini's correspondence. Her contemptuous description of Cardinal Duperron would have been rebuked by the ambassador's account of him: "Mi rinesce grandemente della partenza di questo Prelato, perchè, oltre la sua ottima disposizione, è solo nella corte che possa parlar liberamente a sua Santità."

The book claims notice only by reason of these unprinted materials. Other sources of information are neglected; and the estimate of the position and character of the hero is entirely false. "Sarpi felt that he could not conscientiously leave the Church of Rome; he believed, and said with all her defects, she was like the Church of Corinth, a Church of Christ" (p. 226). Diodati, who visited him in the autumn of 1608, reports as follows:—"Le père Paolo allègue trois raisons pour se couvrir en ce qu'il condamne lui-même, n'ayant plusieurs fois protesté avec larmes qu'il se trompait lui-même, mais que la nécessité l'y forçait . . . qu'il faut procéder froidement et à la longue, agir en secret . . . travailler enfin par dessous terre, en attendant quelque guerre et publique rupture." Sarpi himself says of the Synod of Dort: "Christiana ista Synodus apostolicam sententiam a carnali discrevit, et hac damnata illam pie amplexa est." Probably this passage would present no difficulty to a writer who believes that the "best informed and wisest members" of the Church of Rome still hold the Lutheran doctrine of Justification (p. 29). We have still to wait for an adequate

biography of a man whose real character continues to be one of the chief problems of history, whom his bitterest censor, Passionei, pronounces to have been "dottissimo però oltre ogni espressione," and whom the Nuncio himself declared to be revered as an oracle even among the partisans of Rome: "E tenersi come per un oracolo non solo da mal'affetti ma anco da quelli che per altro non hanno mala volontà."

25. ABOUT a third of the seventh volume of Professor Ranke's collected works consists of his well-known essay upon Ferdinand I. and Maximilian II., the remainder, now published for the first time, being a sketch of the working of the Imperial institutions under Rudolph II. and his brother. Even if the author had not been able to refer to hitherto unused materials in the unpublished reports of the Brandenburg representatives in the Diet, an account from him of the demands put forward by the two parties before the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War could not fail to be of the highest value, especially as he lays stress upon the legal and political considerations which are frequently passed over by those who look upon the quarrel from a too exclusively religious point of view. As is well known, the failure of the Diet to exercise a pacificatory influence was consummated by the open breach between the two parties at the meeting of 1608 and 1613, and by the doctrine set up by the leading Calvinists, that the decisions of the majority in matters relating to religion were not binding upon the minority. The enunciation of this opinion has been dwelt upon by Catholic writers as evidence that those who gave vent to it were, without provocation, driving straight towards anarchy, and were bent upon making all Government of the Empire, as a political unity, impossible. To some extent this view must undergo modification from the story, now fully told by Professor Ranke, of the attempt of the Administrator of Magdeburg to obtain a seat and vote in the Diet. The compromise of the Peace of Augsburg had been vaguely worked when it touched upon matters upon which no real agreement had been come to. It was stipulated by the Ecclesiastical Reservation that an ecclesiastical prince who changed his religion must at the same time relinquish his position. But nothing was said about the case of a Protestant distinctly elected as such to a Bishopric or Abbey, and exercising the rights of his predecessors as far as a layman could. After a prolonged struggle the case was decided by the Catholic majority against the claim to a seat in the Diet. It was a decision which, as Professor Ranke shows, was certain to render the position of the Protestants increasingly insecure. In the first place, if the lay Bishops were not fit to hold a seat in the Diet, it would be difficult to maintain that they were fit to retain their sees. In the second place, their exclusion left the Protestant populations of the North without adequate representation; and the majority of the Catholics in the College of Princes was liable to be regarded as fictitious. Such an opinion would naturally give rise to



the doctrine of the limitation of the powers of the majority—a doctrine which, nevertheless, extending as it did to a denial of the right of the Diet to impose obligatory taxation, would certainly go far to reduce the Empire to a mere alliance between independent States.

No doubt such arguments do not quit that political and constitutional ground on which the author's strength lies; and he does not even attempt to meet the charge that the aims of the Calvinist leaders were directed at something more than the maintenance of the existing state of things. Yet Professor Gindely, in his *Rudolf II. und seine Zeit*, has quoted (i. 159) the instructions of the Elector Palatine to his representative at the Diet of 1608, from which it would seem that he directed him to refuse every compromise which did not include the repeal of the Ecclesiastical Reservation in favour of the Protestants, and the concession "dass auch fernerhin jeder evangelische Reichsstand seinen jetzigen Besitz oder was ihm künftig durch Erbschaft oder auf einem andern Weg, zufallen konnte, reformiren, d. i. die Klöster und Stifter darin aufheben und die Einwohner zu seiner Religion nöthigen dürfe." It is to be hoped that Dr. Ritter will publish the exact words of this remarkable document in a future volume of his *Geschichte der Deutschen Union*. But, as the matter stands, the fact that Professor Ranke, though he has referred in other places to the book which contains the charge, has nevertheless taken no notice of it, is not without its use. The completeness of his work in its own range might otherwise lead men to forget that it is intended to be rather a map of the surface than a plummet to sound the depths of the great controversy with which it deals.

26. MR. GARDINER'S volumes on *Prince Charles and the Spanish Marriage* are in reality a full history of the reign of James I., between the year 1617 and 1623. The election of the Palgrave to the throne of Bohemia forced his father-in-law to take a reluctant part in the movement of continental affairs; and the scheme for recovering the Palatinate by the marriage of Prince Charles with an Infanta of Spain, became the pivot of English politics. Mr. Gardiner has gone abroad for his materials, and has laboured not only in the heavy folios of Khevenhiller and Aitzema, but in the Spanish and Venetian archives. The narrative moves slowly under the produce of his industry. The changes wrought by the progress of events are not well defined. There is much sameness in the situations, and too much anxiety that there should be no mistake as to the personal opinions of the author. He condemns the plotters who kindled the Thirty Years' War; and in the Bohemian insurrection he is on the side of the Emperor. But when the Catholic armies invade the hereditary dominions of the Elector Palatine, he becomes zealous for the Protestant cause. In each case his sympathy is given to the constituted authority, though both Emperor and Elector were tyrants over conscience. He thoroughly condemns wars of religion, and considers those statesmen to have been right

who promoted the Spanish alliance, and sought, by policy, to reconcile nations divided by religion. This is the idea which was faintly grasped and fitfully carried out by James I.; and Digby, its ablest advocate, is the undisguised hero of Mr. Gardiner's history. His just admiration for that eminent man has once led him into error. The charge against Digby that, returning from his embassy to Vienna, he levied war against Ferdinand, and gave money to Mansfeld, whilst James was negotiating for peace at Brussels, rests, whether true or false, on better authority than "an unguarded expression of Lingard" (ii. 112). It is positively brought forward by Sir George Chaworth, the very man who was pursuing the negotiation at Brussels, and who declares that Digby's conduct justified the Emperor in breaking it off. (Kempe's *Loseley Manuscripts*, 466).

Both politically and morally, Mr. Gardiner prefers the Catholic party. He "cannot do otherwise than rejoice at the defeat of the political system of the men by whom Protestantism was in the main supported" (i. 252), and thinks that, "as far as the leaders were concerned, moral superiority was not on the Protestant side. It would be an insult to Ferdinand, to Maximilian, and to Tilly, to compare them for an instant with Frederick, with James, or with Mansfeld" (ii. 461). This sharp and simple division of Christendom into Protestants and Catholics throws a dangerously false light on the struggle in Germany, and on the position of James. The rising of 1618, with which the Thirty Years' War began, proceeded, not from the Protestants generally, but from the Calvinists alone; and the Calvinists, in the eyes of both Lutherans and Arminians, were more hateful than the Catholics. Barclay, who understood the age he lived in better than almost any of his contemporaries, does not exaggerate the truth when he says:—"In Lutheranis est rarus (et hoc sumus experti) qui non ad Papisticam fidem, ut vocant, quam Calvinianam malit accedere" (*Parænesis ad Sectarios*, 27). Mr. Gardiner is aware of this; for he speaks of the Lutherans fearing "lest the Antichrist of Rome should only be dethroned to make way for the worse Antichrist of Geneva." But he clings to the notion that the Protestants were bound together by closer links than existed between any party among them and the Catholics; and he is consequently irresolute and perplexed when he speaks of the religious attitude of James. He quotes with amazement a despatch in which Gondomar announces that James was ready to acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope in spirituals; and he agrees with the Spaniard that it meant nothing. But there is a long chain of consistent evidence to the same effect. The aversion of James I. for Geneva was dogmatic; for Rome, political. The idea of Protestant unity, embracing all sects on the sole ground of hostility to Catholicism, was as inconceivable to him as to the Lutherans who had extirpated Calvinism in Northern Germany, or to the Arminians whom it had proscribed in Holland. Believing that the Gallican system was nearly akin to his own ecclesiastical ideal, he readily



took Frenchmen into his confidence; and, if Mr. Gardiner were not a little indisposed to rely on French authorities, he would remember much to confirm the startling assertion of Gondomar. On the 20th of June 1606, James said to La Boderie, "Que si le Pape se vouloit contenter d'être le chef et le premier des Evêques, il ne feroit point difficulté de le reconnoître pour tel; mais que de se vouloir faire par-dessus les Rois, il n'y en avoit un seul qui le dût souffrir." On the 22d of July 1609, the French Secretary, Puysieux, writes to Rome:—"Jaques consent à reconnoître le Pape pour le premier des Evêques, s'il pouvoit renoncer à son prétendu pouvoir d'interdire les Rois." The King used the same language to Beaumont immediately after his accession, and to the Archbishop of Embrun towards the end of his life. In that remarkable letter to Duperron which was drawn up by him in conjunction with Casaubon and Andrewes, the idea of essential and fundamental union with Rome constantly recurs:—"Credit vero Rex simpliciter, sine fuco et fallaciis, unicam esse Ecclesiam Dei, et re et nomine Catholicam, sive universalem, toto diffusam mundo; extra quam ipse quoque nullam salutem debere sperari affirmat . . . unica enim salutaris doctrina, unica in cœlos via . . . nullam spem salutis superesse iis, qui a fide Ecclesiæ Catholicæ, aut ab ejusdem Communione discesserint. . . . Ecclesia Catholica non desit illa quidem esse, erit enim semper, neque portæ inferorum prævalituræ unquam sunt adversus ipsam, in Christo vera petra, et fide Petri cæterorumque apostolorum fundatam. . . . Magnum ideo quidem crimen judicare, defectionem ab Ecclesia; sed huic crimini affinem se esse aut Ecclesiam suam, penitus pernegat. Non enim fugimus, aiebat ejus Majestas, sed fugamur." It was the authority claimed by the Pope over princes which repelled and frightened James. Even auricular confession seemed to him objectionable chiefly on that account:—"Tandem igitur eo processit hæc doctrina, ut jam Reges occidere, aut sinere occidi, ne peccatum quidem esse videatur, præut si quis Confessionis sigillum rumperet." His feelings towards the Church of Rome were those which Casaubon expresses in his *Ephemerides* (807):—"Jam apud me prisca Ecclesia tua, Christe Jesu, plurimum valet vel ipsum nomen, atque adeo persuasum habeo quod illa probaverit et in quo consensus erit neque ullo pacto sacra Scripturæ tuæ repugnaverit, haud temere illud posse aut rejici aut mutari. Sed me rursus terret Romani Episcopi aperta et prorsus Antichristiana hæc tyrannis." Doubtless, if these men had worked out the thought that was in them, the dogmatic differences would have proved deeper than they supposed; but Mr. Gardiner has not appreciated the attraction which drew them towards Rome, nor the force which drove them back. He says that there was something not very unreasonable in the distrust with which Catholics were regarded, because "they were part of a huge organization of which the chief was a foreign potentate; and that potentate had, in very recent times, been able to dispose of the armies of the King of Spain to

carry out his designs." This fact, however, would not make the distrust more reasonable. The support of their own brethren in foreign countries was not peculiar to the Catholics, due to the organization of Catholicism. In the German war which was then raging, five or six Protestant Governments took up arms against the Empire. The real objection to Catholics was their doubtful allegiance, and the danger of assassination, which was connected with the deposing power. Paul declared that power essentially necessary for the preservation of the Church. He refused to abandon it even as the price of the recognition of James. It would be heresy, he said, to do so. And his biographer denounces the doctrines touching the Papal power which were circulated at that time by the Venetian date as *omnium perniciosissima hæresis*. One of the most celebrated of these divines, De Dominis, sought refuge in England; and the end of his fate occupies a place in Mr. Gardiner's pages. "That Gondomar had anything to do with the Archbishop's return to Rome," he says, "is very doubtful" (ii. 174). On the contrary, it is very certain that Gondomar mediated between the Archbishop and the Court of Rome. On the 9th of October 1622, De Dominis wrote to Gregory xv.: "L'E. Signor Conte de Gondomare ambasciatore della Maestà Catholica in questo Regno, m'invia a parte di vostra Santi à e della Maestà del Signore a ritornar col corpo là di dove con lo spirito non mi sono giamai partito." The Pope's answer reached him through Gondomar; and, on the 9th of February 1622, De Dominis applies for Gondomar's assistance to enable him to get to Brussels.

Mr. Gardiner's love for the established order has led him to adopt doctrines concerning toleration which jar with the grave and elevated tone of his writings. The principle that the civil authority may control and alter at will the faith of the people appears to him to have been a symptom of progress; and he hails as a precious discovery of the seventeenth century the notion that religious error should be put down because it is dangerous to the commonwealth. He speaks of toleration as an anachronism in those days, and thinks that persecution, which combined "the satisfaction of martyrdom and the sweets of popularity" (i. 246), was not hard to bear. But the idea that religious unity must be upheld for the safety of the State, rather than for the sake of truth, is as old as the Middle Ages. The persecutor, originally, was not the Catholic and Universal Church, but the established Church bound up and identified with the particular State. The Church herself, in her central and supreme authority, apart from the several political communities, retained the spirit of toleration when it was banished from the civil government of many countries; and it did not penetrate her canon law until it had long prevailed in secular legislation. Later, in altered times, the trace of what had been survived in the fiction that the Church imposed no punishment, but delivered over the culprit to the secular arm. Mediaeval persecution took



its rise not in mere fanaticism, but in that poverty of resource which disabled the State from governing and influencing men who rejected the ecclesiastical system from which it derived many of its enactments, and almost all the awfulness of its authority. The idea that the nation should have a sovereign of its own faith, and should determine the religious character of the State—an idea which was latent in the theory of the deposing power, and directed the settlement of the British crown—is, in spite of all dangers, a nobler and better idea than the maxim *Cujus regio ejus religio*. That maxim was the canonization of despotism. Where it is admitted that the most sacred of all duties is protected by no rights, that the best of man's possessions may be taken from him by the State, there is no security for inferior things, and no place for freedom. Mr. Gardiner's error seems due to the belief that the Reformation was a popular movement overruling the princes, while the Catholic reaction was got up in courts, and carried out by violence. He describes it as a defect of all Catholic schemes at that time, that they dealt only with the wrongs of the Princes, and forgot the wrongs of the people, and that the voluntary conversion of a Prince carried with it the forcible conversion of his subjects (ii. 110). Either he forgets that the reign of craft and terror by which the restoration of Catholicism was effected at the time of which he writes had served during the previous age to establish Protestantism, or he thinks that the excuse for persecution is to be sought in the doctrines it is made to serve. Ferdinand is not to invade the Palatinate on account of the people, "whose rights were infinitely more precious than those for which the rival kings of Bohemia were doing battle" (i. 341). This must mean the rights of conscience; and Mr. Gardiner appears to imagine that they were respected by the Palatine House. Among the subjects of Frederick v. there were still men living who had been compelled by his predecessors four times to change their religion. They had adopted the Lutheran doctrines under Frederick II. in the middle of the sixteenth century. In 1563 Frederick III. introduced the Heidelberg Catechism. They were made Lutherans again by Lewis VI. in 1576. They were made Calvinists again by Oasimir in 1583. When Mr. Gardiner affirms that "there was no longer to be found in Europe any considerable body of Catholics who were the subjects of a Protestant sovereign," and follows this up by saying that in Holland Calvinism "was still cherished with excessive devotion by the vast majority of the population," his facts seem to flow from the general principle that persecution was a Catholic weapon. The French minister, Buzanval, wrote on the 9th of October 1599, that, in the United Provinces, the majority of the population was Catholic. Sir Henry Wotton records, on the 21st of February, 1617, that Barnevelt had assured him that the Protestant part was not a third of the inhabitants. "He sayde the strongest, la plus saine and plus riche parti of theyr countray were papists." A quarter of a century later,

VOL. LI.

N—9

Grotius describes the Calvinists as a small minority. "Multo enim maxima pars in illis locis a Calvino dissentit."—(*Opp. Theol.* iv. 680.)

Mr. Gardiner has given an ample and minute account of Charles's journey to Spain, with the aid of Venetian despatches, and especially of a narrative of the whole negotiation, which was drawn up by one of the divines engaged in it, and presented by him to James. This work, which Mr. Gardiner has edited for the Camden Society, contains the best statement of the Spanish case, and includes documents of great value. Like most men who rely on new materials, and are able to appreciate their use, Mr. Gardiner is rather remiss in collecting information to which others before him have had access. In describing the Prince's reception at Madrid, he notices neither the Belgian account, which is printed in Gachard's *Anales des Historiques*, nor the more curious narrative which was sent to Rome by the Nuncio's secretary, and which is to be found in the *Saggiatore*. He does not seem to know that the *Fragmentos Historicos* of Count de la Roca are printed in the *Semanario Erudito*. His most important omission has been to explain the policy of France during the progress of a negotiation which aimed at an alliance between its two chief rivals. It was France that had most to fear from its conclusion, and that profited immediately by its failure. The fragment of Richelieu's memoirs which was discovered by Ranke, and the history of Francisco de Jesus, relate how the marriage of Charles with Henrietta Maria was proposed to Mary of Medici by an unknown and mysterious friar after the breach with Spain. Buckingham informed Tillières that the same friar had appeared at Madrid during the Prince's stay there, and, after speaking of his conversion, had ended by making overtures for the match with France. It would appear that the French Government did not believe that the Spanish marriage was seriously intended, or ever likely to succeed, as they knew the difficulties that opposed it both in England and in Spain. The Councillors of the Elector Palatine declared that it was an artifice of the Spaniards to neutralize the influence of England in Germany. Camerarius writes in July 1619:—"Der Spanier ist dem Engländer vil zu schlauch, wird ihne mit guten Worten lactiren, biss Ferdinandus in allem Vorhaben seinen scopum erlangt." And this opinion is confirmed by the fact mentioned by Tillières, that letters reached Charles, threatening that the marriage would be broken off if he did not go to Spain. Mr. Gardiner has bestowed greater attention on the policy of the Holy See in this matter; but he has overlooked the information he might have found in Siri, and especially in the important letters of Cardinal de Marquemont, printed in Aubery's *Mémoires de Richelieu*. Paul v. was entirely opposed to the match, as he had been to the earlier scheme for marrying the Prince of Wales to a Princess of France, Savoy, or Tuscany. His successor, Gregory xv., took the opposite view. He was not only anxious that the failure should not be laid at his door, but positively favourable to the match. Ludovisi



writes to the nuncio in Spain, that there is hope that God is about to show his mercy to England, as the marriage project "va addolcendo gl'animi, e disponendo le cose ad alcuna speranza di salute." He did not look for entire liberty of conscience. He believed that the remission of the penalties would enable those who were Catholics at heart to declare themselves; and there were symptoms which gave a basis to his hopes, and justified the liberal policy adopted since the death of Paul. The missionaries became suddenly so numerous that the English Catholics were unable to support them. The Venetian ambassador writes that, during the absence of the prince in Spain, about seven hundred families have openly professed the faith. In the same week Camerarius writes: "Me vero hic quoque metus cruciat, ne Rex Angliæ et Princeps Walliæ tandem ad Papatum prorsus deficiant, et nos quoque eo trahere paulatim velint." Urban viii. would have required further guarantees; but he held the same opinion as his predecessor. The instructions to the nuncio were, "Quanto al parentado d'Inghilterra viene sommamente desiderato da Nostro Signore."

The omissions we have noted detract but little from the substantial merit of Mr. Gardiner's volumes. It would be hard to name any English writer who has illustrated our history from so many foreign sources, or who has traced with so much care the action of continental affairs and home politics upon each other. He does not write under all the restraint men should submit to who discourse of an age filled and distracted with controversies that are not yet closed. But though his opinions are sometimes obtruded, and are not always right, they touch the superficial colour, not the outlines or the design; and every page bears testimony to the entire sincerity of the author in the pursuit of truth. His facts are not strung on very great ideas, but they have been explored with uncommon patience and energy, and add materially to our knowledge of the times of James I.

27. WITHIN the last few years the Germans have produced several important monographs on their more celebrated artists. Cranach and Albert Durer especially have engaged their attention; and a new and greatly augmented edition of Herr Eye's excellent work on the latter of these two great painters was issued a few months ago. Herr Gaedertz has added to this literature a volume on the life and works of Adrian van Ostade. In common with former biographers who have concerned themselves with the brothers Ostade, he has followed Houbraken in regarding them as natives of Lübeck. He appears to be unacquainted with Van der Willigen's *Geschiedkundige aanteekeningen over Haarlemsche Schilders*, published in 1866, full of new matter with regard to the painters who have been born at Haarlem, or have lived in that town. He would have learned from this work that Adrian's name appears in 1636 on the roll of the civic guard of Haarlem; that about the same time took place in that town the marriage of a certain Jean van

Ostade, a baker; that two years later, on the 26th of July 1638, Adrian's first marriage was celebrated there; and that both he and his wife on this occasion were described as natives of Haarlem. The same author alleges several other arguments to refute the opinion that the Ostades were natives of Lübeck; and there is not much force in the statement of Herr Gaedertz, that at a short distance from Uelzen, a small town on the Elbe, and not far from Lübeck, there is a village called Ostedt, formerly Ostede, from which he believes the name of the family to be derived. An acquaintance with Van der Willigen's work would also have enabled him to dispense with another circumstance, which he repeats on the authority of Houbraken, viz., that Adrian, fearing the approach of the French, left Haarlem for Amsterdam in 1662, and died at the latter place in 1685. The date given for his death is correct: but the event took place at Haarlem, which he does not appear to have quitted. The author is less open to criticism in the artistic portion of his book. He has devoted a chapter to the analysis of those works of Adrian van Ostade which bear a date; and this, together with a list of his pictures in the different galleries of Europe, is the best part of the book. The list, however, is far from complete, nor must its contents be blindly accepted. One of the omissions is a masterpiece of the artist's, dated 1655, which is now in the Arenberg gallery at Brussels, and is fully described in Burger's volume on that rich collection.

28. THE title-page of Mr. Folkestone Williams's *Memoirs and Correspondence of Bishop Atterbury* promises more than the book performs. Two rather thick volumes contain merely a selection from Atterbury's correspondence, and are nothing more than a biography, with illustrative passages from letters. To the historian seeking material, and requiring to sift for himself, Mr. Williams's labours will be almost valueless. For others the book is at once too long and too short,—too long, because it is largely padded with notices of Atterbury's contemporaries, and too short because the chief passages of Atterbury's own life are starved or omitted altogether. Atterbury was not a man of such calibre as to deserve a colossal monument. He was neither the centre of London literary society, as Mr. Williams represents him (p. ix.), nor a great statesman; nor was he, in the opinion of those who knew him, a man who, for honesty, consistency, and disinterestedness, ought to be considered the marvel of a corrupt age. The acts by which he is best remembered are of doubtful integrity. He supplied his pupil Boyle with the design, and with the greater part, of his attack upon Bentley. To assail under a mask is never honourable; and, if Atterbury was persuaded of the truth of his own criticisms, he must bear the discredit of having been hopelessly wrong. But a man who can render services of this stamp is certain never to want preferment; and if Boyle was ungrateful, Atterbury was not slow to discover a more powerful patron. He was a popular



preacher, and flattered adroitly. King William was deaf to his charmings, but Queen Anne was more impressible; and a sermon on her "amiable characteristics," followed by a funeral oration on Prince George of Denmark, which "brought out his unassuming virtues in high relief," recommended the rising man to royal patronage. With the accession to office of Harley's ministry, he passed rapidly through various preferments, and, in 1713, became Bishop of Rochester. The Queen's death was a blow to all his hopes. He is said to have offered to proclaim James III. at Charing Cross in his episcopal robes; but Bolingbroke was afraid to consent, and the Bishop declared with an oath that the best cause in Europe was lost for want of a little boldness. Of this story, told by Dean Lockier, and accepted by Lord Stanhope and Rémusat, Mr. Williams appears to know nothing; though if it be untrue it deserved the honour of a disproof. Nor is it conclusive evidence of the Bishop's loyalty that he offered the throne and canopy, his perquisites at the coronation, to the new sovereign. As little is it consistent with the spirit of this offer, that he at once went into opposition when he found his overtures rejected, and proved a dangerous enemy to the new Government. For a long time he was not molested. The statesmen of that period had learned a wholesome lesson from Sacheverel's trial, and were careful not to meddle needlessly with the gown. Prior, who had then quarrelled with him, insinuates that Atterbury was negotiating with the Court in 1721 for the betrayal of his party. This accusation seems to be quite groundless. The Bishop was really in active correspondence with the Pretender, and was arrested two years later on a charge of high treason. Mr. Williams thinks he was innocent (p. 418), on the singular ground that a volume of treasonable letters is in existence, composed of transcripts from the Bishop's correspondence, and that, as these could only have been obtained by gross domestic treachery, it suggests the idea that compromising letters may have been forged. Yet it is difficult to understand why James should have offered to give Atterbury "a rank superior to all the rest," if he did not count upon him for substantial service. But if, as an English bishop, Atterbury was too important to be neglected, there is reason to think that he was not fully trusted; and the weakness of the case for the prosecution is not in the want of proof that he corresponded with the Continent, but in the failure to bring home any definite position or plans to him. Substantial justice seems to have been done by the verdict that banished him from England. The best that can be said for him during the years of exile in France is that he did not renounce his religion. Considering how little he would have gained by the step, and how much he would have lost in the respect of his friends, and in political power, it is difficult to give his virtue much credit. In the political world he seems to have been wholly unscrupulous. The Pretender, having an intrigue with Mrs. Hay, made her brother, Lord Dunbar, tutor to his son. His wife nat-

urally remonstrated, and at last retired to a convent in indignation. The Pope was induced to interfere in her behalf. Common decency, it might be thought, should have led an English clergyman to side with the injured wife, or at least not to take part against her. Atterbury was cast in another mould. He saw that political capital could be made out of the situation, and represented the Pretender as the victim of Popish prejudice, because he had given his son a Protestant tutor. Mr. Williams thinks this conduct magnanimous. The second volume of the *Memoirs* is largely taken up with trifles of this kind, showing the infinite pettiness of the Jacobin agents. It may be added that, for a man of high position and real talent, Atterbury was very unfortunate in his friends. He had many acquaintances; but, except Pope, no really eminent man seems to have cared for him. But Sacheverel left him a legacy; and the worthless Duke of Wharton wrote an ode commemorating his god-like zeal. Mr. Williams has been unfortunate in the choice of a hero; and the Bishop not very happy in his historian. The *Memoirs* are more indebted to the scissors than to the pen.

29. STUDENTS of the literature of Queen Anne's time have always found it a little difficult to understand De Foe's position. He was an able political partisan, the master of a good literary style, and possessed of genuine originality, second only to Swift in creative genius, and superior even to Swift in the mastery of detail. Yet he was not in the literary society of his day, is never alluded to by Steele or Addison, and is only mentioned with contempt by those who alluded to him—by Swift as "the fellow who was pilloried," by Gay as "a fellow whose wits would endure but one skinning," by Pope as notorious for "front." His social position will not account for this; for he was as well born as Prior and Gay, and down to the time of his second bankruptcy held the place of a London merchant, backed by the powerful dissenting interest. Nor can it be said that he was ruined by the pillory and a political imprisonment. On the contrary, public opinion was with him at the time of his sentence; and it may be said to mark the zenith of his reputation. Mr. Lee's volumes of his *Life and Newly Discovered Writings* explain the secret of his terrible decline, why he was compelled to be "silent under infinite clamours and reproaches," why men of his own party shrank from him with contempt, and why he dared not after a time put his name to any political writing. The man who began life as an enthusiast, serving in Monmouth's army, who was scrupulously honest in the discharge of commercial debts, who risked imprisonment to deliver the Kentish petition, and endured the pillory for his defence of religious liberty, broke down under the trial of ruined fortunes and a prison, and bought his liberty at the price of becoming a hack writer to successive ministries. He was a Whig under Godolphin, a Tory under Harley. When the critical period arrived in which Anne's successor was to be determined, he was unjustly accused of having



turned Jacobite; and the public believed everything against the political Vicar of Bray. Thus much was known already; and it was commonly believed that De Foe had been overborne by clamour, and had ceased to write politics. It was therefore possible to explain his venal services to Godolphin and Harley as the result of gratitude to patrons, and to believe that he had only changed sides with half the nation. The letters which Mr. Lee quotes in his Preface go far to make this theory untenable, as they show that De Foe, during the latter years of his life, was prepared to purchase employment by the basest offices. It seems that, being prosecuted by the new Government, cast for libel, and, it may be added, unjustly condemned—for the writings which brought him into trouble were clearly ironical,—he made terms by entering their secret service as a spy. He was now used as a professed Tory to write for the Tory organ, *Mist's Journal*, use his influence to suppress dangerous matter, and keep his employers informed of the communications that were received. He pursued this infamous trade during a period of twelve years; and it is pitiable to read the letters in which he describes his services, and complains that "I am obliged to hear traitorous expressions and outrageous words against his Majesty's person and government, and smile at it all as if I approved it." After some years, *Mist*, who had been several times imprisoned, seems to have discovered his partner's treachery, drew his sword on him, loaded him with abuse, and of course excluded him thenceforth from the *Journal*. Mr. Lee characterizes this conduct as "a strange instance of ungrateful violence." But De Foe had struck out into a new line of authorship, more profitable and safer than the secret service. Having been ostentatiously a religious man, and having now a wife and daughters, whom it might have been thought he would respect, if he did not respect his own grey hairs (he was fifty-seven), he began pandering to the public appetite for impurity by a series of novels on the lives of harlots and thieves. Mr. Lee shows that he was not driven upon this manufacture by poverty, and concludes that he wrote "from motives justified by his own enlightened conscience." He also takes leave to notice in every instance how virtuous reflections are copiously interspersed among the impure scenes—a fact which, to some readers, will only seem to aggravate the offence. Nor is it easy to understand the criticism which speaks of De Foe's "mission as a teacher of the highest morality, the truth as it is in Jesus," in the very chapter which gives an account of the book on Conjugal Lewdness.

Mr. Lee's judicial estimate of De Foe cannot be accepted. No amount of theory as to a man's possible motives will outweigh the facts that he was Whig and Tory by turns as suited his interest, that he was for years a Government spy, and that he wrote *Moll Flanders* and *Roxana*. For the sake of historical truth, it is well that we should be able to gauge the man accurately; but the best service that can now be rendered to his memory is to ask mercy

and forbearance for one who was sorely tempted before he first fell, and whose moral infirmities have not blemished that one work of genius which is his real apology to the world. Mr. Lee's biography is a little cumbersome, and overloaded with special pleading; but it seems to be honest and good work by an enthusiast who has grudged no toil in performing a labour of love. How far he has succeeded in detecting De Foe's anonymous articles by internal evidence is a question that can only be decided by special labours in the same field; but his method appears to be trustworthy. Anyhow, the papers have a value of their own, as good specimens of periodical literature during the reign of George I.

80. SIR WILLIAM DRAKE'S *Notes on Venetian Ceramics* is a short monograph of thirty-six pages, with an appendix of thirty-four. It is very complete as far as it goes, and gives the facts in the first division and the documents in the second, relating to a manufacture of earthenware (majolica) and porcelain, hitherto known only by specimens and conjecture. Neither of these manufactures attained a very high degree of excellence; but they possessed certain peculiarities, giving them interest to the amateur. At one period plates and dishes were produced having the ornament raised by modelling, and coloured with feeble tints; at another, landscapes were the decorations, principally ruins, in a degree resembling the taste of *Salvator Rosa*, painted in blue, yellow, and brown. Some little had been written on the subject in the South Kensington Museum Loan Exhibition Catalogue (1868), and in the Catalogue of the Correr Museum at Venice, by Cavaliere Lazari (*Notizia delle Opere d'Arte e d'Antichità della Raccolta Correr di Venezia*, 1859); and in an earlier time the majolica had been mentioned by Piccolpasso, who visited Venice in 1550, and whose *ms.*, copiously illustrated by pen-and-ink sketches, may now be seen in the Library at the South Kensington Museum. But it remained for Sir William Drake, under the direction of Mr. Rawdon Brown, who had become acquainted with the original authorities during his researches among Venetian State-papers, to clear up this little dark corner in the history of art. The documents are given *in extenso*, and have an interest beyond their immediate subject, as illustrating the careful supervision and regulation by the State of everything relating to trade within the dominions of the Signiory.

As early as the fourteenth century, there existed a guild of *Boccaleri* (pitcher makers) and *Soudeleri* (plate and dish makers) in Venice. These made terra-cotta utensils, and must have been very inferior workmen to the contemporary glass makers, as it appears that fine ware was imported, particularly "majolica of Valencia." This mention of majolica from Valencia, one of the principal seats of the production of Hispano-Moresque, is perhaps the most important fact brought to light in the inquiry. The commerce by Moorish ships from Spain and Majorca must have supplied the Mediterranean with earthenware at this time.



Decrees of the Senate against the introduction of any foreign earthenware in 1487 and 1455, make exceptions in favour of crucibles (Correzoli) and majolica of Valencia. This, however, is much anterior to the earliest of Sir William Drake's documents, which is a petition of the Boccaleri, dated December 22, 1664, referring to these early decrees, and praying for the re-enactment of protective measures. The Pregadi issue the decree required in 1665, still making an exception of majolica of Valencia. In the papers that follow, the Pregadi sometimes refer the matter to the "Cinque Savij alla Mercanzia," and this Board makes its report. The documents are thirty-three in number, reaching down to September 1765, and, on the whole, show the manufacture to have been far from prosperous. Of course a monograph like the present cannot be expected to do more than furnish a few bricks towards the building of some future history of Italian falence.

81. THE volume in which M. Jobez relates the history of the reign of Lewis xv. during the Seven Years' War is hardly equal to its predecessors. The diaries of D'Argenson and Luynes fail him at the moment when he approaches events of universal importance and interest; and he has not made up by industry for the absence of leading authorities. His account of that far-reaching struggle in which France lost her Canadian dominion, and her prospect of an Indian empire, is very inadequate, because he has omitted to seek information from the writers of the other countries that were engaged in it. He complains that he has not been permitted to examine the correspondence of Bernis with Choiseul at the Foreign Office at Paris. Yet this correspondence is accessible to everybody in a copy at the French Archives, and another in the Imperial Library; and portions of it were printed in 1844 by Stühr, and more recently by Schäfer, in their works on the Seven Years' War. M. Jobez is a sound Liberal. His aversion for centralization makes him admire England, and even the East India Company; and he denounces despotism impartially, whether practised by a Bourbon, by Bonaparte, or by Robespierre. His admiration for Frederick II. is not quite consistent with these sentiments. He not only fills whole pages with the King's verses, but magnifies his exploits in a way which would distress a Prussian reader. He makes Frederick beat the Austrians at Prague with a force inferior by 10,000 men: in fact, it was slightly superior. According to the Prussian writers, Frederick captured 116 guns, and 51 stand of colours, at Leuthen, with a loss of 6300 men: M. Jobez says, 134 guns, 59 stand of colours, and 3000 men. He has seen neither the military correspondence of Frederick, published by Schöning, nor the only good edition of his works, or he would not be indebted to a casual number of the *Journal des Débats* for the instructions to Finkenstein. He is so conspicuously free from the intolerant patriotism of his countrymen, that the injustice he commits in speaking of the Convention of

Closter Zeven can be attributed to nothing worse than carelessness. He says that Denmark mediated at the request of George II., and that the English Government rejected the convention on the pretext that it was not ratified by France until the tide of fortune had turned at Rossbach. But in Flassan's *Histoire de la Diplomatie Française*, vi. 94, he would have found that the French commander, Richelieu, applied for the interposition of Denmark on his own account, and without knowing of the action of his enemy. The English Government is not to blame for refusing to ratify the convention; for its resolution was taken on the 16th of October, and the battle of Rossbach was fought on the 5th of November; and the French were the first to break it. The Count de Gisors wrote to his father, the Marshal de Belle-Isle, on the 9th of November: "Les Hanovriens paroissent réellement vouloir ne plus tenir une convention à laquelle nous avons manqué les premiers" (Rousset, *Le Comte de Gisors*, p. 317). M. Jobez's account of the peace of 1762 is very characteristic. Besenval relates that there was a hitch; that the Duke of Bedford told a story which put Choiseul into a rage at first, but that at the end they fell into each other's arms, and made peace. The correspondence between the English negotiator and his Government may be found in the Bedford Papers. M. Jobez ignores its existence, and contents himself with the irrelevant but dramatic incident described by Besenval.

82. HERR REIMANN, who is already very favourably known by his researches in connection with the sixteenth century, has published a *History of the War of the Bavarian Succession*. The subject is not at first sight a very attractive one, as the results of the conflict were quite out of proportion to the expectation of contemporaries. During two successive campaigns, hundreds of thousands of veteran soldiers, fully equipped, often stood face to face within the distance of a cannon-shot, on fields of traditional renown, without coming to a battle. At the head of one army was the greatest general of the time: at the head of the other an impetuous young prince, thirsting for honour and distinction. Vast sums were squandered; the populations were heavily burdened; troops were marched backwards and forwards in all directions; numbers of brave soldiers fell a prey to fatigue, exposure, inaction, and camp-fever. And at last a truce rather than a peace was concluded. To superficial observers all this might seem only like a bad play, though the parts were sustained by great actors. But Herr Reimann has appreciated the real significance of the conflict he narrates, and has endeavoured to assign to it its proper place in that traditional antagonism between Austria and Prussia, which is the impulse to the political development of modern Germany.

The extinction of the male line of the Bavarian Wittelsbachs in 1777 threatened a European crisis similar to that caused by the extinction of the male line of the Habsburgs in 1740. And now it was the son of the Habsburg heirless, Joseph II., who, in defiance of hereditary



right, endeavoured to seize the inheritance of the descendants of Otho. The Austrian claims on Bavaria were sufficiently doubtful. Kaunitz, the Austrian minister, described them as obscure, and somewhat obsolete; and accordingly the policy of Vienna was to heap together a number of small pretensions, of which some at least might in the end be sustained. But the Emperor's policy had a larger scope. Had he succeeded, Austria would have become more intimately connected with the rest of Germany; and the acquisition of territory by various methods might have enabled it to develop a unity similar to that of France. Prince Eugene, the first real statesman of modern Austria, had already contemplated her aggrandizement at the expense of Bavaria. By the 18th Article of the Peace of Rastatt in 1714, he reserved to the house of Bavaria the right of exchanging any of its territories with another power. In these few words, which Herr Reimann strangely overlooks, lay the germ of those continual plans of exchange and partition which went on through nearly a century. But whilst Austria thus strengthened herself in the south of Germany, and endeavoured to convert the Imperial dignity into a position of real supremacy, she ignored the claims of Prussia, shutting out the Northern Power from the part it had always been anxious to play. This danger did not escape the penetration of Frederick. The unconstitutional violence of Joseph gave a welcome opportunity to the Prussian monarch, who suddenly put himself forward as the representative and champion of the Empire. In a remarkable letter to his sister Amelia, which Herr Reimann does not mention, he writes:—"Je vais faire le Don Quixote, ma chère sœur, et me battre pour soutenir les droits du Corps Germanique comme le Chevalier de la Manche se battoit pour sa Dulcinée de Toboso. Il est nécessaire pour ma gloire et pour ma tranquillité que je descende encore dans l'arène contre ces Autrichiens pour leur prouver que j'existe." His expressions to Prince Henry, which are given by Herr Reimann (pp. 85, 65), also show that it was not devotion to the Empire, but a consideration of the interests of Prussia, which guided Frederick's conduct. Herr Reimann says he was disinterested out of self-interest. The phrase is ingenious, but not convincing; and it would have been better to say plainly that his course was determined by the same motives which prompted the partition of Poland.

For the rest, the work deserves high commendation. It supplies the deficiencies of former books, such as Dohm's *Denkwürdigkeiten*. In tracing the diplomatic complications, as well as the intricate domestic disputes concerned, the author shows the same delicate tact which he formerly employed in treating the religious wars of the sixteenth century at the time of Ferdinand and Maximilian II. He has used with discernment, and to good purpose, the printed Prussian sources, the correspondence of Frederick, and the Austrian correspondence recently published by Arneth. But he has not noticed the Memoirs of the

Landgrave Charles of Hesse, nor the very rare Life by Weber of the Electress Mary Antonia Walpurgis of Saxony, nor yet Hormayr's *Anemonen*. With regard to several diplomatic transactions, and especially those with Charles Theodore and the Duke of Deux-Ponts, we find things still unexplained which wait for the assistance of unprinted sources. To which side Herr Reimann inclines is not left in the slightest doubt. The severity with which he criticises Joseph II., Kaunitz, and even Maria Theresa, is in striking contrast with the lenity of his judgment on Frederick. For the absence of brilliant victories, or indeed one might say the failure of the Prussian plans of operation he casts the blame on Prince Henry, without reflecting that this will not explain Frederick's inactivity. To the Austrians and their youthful leader it was really a great negative advantage, considering their unfavourable position, not to have been well beaten; and the responsibility for the slowness of the success obtained against them must rest, according to his own admission, on Frederick himself. There was truth in Napoleon's saying, that a man should not remain a general after the age of forty.

83. THERE is a peculiar and almost melancholy interest in the *Correspondence between Joseph II. and Catherine of Russia*, which has been lately published by Herr von Arneth. It presents a picture of vast schemes acutely planned, appealing to lofty passions, warranted by the possession of immense material strength, and ending in nothing. The agreement between the two Sovereigns was concluded in the form of private letters on the 21st and 24th of May 1781, and aimed at nothing less than the overthrow of the existing European system. They guaranteed one another's territories, and entered into an eight years' alliance, the main strength of which was to be turned against Turkey and Poland. The claims of both parties, in view of their anticipated successes, were set forth in the following year in private letters: by Catherine in one of the 18th of September, and by Joseph in one of the 19th of November. Catherine required for Russia the town of Orzakow, the enlargement of her territory from the Bug to the Dniester, the erection of a Dacian kingdom consisting of Moldavia, the greater part of Wallachia, and Bessarabia, and the establishment of a Greek empire at Constantinople, which she intended to confer on her grandson Constantine. Joseph stipulated for Servia, Bosnia, the continental possessions of Venice, Istria, Dalmatia, Wallachia as far as the Aluta, and the town of Khotim. The Venetians were to be compensated by the Morea, Cyprus, and Crete. But before these gigantic schemes could take effect the Emperor fell ill and died.

84. THE history of Prussia has a character peculiar to itself. It is not the history of a nation or a country; for the population is only a fragment of the German nation, with some admixture of Slavonic elements, and the territory was at first only an agglomeration of atoms without geographical unity. Neither is it the history of institutions which have grown



from internal germs; for since the days of the great Elector, with whom the modern Prussian State begins, there has scarcely existed any real political right for the nation, but only a body of administrative and military regulations. Nor, again, is it the organic development of an antecedent state of things, but rather a string of results from the gradual dissolution of the German Empire, and of the neighbouring kingdom of Poland. It was out of these ruins that modern Prussia was formed; and her history, for the most part, is only that of her Kings, with their officials and their army, the image of a complete absolutism in which the political constitution is a Government machine, and the people a passive material for the levy of soldiers and taxes. It is an instructive inquiry how the Prussian monarchs succeeded, with such scanty means, in establishing a really great Power, and what consequences have followed, both as regards Germany and the whole European system. To elucidate these questions would be the task of Prussian historiography; but it is one which has not yet been accomplished. Even the works of Stenzel and Ranke fail in this respect; and as they come down no later than the middle of the last century, they leave the most important and difficult part of the work untouched. Herr Droysen, in his voluminous and still incomplete *Geschichte der Preussischen Politik*, fantastically derives the origin and progress of the Prussian monarchy from the internal necessity of the German national development, the kernel of which he finds in the Mark of Brandenburg,—a country originally Slavonic, and only Germanized in later times. He adroitly weaves the affairs of Prussia into the web of an apparently national German history; but his ingenious combinations dissolve when they are brought to the touchstone of fact. The void thus left by former writers has not been filled by Herr Cosel in his *History of Prussia under the Hohenzollerns*. The book exhibits no independent study of authentic sources, except, perhaps, with regard to the battles, where the author has consulted the military archives. He relates the lives and exploits of Electors and Kings, but says little or nothing of the people, except a word now and then about the great misery and the oppressive taxes. Nor does he even consider in any detail the administrative mechanism. Thus he gives an elaborate account of the Seven Years' War, full of marches and battles, but does not attempt to show how the people were governed meanwhile, and how it was possible that a country by no means rich, and constantly traversed by the enemy, should have held on so long, and effected so much as it did. After his account of the war, indeed, he gives a chapter on the administration; but it is only an episode of nine pages in the story of conquests and battles. Yet the state of the country, he confesses, was horrible; "the whole of Brandenburg and Pomerania were little else than a desert, and the condition of the other provinces was not much better." The war itself he thinks was not brought on by the Hohenzollern policy of aggrandizement, but was "a war of the German

nation, awakened to political consciousness, for its most sacred rights, for its spiritual liberty." Yet, in point of fact, the consequence of it was that Germany declined more and more, till, a generation later, she succumbed to the French dominion. The spirit which Frederick kindled amongst his people is judged by the result. Twenty years after his death political life had become so stagnant and corrupt that a single battle was enough to overthrow the whole system. The moral energy of the Prussian people was indeed awakened in 1813, and the effect was marvellous; but the ideas to which that great movement owed its origin were totally different from those by which the materialistic absolutism of Frederick was inspired.

35. THE indistinct and half-forgotten figure of the elder Sapinaud gains little in clearness from the researches of his biographer, the Count de la Boutetière. He died in the fifth month of the Vendean war, before it had acquired all the grandeur and the terror which have magnified beyond their merits the names of the leaders who survived him. But the book, being compiled entirely from original documents, and not from Memoirs of dazzled or excited men, contains curious particulars of the earlier motives of the struggle. Although the outbreak was immediately provoked by the conscription of 1793, the real cause was the proscription of the nonconforming clergy. Out of 700 priests, 550 had refused the oath, and were pursued and harassed by the local authorities in a way which the Minister of the Interior pronounced illegal. Scarcely one hundred were left in the country. M. de la Boutetière gives two documents of the 14th of March, in both of which the chief point is that the people shall be free to have priests who have refused or retracted the oath: "Chacun paiera son ministre, et sera maître de le choisir." The insurgents further demand that there shall be no conscription, that all trades and professions shall be thrown open, that the friends of émigrés shall not be molested, and that fraternity, liberty, and equality shall be made to prevail. The spirit of these manifestoes is not to be mistaken. These men are not the defenders of the old order against the new, but of the new order against those who would corrupt or betray it. They not only accept the Revolution, but they contend for its integrity. They have given up the aristocracy, the monarchy, the privileges of the clergy; but they refuse to surrender the liberty of religious worship. At first they were as sanguinary as the democracy of Paris and Marseilles. They began by murdering every priest faithful to the constitution who fell into their hands. At Machecoul they set up a counterpart of the revolutionary tribunal, by whose sentences four hundred prisoners were condemned and shot between March 10 and April 22. In the same month of April, several republican prisoners publicly acknowledged the courteous treatment they had received from the Vendean officers. By degrees the gentry got the control of the insurrection, and entirely changed its character. At the end of May they proclaimed them-



selves an army of Royalists, fighting for the restoration of the throne. They even attempted to abolish the parish boards which had organized the rising, on the characteristic ground "que dans plusieurs endroits ces conseils se sont formés par des élections populaires incompatibles avec les vrais principes du gouvernement monarchique" (p. 39). The contrast is flagrant. The heroism of the Royalist army has thrown into shade the ideas and the ferocity which distinguished the movement in its popular and spontaneous stage. The significant parallel has been forgotten between the acts to which an ignorant zeal for religion drove the Catholic peasants of Vendée, and those of the atheist mob of Paris. Sapinaud, a scoffer in religion, did not share the fervour of his brothers-in-arms; but his constitutional opinions fitted him to be a leader of men who defended the liberties of 1789 against the tyranny of 1793.

36. ACCORDING to the notion which prevailed till lately, the history of all European countries except France made a sort of pause during the French Revolution, so that the history of France for the time being became the history of Europe. Recent German investigations have divested the French Revolution of this supernatural character, and have explained it in connection with the other events of the time. Especially they have shown the influence which distant occurrences—the last struggle of Poland and the Eastern crisis—exercised on the West. The difficulties of the Polish and Oriental questions paralysed the action of the great Powers against the Revolution; and it was the jealousies and disunion of the Eastern Powers, and not the reign of terror, that saved France in 1794 from the fate that befell her in 1815. This enlarged and deeper conception of the French Revolution arises from the study of the policy of the other Courts. But a serious obstacle to this study was found in the traditional silence of the Vienna archives, and the refusal of former Austrian Governments to give publicity to their modern documents. Historians were consequently obliged to be content with what was supplied from Prussian and Russian archives, and for the rest to take refuge in conjectures. These conjectures were naturally unfavourable to Austria, since, in such cases, silence gives rise to the presumption of an uneasy conscience. Grave reproaches against the Austrian policy accumulated, and found ready credence. The present Austrian Government, however, has adopted a wiser policy, and has liberally granted to various writers the use of the Imperial archives.

Drawing from these sources of information, Dr. A. von Vivenot, a military man, whose services in 1866 were acknowledged on the Prussian side, as well as on his own, has recently sought to place the Austrian policy in a clearer light. In a work of three volumes, which appeared four years ago, he endeavoured to clear Duke Albert of Saxe-Teschen from the blame of the campaign of 1792, and criticised the Prussian policy which led to the peace of Basil; but his impetuosity and the violence of

his language laid him open in many points to the attack of his opponents. He has now published a series of despatches and important documents, with an introductory dissertation on Thugut, which does justice to the difficulties of the Austrian statesman, and moderates the reproaches of which he has been the object. The author paints Thugut as a thorough patriot, a determined enemy of France, and also of Prussia, since he perceived that Prussia had relaxed her efforts in the great struggle against the Revolution, and was secretly intriguing against Austria in the East. He exhibits him surrounded and served by incapable worst-out generals like Lascy and Clerfayt, deprived in decisive moments of faithful ones like Mercy, and thwarted by events impossible to be reckoned on, like the death of Catherine just when she had promised her active support to Austria. It is certainly not to be wondered at that Thugut's strength of mind should have gradually given way under the continual frustration of his well-considered plans, and that from 1797 especially he should have shown himself a weaker man than before. Dr. Vivenot energetically repudiates the accusation that he voluntarily abandoned Belgium, and shows that he never thought of negotiating secretly with France, and that he indignantly rejected the idea of any peace involving treachery to the allies or the surrender of the left bank of the Rhine. He also proves that the separate agreement between Austria and Russia, the secret declaration of the 3d of January 1795, which Professor Sybel calls the most important political act of Thugut's life, was not Thugut's work at all, but was arranged without his knowledge and against his will by Cobenzl, on his own responsibility. Authentic evidence of this kind will help to settle Thugut's character, and his place in history.

37. THE policy of the German Powers during the revolutionary war has lately furnished materials for a bitter literary controversy. The polite superiority with which Professor Hüffer, in his *Oesterreich und Preussen gegenüber der Revolution*, sits in judgment on Professors Sybel and Häusser, taking up the position of an unbiassed authority against these two passionate and partial historians, provoked the former of them to a violent reply in his *Oesterreich und Deutschland im Revolutionskrieg*. In this book he denies his critic's competence to decide the issue, and treats him as a mere historical dilettante, whose serious study of documents has been confined to the short period from April to October 1797. Professor Hüffer has not been silent under the attack, but has published in answer *Die Politik der Deutschen Mächte im Revolutionskriege*. The book is written in a tone of sharp recrimination, very different from the author's usual calm and dignified manner; and he charges his opponent with a long series of errors and misrepresentations. The personalities of the discussion, however, past or future, are less interesting than the additions it may make to our exact knowledge of the period of the Revolution. The evacuation of Belgium by



the Austrians in the summer of 1794 forms the main point of difference. Professor Sybel is of opinion that the evacuation was a voluntary one. He very properly takes into account the great influence of the Eastern difficulties, especially of the Polish question, on all the more important steps of the Austrian Government. But from this he endeavours to draw the conclusion that Thugut had always regarded Belgium as an encumbrance, and that he wished to get rid of it by any means, in order to utilize the Austrian troops against Prussia in Poland. This conclusion had already been disputed by Dr. Vivenot; and his view is sustained by Professor Hüffer, who considers that the evacuation was due to strategical motives. He supports his statements by the account of the proceedings at Tourcoing sent in by the Archduke Charles. Referring to the decisive event, the Archduke says that he came too late into the field, and was not able to bring assistance to the hard-pressed army of the English and Dutch, and that thus the battle was lost; but there was not the slightest ground for believing the Emperor to have suddenly suspended it, under the influence of unfavourable news from Poland. If, however, on the one side, Professor Hüffer's position with regard to the events of Tourcoing must now be accepted, it cannot be denied, on the other side, that the Austrians in point of fact defended Belgium with much less energy than they have lately displayed on the line of the Mincio and at Mantua, and that the Polish movement greatly contributed to the sudden departure of the Emperor Francis. The problem will be explained if we follow Professor Sybel's suggestion, upon the authority of the documents published by Gentz, and then with Gentz and De Pradt suppose that there were at the time two different currents of opinion, which influenced the policy of Austria in the matter,—the one in favour of the Emperor's leaving Belgium, and the other in favour of the continued occupation of the country. To the first belonged Lasey, Mack, and probably also Waldeck, in spite of what he said to the Duke of York (to whom Professor Hüffer refers); to the second belonged Mercy and Thugut, the last of whom, at any rate, would not have given up Belgium without a proper compensation. The Emperor wavered between the two parties. At last the defeat in the field, the hostility of the Belgian population, and the tidings from Poland, decided the question. The 24th of May 1794 is assigned by Professor Sybel, upon the authority of Gentz and De Pradt, as the date of this decision; but this seems too early, and it is doubtful whether there was really any formal act of the kind, or any prepared plan of evacuation. With regard to the scheme of indemnification which Austria proposed to herself during the war of the Revolution, the author is at issue with Professor Sybel. The latter, as well as Professor Häusser, is too much disposed to trace in the policy of Austria and of Thugut an element of restless covetousness. Thugut is said to have glanced at times in the direction of Poland, and at times also towards Turkey and Bavaria. The truth is that he always

meditated a compensation for Austria in the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine; and, as the events of the war did not permit the reunion of these provinces to Germany, he fixed his thoughts on Venice. This peculiar bent of the Austrian policy showed itself clearly in the Partition Convention of Poland and the secret declaration of January 1795. The opinion of Professor Sybel, that the Partition Convention also influenced the peace of Basil, and that the coolness of both the Imperial Courts led Prussia to make advances to France, has some degree of probability; but it must not be exaggerated so far as to attribute to the secret declaration any decisive influence on the succeeding events, or on the measures adopted by Prussia. This secret declaration, which Cobenzl signed on his own responsibility, "*sub spe rati*," and which contemplated a complete overthrow of the existing order of States in Europe, the solution of the Oriental question by the establishment of a Greek empire, and the predominance of Austria and Russia over the rest of Europe, was utterly unknown both at Berlin and everywhere else, until it was published by Miliutin in the year 1852. It could not possibly, therefore, have influenced the peace of Basil. Nor can a motive for that peace be found in any secret negotiation between Austria and the French Republic. Professor Sybel supposed such a negotiation to have taken place through the medium of the Tuscan envoy Carletti, the annexation of Bavaria being proposed in return for the left bank of the Rhine. The Austrian Government officially denounced the whole story as a foolish and childish invention, and Carletti himself as an impostor. Frenchmen, such as Merlin de Douay, allow that the Emperor did not advance a step towards any sort of negotiation; and the Prussian Lucchesini declared on the 25th October 1795, that no secret negotiation betwixt the Court of Vienna and France, either with regard to peace or the exchange of Bavaria, had at that time taken place. This evidence had led Professor Sybel to modify his former views; and he now maintains only that Carletti, though perhaps he did not negotiate, sounded France privately. But he fails to show that Carletti received any communication to that effect from Thugut. The whole bearing of Austria at the time is one of stubborn resistance. In the summer of 1796 the idea of a separate peace with France was still scouted at Vienna; and the sudden turn of Campoformio only became possible when every hope of assistance from England, and of the carrying on of the war, had perished. The policy of Thugut does not appear to have been so thoughtless and reprehensible as Sybel and Häusser have supposed; but it was far from being a model either of profound statesmanship or of genuine patriotism.

38. PROFESSOR MENDELSSOHN is distinguished from other writers of the Heidelberg school by the tone in which he speaks of Austria. Several of his works on the diplomatic history of this century have caused the policy of the Court of Vienna to appear in a more favourable light;



and he has just attempted to clear up one of the darkest transactions with which it has ever been connected. The war of 1799 opened with hostilities on the Upper Rhine, while negotiations were still pending at Rastatt. The Congress was dissolved; and the Archduke Charles, four weeks after his victory at Stockach, sent orders that the Plenipotentiaries of the French Republic should immediately depart. The order reached them on the 28th of April; and at the same moment the gates were occupied by Austrian soldiers. The envoys wished to start at once; but the commanding officer detained them until late at night, and then refused an escort. Their wives were anxious to remain; for it was dark and stormy, and there was a very general sense of impending mischief. But the frontier of France was only a few miles off, and the Frenchmen thought their dignity required that they should not wait till daylight. They were scarcely out of the town when they were stopped by a body of about fifty Austrian hussars, who murdered two and left the third for dead. Nobody else was injured. The alarm was given before the work of plunder was completed; but the papers had disappeared. When the news reached Rastatt, the commanding officer at once began to excuse himself and to palliate the act, and was prevailed upon with great difficulty to send a patrol to the scene of murder. The Archduke Charles ordered an investigation; but it was soon after quashed. The guilt of the hussars was admitted at Vienna. They were left unpunished; and the facts brought to light by the inquiry were never given to the world. After some delay, the stolen papers were restored. It has been almost universally believed that the Austrian Government had caused the French diplomatists to be murdered. Professor Mendelssohn believes that the assassins were Austrian hussars, acting with the connivance of their superior officer; but he denies the complicity of the Government, and shows that the prevailing opinion has never been sustained by proof. His arguments are not all equally strong. He urges, for instance, that Napoleon never raised a claim for compensation, or used the story to throw discredit on Austria. But the opinion of Napoleon carries weight only on the supposition that he knew the truth; and it appears that he did not know the truth, for he believed that the French Directory had destroyed its own agents. The point of the book is the author's endeavour to transfer the blame from the Austrian Government to the Emigrés. Baden was full of them; and their feelings were under so little control that they would have poisoned the Republican prisoners who were at Rastatt in 1795, if the doctor had not himself attended to the making up of their medicines. On the 11th of April one of these Emigrés wrote that a great event would shortly startle the world; and about the same time he received a sum of 6000 francs. The murderers called out some words in French. Professor Mendelssohn concludes that the 6000 francs were used to bribe the captain and his men, and that the murder was committed by French Royalists disguised as hussars. At one moment this opinion was countenanced by the

Archduke himself. The author compares the event to the murder of Dorislaus in 1649 (who, however, was killed at the Hague, and not at Madrid, as we read at p. 61). He has certainly made it clear that there is nothing which amounts to proof against Austria; but the proofs against the Emigrés are no stronger. The old suspicion will continue to rest upon the Court of Vienna until some stronger reasons are discovered to cast it on the French Royalists. It is possible that Professor Mendelssohn may be able to produce the missing evidence in the volume of documentary matter which he is about to publish. The question would be settled by the production of the report of the inquiry. The very incompleteness of this vindication should be a powerful appeal to the Austrian Government to make known its secret information.

39. THE Memoirs of Cardinal Consalvi, and the work of M. d'Haussonville on the relations between Napoleon I. and the Court of Rome, contain much that is injurious to the memory of the Emperor, and unwelcome to the Second Empire. An unexpected defender has arisen in the person of Father Theiner, who has published two volumes on the Concordat and the Coronation, including 330 pages of original documents, which are taken, not from the Vatican archives in his own keeping, but from those of Paris. Among these are the very important despatches of Consalvi, written during the negotiations with the Consular Government. They present matters in a different light from his Memoirs; and they consequently contradict the narrative of M. d'Haussonville. Consalvi wrote his Memoirs on these events long after they occurred, and when there was an open breach between the Papacy and the Empire. According to Father Theiner, they are partial, unjust, and inaccurate. He speaks of "the bad faith of their author" (i. 233), and disputes their authenticity (ii. 281), calling them "pretended memoirs." In the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, M. d'Haussonville himself had questioned their integrity; but he renounced his doubt before publishing his two first volumes. It is not clear how much fault Father Theiner assigns to the forgetfulness and irritation of the Cardinal, and how much to the infirmity of his translator. But, as he sometimes cites the Memoirs as an authority, his real opinion appears to be unfavourable to Consalvi himself. The points of difference in the despatches from the statement in the Memoirs are generally in Bonaparte's favour. Father Theiner, who thinks that the French people made him Emperor both out of legitimate gratitude and in obedience to their irresistible impulse towards monarchy, proclaims him a new Constantine. He even discovers in the Emperor's refusal to restore the pontifical territories the signs of a visible regret that he could not grant the request. At St. Helena, Napoleon explained the Concordat by his desire to reconcile the clergy with the new order, and to deprive the Bourbons of their most powerful ally in France. He told Las Casas that he had conceived the hope of obtaining the control of Pius VII., so



that he might rule the religious as well as the political world. The Archbishop of Mechlin heard him say that it was the greatest fault of his reign. Father Theiner thinks it the most glorious of his works. But Pius VII. said to Niebuhr that nothing caused him so much grief as the treatment to which he had subjected the French Bishops in his Concordat with Napoleon.

40. CONSALVI relates in his Memoirs that, when he was about to sign the Concordat of 1801, an attempt was made to substitute a false copy for the authentic text agreed upon. The statement is supported by no other evidence, and is not confirmed by the Cardinal's own correspondence. While the original text of his Memoirs was kept out of sight there was room for suspicion. As soon therefore as the first of Father Theiner's volumes revealed the discrepancy between Consalvi's language at the time and ten years later, his editor and translator, M. Crétineau-Joly, published a reply, not only offering to show Consalvi's manuscript to all who chose to see it, but giving a facsimile of the pages which contain the startling tale. He has thereby vindicated himself, and transferred the suspicion of literary profligacy to the Cardinal. It must be assumed that the errors in the Memoirs are the errors not of the translator but of the author. The glaring contradiction remains between the tone of the Memoirs and that of the despatches. M. Crétineau-Joly suggests that the ciphers were known, and the letters exposed to the inspection of the French Government; and that the Cardinal therefore avoided all offensive matter, and afterwards composed his Memoirs to make up for the deficiency. It is a desperate hypothesis, and quite insufficient to span the mysterious chasm between the two irreconcilable accounts. When a very able minister is carrying on a negotiation at a distance from home, it is quite conceivable that he will not mention all particulars to his Government. Consalvi relied on himself, and expected scant aid from the men who were administering his own offices at Rome. There were secrets which it was unnecessary to divulge, and which it might be advisable to keep to himself, as Secretary of State. Before he wrote his Memoirs, the Pope was a prisoner, and he himself an exile. The cool, placid temper with which he had confronted the First Consul was changed into the bitterest animosity. There is the strongest reason to expect an altered tone, many new and unfavourable particulars, a hostile interpretation, and some exaggeration. But, on every principle of sound criticism, the original despatches must be preferred to the vindictive Memoirs.

41. MR. YONGE's life of Lord Liverpool makes known so many interesting papers that it will always hold its place among the best biographies of English statesmen. He describes his hero as the last Premier who carried out his own policy, and did not hold office to follow the lead of opposition. The cause of freedom, he says, had no more resolute advocate; and he thinks Lord Liverpool a great man and an

excellent minister. This is not only a mistake, but a mistake which spoils the point. The life of Lord Liverpool repays attentive study, not because he was an able man, but for exactly the opposite reason. He himself is an object of very moderate interest; but that such a man should so long have occupied such a place is one of the most curious and characteristic facts in English history. He was honourable, moderate, and patient, gifted with great experience of many public offices, and a mind impervious to thought. "Experience proves that property and trade will adapt themselves, in time, even to mistaken and defective laws; but constant fluctuations in our legislation on such subjects can only be productive of disorder and ruin." These words are not taken from the Noodle's Oration, but from a speech of Lord Liverpool in 1820; and they are perfectly characteristic. There is something quite as good in a memorandum on Reform. "I should then say that the giving the right of election to the populous manufacturing towns was the worst remedy which could be applied. In the first place, it would be the greatest evil conferred on those towns; it would subject the population to a perpetual factious canvass, which would divert, more or less, the people from their industrious habits, and keep alive a permanent spirit of turbulence and disaffection amongst them. Against such a measure all the most respectable inhabitants of those towns would, I am convinced, protest." The same Boeotian atmosphere pervades the whole book. The Duke of York has only one remark to make on the Corn-laws; he points out "how adverse the whole agricultural interests of the country are to the new measure proposed, and more especially those great landholders who form the principal support of the administration." In another place we learn "how little the Irish really had to complain of, and as a corollary to the fact thus established, how compatible among an impulsive, and unreasoning, and easily-led population is the existence of vehement and even general discontent with an almost total absence of grievances, except such as are brought at times on all nations, by the unavoidable operation of causes beyond human control." But this comes not from Lord Liverpool, but from his biographer.

Lord Liverpool governed England in the greatest crisis of the war, and for twelve troubled years of peace, chosen, not by the nation, but by the owners of the land. The English gentry were well content with an order of things by which, for a century and a quarter, they had enjoyed so much prosperity and power. Desiring no change, they wished for no ideas. They sympathized with the complacent respectability of Lord Liverpool's character, and knew how to value the safe sterility of his mind. He distanced statesmen like Grenville, Wellesley, and Canning, not in spite of his inferiority, but by reason of it. His mediocrity was his merit. The secret of his policy was that he had none. For six years his administration outdid the Holy Alliance: for five years it led the liberal movement throughout the world. The Prime Minister



hardly knew the difference. He it was who forced Canning on the King. In the same spirit, he wished his Government to include men who were in favour of the Catholic claims and men who were opposed to them. His career exemplifies, not the accidental combination, but the natural affinity, between the love of conservatism and the fear of ideas.

42. PROFESSOR BÜDINGER of Zürich undertakes to set right the judgment of his countrymen on the character of Wellington. In Prussia especially, it is a common opinion that he was not in the first rank of generals, and was stiff, proud, selfish, and ungenerous. The Prussians believed that his influence had been fatal to their schemes of aggrandizement, at Vienna, and at Paris after Waterloo. According to Müffling, Gneisenau accused him of being more deceitful than an Indian. Müffling is not always to be trusted when he speaks of Gneisenau, for they were not friends. Varnhagen von Ense relates that on one occasion in 1818, Müffling hesitated to state his opinion, when Gneisenau exclaimed, "Don't be afraid to give your advice; there is no danger of its being followed." But there can be no doubt that the campaign of 1815 did not leave on Wellington's mind a very good impression of the Prussians, and did not make him popular amongst them. Gneisenau in his celebrated report says that they fought against odds on the 16th of June, "vainly longing for succour;" and he attributes the defeat of Ligny to the absence of the English, and the victory of Waterloo to the presence of the Prussians. The belief in Germany was that Wellington had done less than his duty on the 16th, and owed his own triumph to the allies whom he had forsaken. Patriotic motives sustained this opinion; but the real controversy is reduced to very narrow dimensions. The question now turns on the value of Ziethen's attack at the decisive moment of the battle of Waterloo. Wellington says, "As Marshal Prince Blücher had joined in person with a corps of his army to the left of our line by Ohain, I determined to attack." It was not Blücher, but Ziethen. According to the best German narrative of the campaign, in Bernhardt's *History of Russia*, Ziethen pushed forward his troops so far that they came between the English position and the retreating French, so that when the English line advanced they had no enemy before them. It follows that Wellington gave the word to advance for no tactical object, but only to establish his own claim to the victory. Büdinger proves that the truth lies between this exaggerated estimate of Ziethen's part in the battle, and that of Wellington himself, who, in his notes on Clausewitz, written in 1842, makes no mention of Ziethen. It is certain that a Prussian battery placed at right angles with the English line, and in a very advanced position, opened fire on the flank of the guard during the final struggle. There can be no doubt that the effect was great; and the merit belongs to Reiche, the chief of Ziethen's staff. It was acknowledged by Wellington in very flattering terms, when Ziethen was intro-

duced to him at Paris. Before he ordered his own men to advance, he sent to stop the fire of the Prussian battery. Whether these guns assisted and hastened the repulse of the French attack, or only opened fire when the guard had given way, and threw them into disorder, is hard to say. The author adopts the latter opinion. But Reiche distinctly says that he took on himself the responsibility of firing at the French when they were so mixed up with the English, that both were likely to suffer; and the Brunswickers state that they saw with surprise the enemy vanish down the hill at a moment when the fight was not going decidedly against them. As Professor Büdinger wishes to raise the estimate of Wellington in Germany, he is right in saying little about his political career. He insists on the honesty, the moderation, the practical sagacity and sense of official duty, which helped to compensate for want of foresight, of sympathy, and of resource, in the statesmanship of the great soldier. If he had read the Duke's correspondence with Liverpool he would have avoided the pleasing fiction that he never asked favour for himself or others.

43. VARNHAGEN VON ENSE was a clever writer, and a literary wit, but destitute of all deep thought, and without any real political culture. He has produced nothing which deserves a close study; but his biographical writings are worthy of being read. This is more than can be said in strictness of his *Literary Testament*, which his representatives, however, appear determined not to leave unexhausted. Besides some volumes of letters, it has already yielded a diary of six volumes, stored with amusing anecdotes, and pungent criticisms of individuals. The book made a considerable sensation, which was increased when the Prussian Government prohibited its circulation; and it has now been succeeded by five other volumes, under the title of *Blätter aus der Preussischen Geschichte*. These also are, in point of fact, a diary, in which Prussian affairs and other European events of the time find a place. The author's person is always the central figure; and as the objects pass before him, he lets them reflect his own image, and illustrate his excellence and superior wisdom. He makes a universal medley of political, literary, and social gossip, and kneads it together by the sarcastic expression of his opinions. The volumes embrace the years from 1819 to 1830. At that time Prussia, notwithstanding the want of a free constitution, was a fairly governed country, advancing in culture and general prosperity, with educational, administrative, and military institutions of acknowledged efficiency. According to Varnhagen, however, the monarchy was in a condition of progressive dissolution and decay, and the Government weak, stupid, and a sink of corruption. "Die ganze Intelligenz der jetzigen preussischen Regierung lässt sich auf ein Quartblatt schreiben." He speaks several times of a catastrophe being imminent. How he deals with persons may be seen by his remarks on Niebuhr, at that time Prussian envoy at Rome: "Seine Depeschen



sind ein schreckliches Gemisch von Albernheit, Unschicklichkeit, Gleissnerei, Bosheit und Galle."

The bitterness and exasperation shown by such judgments as these was due in part to personal causes, and in part to the condition of public affairs. Varnhagen had served in the War of Independence; he had also been in the Prussian diplomatic service, and was now on the retired list. With a high opinion of his own political capacity, he found himself excluded from any active participation in politics; and his sarcasms bore witness to his sense of the neglect for which they took vengeance. In Prussia the War of Independence had created a great ferment in the minds of all classes, filling them with immoderate hopes, desires, and pretensions. Men fancied that nothing was beyond their scope, and imagined new changes of which they were to be the creators. But after the war came the period of reaction over the whole continent. The incontestable need of peace was opposed to the vast projects of innovation; and the Governments endeavoured with all their might to allay the prevailing excitement. Hence the disgust of those who had taken a prominent part in the struggle, or who had sympathized with the agitation of the time. They felt not only personally disappointed and neglected, but also politically fettered and oppressed.

The character of Frederick William III. gave a peculiar tone to Prussian affairs. He was a just and kind-hearted man; but it was only by the war that he had been raised to a sphere of great actions and ideas; and as soon as Prussia was safe, he fell back on his former narrow range of life. Varnhagen satirizes his personal tastes, and records the gossip and the epigrams that he finds current in society about them. The King is fond of the theatre, especially the ballet—he is even on familiar terms with several *danseuses*; but this is all with the strictest propriety, and he himself does not fail to exhort them to a moral conduct. The ballet is called *das tugendhafte Sérail des Königs*. At other times he appears as a Father of the Church, and busies himself about the new Liturgy, which he is anxious, at every cost, to introduce. The Pietists invade the Court, assisted both by the King and the Crown Prince, and much hypocrisy of course prevails. Even military men are anxious to obtain promotion by their piety; and people say that there is to be "a regiment of tartuffe dragoons." Under an absolute government such as that of Prussia had been since the seventeenth century, influence at court was necessarily the only way to public advancement; and there was a general struggle for this influence. "People complain," says the author, "of the want of independent men in Prussia, and especially in Berlin. But what caused most dissatisfaction was that feebleness of policy which formed so strange a contrast to the brilliant victories of 1813-1815. Prussia did not exercise any influence in Europe; and men accordingly complained of the incapacity of her diplomatists: 'Our envoys are the most wretched in all Europe.' There was also great dis-

content at the influence of the nobles. During the war they had been pushed aside by the democracy; but they soon rallied, and prevailed at the court. Nevertheless, they remained without any culture, any character, or any political capacity. Alexander von Humboldt said "that in all Europe there was no country where the nobility was so rude and ignorant, and even persisted in being so." The most intemperate reaction had its representatives amongst them. They sympathized with Don Miguel, and detested all liberal statesmen. When the news of Canning's death arrived at Berlin, it was received with transport: "Nun ist ein schlechter Kerl weniger auf der Welt," said the minister Schuckmann. The Royal Princes took part with the reaction. After the July revolution, the Crown Prince wished to enter France with some 50,000 men; and at a royal hunting party a toast was proposed, "auf einen baldigen Krieg, auf den Sieg der guten Sache, und den Untergang Belgiens." The strict aristocratic party looked upon the citizens. "Was so ein Käsekrämer noch alles werden will," said Prince Charles when Lafitte had become a minister in France: he little thought that even in Berlin he would see a time when the popularity of such ministers would be a protection to the throne. The dependence of the Prussian policy, and its submission to the lead of Austria, was attributed to the influence of the court nobility. This increased the disgust of the old Prussianism, which had inherited from the days of Frederick the Great an invincible aversion for Austria. To put up with Austrian influence was regarded by the Liberals of Prussia as an absolute degradation. They rather inclined towards Russia; and Varnhagen constantly speaks in favour of Russia as against Austria. Indeed, even to the present day, the Liberalism of Berlin remains half Russian.

44. THE ordinary idea of American peasant life must be a good deal modified to make it fit in with Mr. Greeley's account of his childhood. He gives no pictures of rude plenty and unclouded prospects. Except that he found it easier to strike out a different line for himself than it might have been in England, the opening chapters of his *Recollections of a Busy Life* might have been written by the son of an English labourer. His father was originally a small and struggling farmer in New Hampshire, burdened with debt incurred in buying his land, and with the difficulty of getting paying crops off it. In 1820, sickness and bad luck had left him nearly £250 in debt, "which all we had in the world," says Mr. Greeley, "would not at current prices pay. In fact, I do not know how much property would have paid \$1000 in New Hampshire in 1820, when almost every one was hopelessly involved, every third farm was in the sheriff's hands, and every poor man leaving for 'the West' who could raise the money requisite for getting away." The law of debtor and creditor did not err on the side of leniency. There was neither writ, nor trial, nor judgment; only the sheriff with two or three principal creditors



appeared on the farm, demanded payment of their claims, and then seized the stock and household goods. After they had been deprived in this way of their farm in New Hampshire, the Greeleys went to Vermont. The father and sons worked chiefly at clearing forest land, but in the third year took to farming again "with very meagre results." A wet spring and a dry summer ruined the crops; and then with the autumn came fever and ague. The result was that in the following spring the family were driven back to wood clearing. Still this American poverty was neither "beggary nor dependence." "We never needed, nor ran into debt for anything; never were without meal, meat, and wood, and very rarely without money." In 1826 they moved into Western Pennsylvania; and it was at this time that Mr. Greeley started, at the age of fifteen, to seek his own fortune. He became an apprentice in a country printing-office, and so began that connection with journalism which has left him editor of one of the most influential papers in the United States. A better technical education, he thinks, might have kept him a farmer. His remarks on this subject have a point which is applicable beyond the limits of his own country. "During the whole period [of his boyish experiences of farming], though an eager and omnivorous reader, I never saw a book that treated of agriculture and the natural sciences auxiliary thereto. . . . I know I had the stuff in me for an efficient and successful farmer; but such training as I received at home would never have brought it out. And the moral I would deduce from my experience is this: our farmers' sons escape from their father's callings whenever they can, because it is made a mindless, monotonous drudgery, instead of an ennobling, liberalizing, intellectual pursuit. Could I have known in my youth what a business farming sometimes is, always may be, and yet generally shall be, I would never have sought nor chosen any other." The *Recollections* become less interesting when they enter on that arena of partisan warfare in which most of the writer's life has been passed. Mr. Greeley on farming is more instructive than Mr. Greeley on politics.

45. An author who writes under the designation of G. von S. . . . n, and in whom it is easy to recognise a well-informed officer of high rank in the Austrian army, has lately published the first volume of a History of Austria from the year 1848. He takes up boldly the defence of the Imperial generals of that time, and of the Austrian army, and aims many hard blows at the popular movement and its leaders. He paints with a certain complacency the thoughtlessness and unpatriotic conduct of the republicans of Vienna, at a period when high-sounding words were all-powerful, and the Government was without dignity or vigour—when an Imperial minister boasted before the national assembly of being on good terms with the students, and when, in fact, the authority of the students was the only established and respected one. Among the defenders of Vienna he justly gives the foremost place to the Polish

General Bem, with Fenner von Fenneberg. He exposes the boastful incompetency of Messenbauer, the head of the national guard, and characterizes with amusing irony the flight of Kossuth from the field of Schwechat. On the background of all this anarchy and incapacity, the martial figures of the Imperial camp are presented in bold relief. The author has the merit of being the first who has explained clearly and intelligibly the fight of October 1848 before Vienna. His account of it is based on some official documents at his disposal, and on the *ordre de Bataille* of the 28th of October. The narrative of the attack and defence of both is lively and truthful, and it is obvious that he was an eye-witness of the scenes he describes. The horrors of a civil war, the excesses committed on both sides, the violation of the rights of life and property in the case of inoffensive citizens, inspire him in the abstract with humane disgust; but in dealing with the actual circumstances he is guilty of a systematic partiality. He carefully collects a number of wild sayings of the republican leaders, such as that attributed variously to Robert Blum and to Bem,—“Some two hundred more ought still to be hanged on a lamp-post,”—and on the strength of such inconsiderate words condemns the whole democratic party; but he justifies or excuses the cruelty of the Croats, and makes light of the brutality of the Austrian generals. From his accurate and intelligent account of the operations between the 24th and 29th of October, the military incapacity of Windischgrätz is apparent. It was in the power of the Imperial commander to enter the city on the first assault of the 24th, and with a comparatively small sacrifice of life to crush the revolt. But he chose to give his ardent troops the stupid order to “advance only on the defensive;” and, contenting himself with now and then taking a barricade or occupying a hostile position, he thought it necessary to employ no less than two whole days in reconnoitering his enemy. By this useless and culpable delay he sacrificed the peaceable population of Vienna to the lawless rule of the mob, and enabled the Hungarians to come up to the assistance of their friends. In the end he owed his wretched victory only to the incapacity and disorganization of the republican army.

46. If Mr. Edwards had not been in haste to anticipate rival biographers, he might have made his *Life of Rossini* a better memoir, and a more valuable contribution to the history of art. He duly chronicles the outward movements both of the human and artistic life of his hero, but gives us little insight into the inner nature of the man, or the inner life of the artist. He thinks that the life of the man has little interest, and that such as it has it derives from the reforms which Rossini introduced into music. Accordingly, he catalogues with care these reforms—the elevation of the basso into a chief character in opera, the revolution in singing brought about by the composer's writing his own ornaments to his airs, instead of leaving them to be embroidered by the singer, the introduction of various wind-instruments into



the orchestra, and of a military band on the stage, the bringing forward of the chorus, and making it take part in the action, the shortening of the recitatives, the suppression of the piano-forte on which they were accompanied, and the symphonic and orchestral treatment of them. With these reforms, Rossini, at the end of his career, in 1829, had brought the Italian opera exactly up to the point where Mozart had left the German opera in 1787, five years before he was born. If there were no more to be said about Rossini than a historical sketch of these adaptations, his life would not be worth writing. But a very considerable interest attaches both to the character and to the artistic work of this very successful, and, in some respects, great musician. A perfect biography should show what sort of man it was from whom so many excellent operas exuded like a gum, how he worked, in what light he regarded his art, how he looked upon life and the chief interests of humanity, what, in fact, was his character personally, socially, and as an artist. His half-Falstaffian nature, his humour, his irony, his satisfied self-depreciation, his perfect content with himself, his witticisms, have been matter of occasional talk for many years past. A life of him ought to contain most of these anecdotes; but Mr. Edwards gives us scarcely any of them. Nor is he more complete on matters of art. He does not even mention Rossini's musical contribution to the Exhibition of 1867, nor his criticism upon it, that it was neither Bach nor Offenbach. He does indeed collect most of what Rossini said to explain his cessation from work after producing his *William Tell*, and evidently inclines to that which appears to be the true conclusion—that the rapid productivity of previous years had nearly exhausted the creative powers of the artist, though it left unabated his artistic power of dealing with the rare ideas which came to him, or even heightened it by the greater leisure he had for thinking. In his youth, Rossini wrote much and well; in his age he wrote very little, but better. He was not like Handel or Haydn or Bach, who retained both the energy and the judgment of the artist to extreme age, nor like Mozart or Mendelssohn or Beethoven, who allowed their artistic sensibilities and energies to worry them out of the world prematurely; but he shared a youthful energy of productivity with the latter class, and a mature vigour of judgment with the former. And doubtless he obeyed the hints of his organization, and consulted for his own longevity and health, when he laid aside his pen in the very vigour of his days. Judgment was one of his strong points. He knew himself and his place in the history of art. He never imagined that he was an absolute advancer of music because he innovated upon Italian traditions, and grafted upon them much that he had learned from Mozart. Hence he did not regard his calling as anything very grand or sacred; he had little notion of the dignity of art, and none at all of his own dignity as artist. Whatever would please his audience satisfied him. Nothing is recorded of him similar to Mozart's saying, that he wrote his *Don Juan*

for the people of Prague, for a few friends, but above all for himself; or to Beethoven's, that he wrote for minds, not merchants. Rossini took it easily when his music did not please: he seemed to think that there was no accounting for, or disputing with, tastes, and tried the condemned tunes in new combinations. He had no idea that music had any definite meaning. Where Beethoven would write three overtures to one opera before he could satisfy himself, Rossini would make one overture serve for three operas—two serious and one comic. Music was to him little more than the movement of a dance; if it did not govern an actual ballet, it governed at least the movement of the humours, the beating of the heart, the pulsations of the blood. There it stopped; it had nothing to say to the brain. In his mood of mind, his delicious melodies might serve equally well for love songs, drinking couplets, or movements for a solemn high mass. About the wholeness and unity of a series of movements, such as a symphony, or the second act of *Fidelio*, he seems to have had no idea. Pieces of music might be taken out of one opera and used in another, might be shuffled about in any way, provided only that sameness and tediousness were avoided, and that the march of the whole was kept going. Mr. Edwards argues in favour of this non-intellectual character of music. The theory may be true; but it is also true that those who have been the greatest creators in the art thought otherwise of its aims. They considered that it appealed to brain as well as heart, that it had a definite meaning that there was such a thing as musical truth and falsehood, dignity and baseness. Mendelssohn and the sentimental word-painting critics of music, like Berlioz, have carried this kind of theorizing to a ridiculous excess. But there is probably some truth in the theory which they fail to explain intelligibly; for it is precisely those who by their compositions show that they understand music best, and can advance the art beyond what it had before attained, who have generally professed to perceive the logical sequence of music, and, where others could only hear a mechanical movement or a pulsation adapted to any excitement of sentiment, have professed to see the movement of special thoughts and feelings.

Mr. Edwards has noted the relationship of Rossini with Mozart and Haydn, and his plagiarisms from himself. But he has not said anything about the influence which Beethoven exercised over his later operas, in imparting to them a new unity and breadth. Perhaps the great characteristics of Beethoven's music are its rhythm, powerful as the rush of a great river, and above all its unity. The whole series of movements which constitute a symphony or sonata seem to belong to one another, and to arrange themselves in their own order by some shadowy logical force. Transposition, or omission, or isolation of a single movement, is at once seen to be detrimental to the effect of the whole, and of each part. Rossini gains somewhat of this power in *William Tell*; and the overture shows, beyond all controversy, whence he derived it. The storm growing out of a



pastoral movement, and ending in the song for the shepherd's pipe, is simply a recasting of Beethoven's pastoral symphony. The Italian song may be more melodious than the German: but the difference is that, whereas Beethoven's song lends itself to every possible symphonic contrivance, is lopped into fragments, heard now in the highest, now in the lowest, now in the middle parts, is varied, and hurried into a stormy succession of notes, in which form it becomes the subject for a fugue, Rossini's melody can only be repeated; and then must give way to a totally different subject in order that the composer may finish his overture with sufficient animation. There is not the same unity as in Beethoven's great work; but it is a meritorious and marvellously successful attempt to imitate that transcendent unity in a lower level of art, to translate it into a more popular language, to give its general outline, without its complication and richness of detail. In other parts of his opera, Rossini is under equal obligations to the *Sinfonia Eroica*.

Mr. Edwards divides Rossini's artistic life into three portions. The first ends with his engagement at Naples in 1815. During this period he wandered about Italy, and composed twelve operas for different theatres. Of these works the most remarkable is *Tancredi*, in which he for the first time succeeded in establishing German improvements in Italy. The second period lasts from 1819 to 1821, during which time he was at the head of the Neapolitan school, and brought out his four great serious Italian operas—*Otello*, *Cenerentola*, *La Gazza Ladra*, *La Donna del Lago*, and his greatest work, *Il Barbiere di Siviglia*, which was produced at Rome in 1816, besides numerous others, which are either forgotten or live in their subsequent French adaptations. After 1821 he settled at Paris and adopted his third or French style, in which his two masterpieces are *Motse* (a reproduction of a Neapolitan opera) and *Guillaume Tell*, which he produced in 1829. After that date he wrote no new opera, and only two pieces of music that have made any solid impression—his *Stabat Mater* in 1842, and his *Petite Messe solennelle* in 1868. Mr. Edwards seems to know very little of this mass, and indeed passes over the whole of Rossini's last quarantain of life with the very slightest notice. And yet to this date belong all those pithy sayings which, if collected, would form a very instructive book of anecdotes, and all those stories which are so characteristic of the Epicurean artist who had already gained his laurels and his gold. But Mr. Edwards had reason for lengthening and reason for shortening his memoirs. For Rossini's two creative periods he had guides in abundance, whereas the memoirs of the last half of his life have yet to be written. Of course it was not in the power of a stranger and foreigner to supply the omissions of friends and familiars.

47. THE title of Mr. Gillett's *Democracy in the United States* promises a manual of party history, but really introduces an overgrown party pamphlet. All the laudatory epithets

the writer can lay hands on seem to have been distributed at random over the prominent party names from Madison to Seymour. There is no intelligent criticism, and no attempt to show how the same principles have appeared and appeared in the United States under different, and even contradictory, names. However material a fact may be to the author's subject, he omits it without scruple if it is not calculated to answer his immediate purpose. Thus, in order not to identify the Democrats with the Secessionists, the prominent part played down to 1860 by the Southern wing of the party, including several of the politicians afterwards most active in the cause of the Confederacy, is passed over as lightly as possible. There is a like silence on the relation of the democratic party to the war, and the intimate connection between approved democratic doctrines and secession. In these respects, however, Mr. Gillett is by no means worse than other partisans on his side. The modern Democrat is powerless to give any certain utterances on these points, because, while he is unwilling to incur the charge of indifference to the preservation of the Union, it is extremely difficult on any recognised democratic principle to justify the coercion of the South. The result of this hesitation is that in democratic narratives the civil war usually appears as a sort of freak of nature, an event without a cause, an interlude in American history, which having been happily disposed of, everything may go on as before.

48. A HISTORY of the war in the United States, and of the political struggles that accompanied it, has been published by Heinrich Blankenburg, whose work on the campaign of 1866 has been widely read. Though the author was formerly on the Prussian staff, he has paid more attention to the political than to the military portion of his subject. He takes a very distant bird's-eye view of the operations, and seems to have made larger use of the German newspapers than of the voluminous documentary publications of the United States. He divides General Joseph Johnston into two, and pronounces one half the most excellent officer in America. Like all his countrymen, he is a partisan of the North; but his military sympathies are on the other side. He reminds his German readers that the men whom they execrated as leaders of Secession were the same who made the Union what it was, and governed it during those years when it won the admiration of Liberal Europe. He rejoices in the victory, but condemns the policy of the Republicans, who, after fighting for the Constitution, proceeded themselves to overthrow it. In attributing English sympathy for the South to nothing but lust of cotton, he misses that strange combination of opposite motives which made extreme Tories and the most consistent Liberals unite in the same opinion. The first hoped that democracy would be ruined and exploded by the war of Secession. The others believed that it would be purified and redeemed by the independence of the South. They admired the Constitution of the Confeder-



ates, because it provided remedies for those defects which have made the arbitrary democracy of America so dangerous an example for European liberty. No doubt, after the stupendous collapse of their hopes, they have not been anxious that they should be remembered against them. There have been, perforce, retractions and professions of oblivion. But the war of Secession produced a memorable and instructive phase in English Liberalism, which the impartial historians of the Continent would do well to preserve.

49. PROFESSOR EWALD is not only well known in the field of Oriental scholarship, but he has also long been regarded in Germany as a political personage. He was among the seven Professors of Göttingen who protested against the revocation of the Hanoverian constitution in 1837, and in consequence lost their appointments; and after his reinstatement his opposition to the arbitrary measures of the Government nearly cost him his professorship again. Nevertheless, at the crisis of 1866 he adhered to the King; and when the Prussian Government required the Göttingen Professors to take the new oath of allegiance he stood alone in his refusal. Thereupon he lost his place, though the Government left him his salary. He gave an account of this second dismissal in a pamphlet which sharply criticised the Prussian annexation. The Emperor Napoleon, he observed, after the *coup d'état*, dispensed with the oath of allegiance from Arago, so that, "in Prussia, German science is not held in that honour which French science enjoys in modern Paris." For a subsequent pamphlet, *Lob des Königs und des Volkes*,—the King being, of course, King George,—he was prosecuted by the Prussian Government. But the charge was dismissed in the first and second Courts; and the Government did not venture to carry the prosecution further. His present publication, *Die zwei Wege in Deutschland*, exhibits the antagonism between the principle of conquest and the free organic development of nations, and condemns the Prussian annexations as a wrong way to the unification of Germany. Proceeding from a moral standpoint, it tests the events of 1866 by the rights of the German nation, and also by the principles of Christianity. The generous indignation of the author's tone is combined with a profound insight into the spiritual elements of popular life; and his appeal to the national conscience against a policy of naked might has met with a reception which recalls, in some respects, the memory of the writings of Fichte.

50. PROFESSOR WATTENBACH of Heidelberg, having spent a vacation in Spain, has written an account of his journey, which anybody might read without discovering that the writer is one of the most consummate masters of mediæval criticism now living. A more plain and unpretending book of travels does not exist. The author has not encumbered himself with an equipage of learning, but describes what he has seen with the freshness of an undergraduate. The only special taste he shows

is in horticulture. The Spanish gardens obtain more than their due share of his attention. The prospects of dinner are never far from the thoughts of an enterprising traveller; and in Spain it is always something of an adventure. Professor Wattenbach commemorates his experience on this point with a relish calculated to yield comfort to all who are disposed to follow his footsteps. The sentiment, "Bei allen ästhetischen Genüssen wird nun einmal der Mensch endlich hungrig" (page 98), often suggests itself. Here and there the historian stands confessed, as when he speculates on the Moorish origin of all physical culture in the Peninsula. He inclines rather to deprive the Moors of the claim, and to transfer it to the Celtiberian race the Romans found in Spain; and he believes that the Spanish people originate nothing but desolation. Yet he has seen the peasants working as hard as men can do in other countries; and he attributes the poverty of the soil to the want of great works of irrigation, requiring public aid. The rivers are still almost unused for purposes of agriculture. In other respects he discerns many signs of material improvement and social progress. Schools, especially, have begun to be plentiful.

The true historical temper pervades the book. No moralizing slurs the purity of fact; there is no tempting generalization and no prophecy. Professor Wattenbach suggests that the bull-fights, being often connected with hospitals, are kept up partly for the sake of charitable objects; and that the intolerant laws were retained so long for the purpose of protecting the national lethargy against foreign competition. The old religious fervour of Spain seemed to him extinct. He saw no images of saints, and hardly ever a crucifix, out of doors. The priests appeared powerless; and he thinks there is nothing about which popular feeling might be more easily roused than the attempt to revive the religious orders. But on these points, having visited only the southern half of Spain, he avoids speaking confidently. In countries where education is so backward, it is hard to tell from the movement on the surface what lies in the unfathomed depth, or how violent the storm must be that stirs it.

51. THE series of travellers in the Netherlands and Belgium who have made art the chief subject of their published observations is not a long one, though it comprises several noteworthy names. The seventeenth century gives *Les Voyages de M. de Moncomys en Angleterre et aux Pays Bas* in 1663; and in the eighteenth century we have *Voyage pittoresque de la Flandre et du Brabant* by T. B. Dechamps (1762), *Voyage d'un Amateur des Arts* [de la Roche] *en Flandre, dans les Pays Bas*, etc. (1775), Sir Joshua Reynolds's *Journey to Flanders and Holland* (1781), Derival's *Voyageur dans les Pays Bas Autrichiens* (1782-3), and Forster's *Ansichten vom Niederrhein, von Brabant*, etc. (1792). M. Montégut has added to the list a volume of *Impressions de Voyage et d'Art*, which contains a certain amount of information, as well as criticism, with regard to pictures and statues, inter-



spersed with biographical notices of several Dutch and Flemish artists. He does not deal with the subject in any chronological order, nor does his book contain a methodical account of the art-treasures in different galleries and museums. He only journeys on from one place to another, recording his impressions as they arise. Some fine paintings by G. de Crayer at the Brussels museum afford him the opportunity of expatiating on the merits of this little appreciated painter; and he discusses J. Steen on the occasion of falling in with a masterpiece by him at the Arenberg gallery. In the chapter on Wiertz, he says justly that the museum which contains his paintings "is curious and instructive chiefly as teaching what ought to be avoided rather than imitated." He is an enthusiastic admirer of Rubens, and has really studied him, and endeavoured to penetrate to the inner thought of his works. Jordaeus he judges fairly, acknowledging his merits as a colourist, where he sometimes rivals Rubens, but denying him the possession of any high artistic ideal. "Il pense comme un plébéen, il sent comme un plébéen." After speaking of Quentin Matsys, Van Eyck, and Memlinck, the author passes on to Holland, where the landscapes in the neighbourhood of Dordrecht remind him of the pictures of Albert Cuyp and Van der Meer, and the bustling activity of Rotterdam seems to him very much like London. There are some interesting remarks on Paul Potter, on the House in the Wood at the Hague, and on Holbein. Ruysdael he thinks is the only painter who has succeeded in giving expression to that individuality which natural objects assume on the wide plain of Holland—a characteristic which gives powerful originality to his works. The genius of this master's art is summarized in a happy phrase—"Il a surpris l'âme pensive de la nature de son pays." Later on he mentions F. Hals, whose remarkable portraits are grouped together in the interesting little museum recently established at Haarlem, as well as Van der Helst and Rembrandt. M. Montégut has not discovered anything really new; but he has brought out a fresh aspect in several works of the Flemish and Dutch artists.

52. M. Taine's *Philosophie de l'art dans les Pays Bas* applies to the Low Countries his well-known developments of Comte's idea of the genesis of art, as the necessary expression of national character in all its varying phases. The author has the skill of varying the harsh uniformity of his pedantic generalizations with a liveliness and vigour of writing and describing, which, if they do not add much to our real knowledge, add a great deal to our imaginary acquaintance with a subject. Art criticism should open out the artist's manner of thinking and working, so as to help students either to become like him or to have some criterion by which to know his works. M. Taine does not seem to afford the slightest assistance either to a man who wishes to become a Rembrandt, or to one who wishes to form a judgment upon the authenticity of a picture attributed to Rembrandt. He does not write for the artist or

critic. He affects the colours of the novelist, and makes his book a conglomerate of historical outlines, social and biographical sketches, and picturesque descriptions of climate, scenery, life, and character, which is not only very amusing, but also leaves on the mind a feeling of having acquired knowledge by generalizing previously disjointed notions. He succeeds in combining the topographical, political, social, and artistic life of a nation into one picture; and the idea itself is so taking, so apparently philosophical, that the parts are apt to be lost sight of in the seeming totality and completeness of the system. But when the details are examined many of them turn out to be gross exaggerations, conventional statements, or obvious commonplaces. There is much truth, for instance, in M. Taine's contrasts between the German and Latin characters, and between those of the various Germanic races. But, among the characteristics, he mentions the English gluttony, which he contrasts with the invalid appetites of the French, and the savage militant impatient spirit of the English, formed under the overlying weight of three strata of conquerors—Saxon, Danish, and Norman,—and therefore incapable of the quiescent pleasures of painting. The religious differences between Holland and Belgium, and the plain temples of one faith compared with the gorgeous churches of the other, furnish an *idée mère* to account for artistic differences, which M. Taine has largely developed. Indeed, the whole plan of his work is the development of an *idée mère*. Its problem is so to describe the vital history of a nation on one side, and its successive schools of art on the other, that the two descriptions shall be found to coincide as far as possible, having regard to their different subject matters.

53. PECULIARITY in a title may be of two kinds—the stimulative and the discouraging. The anonymous author of *Hiatus*, with his Greek appellative and Latin catchword, enclosing a suggestive but not very enlightening phrase of English, has adopted the latter kind: a less polyglot and more expository title would have proved more conducive to perusal. But he has produced a remarkable book—indeed a peculiar one; and so far the peculiarity of his title is apposite. His argument is lofty; and he rises well to the height of it, writing with a quite uncommon degree of earnestness and conviction, founded upon a large and precise knowledge of his subject-matter, active powers of reasoning, a genuine desire to serve a good cause, and a great capacity for being indignant at other people's opinions. "Outis" is essentially a zealot, a man who thinks things are going considerably wrong, so long as the ideas which possess his own mind do not overrule other minds as well. Luckily he is not also—what so many zealots are—a sciolist.

The thesis of *Hiatus* is briefly this.—Human faculties are partly emotional, partly intellectual; at the present day the latter are assiduously cultivated in many men, and are regarded as, in all, the proper subject of cultivation, while the former—the emotional facul-



ties—receive no distinct or heedful training. This is "the void in modern education;" hence the materialistic spirit of the age, with its mammon-worship, positivism, want of faith or of a true psychology, want of beauty and propriety in the aspects of life. The same thing is evidenced in the neglect of fine art as a portion of general, indeed national, education. No adequate stress is laid on *any* teaching in art; and the teaching actually supplied, that of the ordinary drawing-masters, is farcically inexact and inept. Something, then, is wanted by way of emotional training; and not only to train the emotions, but to *co-ordinate* their training with that of the intellect. (This last point is expounded with especial vigour and ability.) Now, how can the emotions be most readily and universally trained? By the genuine, not supposititious, study of fine art, giving the pupil a personal perception of and interest in the beauty of nature, and opening a thousand sources of delight to him through the eye. But this must not be in any way loose or haphazard teaching, but strictly proveable, like the structure of Latin verses. It must be teaching of form, severe elementary form to begin with—not of colour—form being thus proveable in a far superior degree, and also more available for the co-ordinating process above referred to. Emotional training can be made much more general than intellectual training, which must ever, in its fuller range, remain the privilege of the few. The object of the art-instruction here advocated, and along with this the primary aim of the book itself, is of course not the educating of artists, nor even the direct promotion of the fine arts, but the right eliciting and guiding of the emotions of all classes, and, in a minor degree, the creation of sound observers much rather and more numerously than of artistic workers. The question, where to get the art instructors, may be asked; but the author answers it simply, and perhaps without being much out of his reckoning, by saying that ordinary tutors, well-informed studious men, can without difficulty acquire and impart a knowledge of form of the strict *proveable* kind which is here in question.

The argument deserves all possible attention, and is urged with great cogency and persuasive effect. It may readily be inferred that Outis has at his fingers' ends the most directly teachable parts of art—perspective, anatomy, etc.; and, beyond such matters as these, his work covers a wide range of positive and speculative study. For dissent as well as assent he gives his readers ample scope. He may, for instance, be rather over-eager in convicting Darwinism out of its own mouth. His hits at the belief in spirit-rapping and the like, as characteristic of untrained emotions in an age of rationalism, seem hardly borne out when it is remembered how far *more* numerous and arbitrary were the assumptions concerning spiritual agency, witchcraft, etc., in the emotional times of antiquity and the middle ages. His contempt of the current theory that the Greeks had little sympathy with landscape-beauty is expressed in terms which indicate no consciousness of the fact that the eminently emotional

Mr. Ruskin was the protagonist of this theory. And his own counter-argument—that the Greeks proved their intense sympathy with trees and plants by informing them with the personalities of Dryads or Nymphs, and with legends of human interest—might be held to tell in the opposite direction; for to sympathize with a tree *because* it implies a Dryad is really to sympathize with quasi-human nature in the Dryad, not with the actual vegetable organism of the tree. The surmise is fair, that the tree itself was *not* an intensely sympathetic object to the Greek; had it been so, he would not have needed to invent the Dryad as the true centre of interest.

54. MR. PERKINS is entitled to look with great complacency upon his labours in the wide field of Italian mediæval sculpture, completed by the remarkably handsome volume of *Italian Sculptors*, following upon the one which treated of the Tuscan school in especial. The thing was thoroughly worth doing; it had never been done before in English; and it is here well performed. Mr. Perkins shows a knowledge of his theme at once extensive and precise; he is ready at any moment to go into the details, and to justify his statements from documents and authorities. Another uncommon merit, in an author having so good a right to regard his subject-matter as peculiarly his own by priority and by research, is that Mr. Perkins does not allow it to run away with him: he does not grow enthusiastic over every semi-known artist, or every sculpture of disputable deservings, that he has occasion to bring to light. Indeed, it may rather be said that, in this second volume—having already in the first volume had to dispose of the major masters of the Italian sculptural art—he finds less to excite vigorous and hearty admiration than a student of wide sympathy in style would be ready to expect. Of course, however, it should be remembered that, dealing as he now does with the Neapolitan, Roman, Lombardic, Venetian, Bolognese, Modenese, Genoese, and adjacent regions, he confines his attention to the works of the native schools of these several districts; and that the latter have to show, among their principal masterpieces, various examples of Tuscan artists, which had accordingly been duly appraised in the preceding volume. But for this consideration, the account of sculpture in Naples would read as a singularly spare and grudging estimate of the lavish endowments of that city in the way of mediæval monumental sculpture—in which, indeed, Naples stands considerably ahead of any Italian capital, not excepting either Venice or Florence itself.

The author writes with great simplicity, and with a manifest aim at filling his book with facts and relevant comments, rather than high-soaring generalities or eloquent embellishments. There is perhaps not one passage of fine writing in the volume; there is little exordium, and no word of peroration. After surveying the leading sculptural race of modern Europe, through the whole extent of the Italian peninsula, and for the entire period of their growth and maturity in the art, up to the palpable symptoms of its decadence, Mr. Perkins is content to end



with a curt matter-of-fact sentence recording the death of one of the less distinguished among his sculptural troupe, the Carrarese Danese Cattaneo. He also deals very little in abstract aesthetics. The book is essentially a critical and historical view of sculpture in Italy, in the dark and middle ages, and during the Renaissance; thus naturally including a large number of facts coming within the region of history on the one side, but hardly making, on the other, any excursion into the realm of art-theory.

A book of this sort, crammed with names and dates, and other special details, must, in respect of minute accuracy, be to a considerable extent taken on trust by those who do not set to work to verify its statements *seriatim*. It appears, however, to be marked by genuine and substantial accuracy, although here and there some slip is to be observed, more particularly in matters of quotation. A false construction in Latin does not seem to catch Mr. Perkins's eye readily: he has "laudibus non parvus" (for "parcis"); "hic est locus Marini Faletro decapitato pro criminibus"; "Mophetica Mephicta, stercore pleno et male dicta." Not "Armadigi," but "Amadigi," is the name of Bernardo Tasso's poem: the sonnet by Danese Cattaneo at p. 274 is anything but correctly printed. At p. 26, Tasso is cited as speaking of the crusader Bohemond's "cupido ingegno;" but the fact is that this term is applied by the poet to Baldwin, and a very different reference is made to Bohemond in the same stanza. The phrase "Erasmus, Stephano, and Francesco da Narni" is provokingly non-systematic in its form of nomenclature. This Erasmo da Narni was the celebrated soldier nicknamed Gattamelata. Mr. Perkins explains this nickname ("honeyed cat"), "on account of his cunning, and the feline rapidity of his movements in war;" but he seems to overlook its obvious inversion of Francesco's mother's name, Melania Gattelli, and is perhaps not quite right in saying that Gattamelata "adopted" the cat as his crest, for one might very naturally surmise the cat to have been the true crest of a family named Gattelli. A sculpture on the Cathedral of Troja is described as showing a lion "seized by a sort of tiger-cat, which has mounted on his back, and fixed his teeth in his flank." But, if the print is correct, there is no such fixing of teeth, and the "tiger-cat" would rather appear to be a lion-cub playfully rampant upon the paternal hindquarters. The statement that Filippo Calendario, the illustrious builder of the ducal palace in Venice, was hanged as a fellow-conspirator with Marin Falier, is put forward by Mr. Perkins as if it were both quasi-novel and indisputable; whereas in fact even so accessible an authority as Murray's *Handbook* mentions the story, and at the same time confutes it, so far as the identity of the hanged with the architectural Calendario is concerned. Mr. Perkins may possibly be able to throw some new light on the matter; but his text gives no reason for inferring this, or for regarding his statement as other than the revival of an exploded misconception. One of the most interesting critical points in his vol-

ume is the discussion of the respective shares of Verrocchio and Leopardi in the bronze statue of Bartolomeo Colleoni in Venice; and he shows fair reason for thinking that Leopardi is entitled to a very material portion of the honour which is due to the author of so great a work, and of which Englishmen, following in the wake of Mr. Ruskin, have not tended to be liberal to that artist of late years.

55. THE life of Sir Charles Eastlake—a life of full average length—produced comparatively little residual work; but that little is choice in character. Choice, in no mean degree, are his pictures—such of them as fairly deserve to live at all; and choice is his chief contribution to literature—the work of which a first volume was published many years before his death, and which is now completed, so far as it ever can approach the state of completion. But a great part of the life of this accomplished artist and writer went in bywork such as is proper to the connoisseur—official positions in connection with the profession of art, and catering, in a way for which future generations will mainly be grateful to him, for the supply of the National Gallery. The *Materials for a History of Oil-Painting* is so manifestly a work of labour—of conscientious research and painstaking verification—and so much of the author's life and predilection must have clustered round it, that one would fain find it, though in part a posthumous, at least a perfected performance: but this is far from being the case. The review reaches onwards to the Venetian Schools, and then stops short.

Lady Eastlake has acted as editor, and has deemed it expedient to withdraw a portion of the first chapter of this second volume, as it stood in the original ms., on the ground of its not being in harmony with recent investigations of Signor Cavalcaselle, which were actively promoted by Sir Charles Eastlake himself: in other respects the ms. has been exactly adhered to. The reader of the first volume will recollect from that (if not aware of it from other sources) that the "history of oil-painting" needs to be re-written in some very essential particulars, and that the collection of "materials" for it is a process highly requisite: this second volume amply confirms these deductions, and abounds in well-tested and well-presented items, which do much towards furthering the necessary work. In fact, the author's modest title of *Materials* falls rather below the deserts of his book, which, so far as it is carried, might almost claim to be the postulated History itself.

The general facts brought out as to the use of oil in painting are these. Oil had been much employed as a vehicle in wall-painting prior to and irrespectively of the process which is distinctively termed oil-painting. It was generally adopted for ordinary purposes before 1400, though not for the most delicate kinds of work. Hubert (not John) van Eyck was the original inventor of the new method of oil-painting, a fact now no longer contested: John, who died in 1441, co-operated with him in the practice. The essence of the change introduced



by these illustrious artists was that they employed amber-varnish and white-varnish (preparations already in familiar use) in the very act of painting, instead of as a mere ultimate protection to the surface of the painted work, as theretofore; they also made a great improvement in the drying property of the varnish. Domenico Veneziano and Andrea del Castagno are shown not to have acted as links in the nationalization of oil-painting in Italy; and Andrea is relieved of the age-long load of obloquy heaped upon him as murderer of Domenico. The Italian painters in general did not at first take kindly to oil-painting. Pollaiuolo was one of the earliest to do so; then Leonardo da Vinci, and (probably through him) Perugino and Lorenzo di Credi. The oil-painting of Leonardo is distinguished from the Flemish system by its solidity, resulting from frequent re-paintings. Later on, in the Venetian School, the great novelty was the passing (or "scumbling") of light colours over dark—a method unknown even to the practice of the Bellini: the Flemings had no dark under-surface at all, and so of course could not thus manipulate their works. Sir Charles Eastlake characterizes the process of scumbling and of glazing (painting dark over light) as the "dynamic method" of painting, and offers some valuable remarks on this matter just as his book comes to a truncated conclusion.

The volume includes also various separate technical essays or memoranda, which Sir Charles Eastlake had written with a view to eventual publication. Practical students may no doubt consult them with advantage; and the critical or speculative sections show fair powers of observation and analysis, although some want of grasp or boldness of mind may at times be felt. The remarks on Correggio (though more enthusiastic than to suit some tastes of the time) are able and well put; especially the estimate of his style as uniting the actual quality of beauty with the emotional impression of beauty—beauty in the object of sight, and indistinctness or fusion in the method of representation, corresponding to the perception of beauty in the quickly sensitive beholder. These remarks may be compared with some made by Schlegel on the same subject, and will, perhaps, more than stand the comparison.

56. THE appearance of Mr. Marryat's *History of Pottery and Porcelain* in a third edition, is an evidence of the increased public interest in the matter. The work was originally very well done, and the book remarkably well illustrated. Some of the divisions of the subject were even then fully treated, and with more knowledge than any similar work had previously shown. Mr. Marryat mentions in his new preface that his history has been translated into French, with notes by the most competent hands, and a preface by M. Riocreux, Director of the Musée Céramique at Sèvres, who styles it "pour le présent le livre français le plus complet que l'amateur puisse consulter." The French have gone even faster in the taste for pottery than the English have done, and published a good deal more of late years.

The additions which the author has been able to make in the present edition are very considerable. Originally compiled as part of a comprehensive history of pottery in all ages and countries, an undertaking planned by the late Mr. Bandinel, Mr. Marryat's work was limited to the survey of the art from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries inclusive. Mr. Birch's book on Etruria and its pottery, published a few years ago, also originated in this scheme. The other divisions—Dr. Wellesley was to have undertaken Italian majolica, and Mr. Albert Way British earthenware—having been abandoned, Mr. Marryat has extended the scope of his survey, mainly in the direction of Majolica and its forerunners. The chapters on Chinese fayence he has also improved historically; and indeed all the field of art in earthenware is now treated by him, except the fruitful and most important one of ancient pottery, Egyptian, Greek, and Roman.

One kind of ware, the history of which has been almost brought to light since the first edition, and one of the most interesting artistically, is that commenced by the Moors in Spain, now called Hispano-Moresque. This ware is now certainly known to have led the way to the lustre-ware in Italy, and to have had a superb development and extensive trade at a very early time. A monograph on it was published in Paris in 1861, by M. J. C. Davillier; and Mr. Marryat now begins his book with an entirely new section, "Spanish Pottery," embodying the latest knowledge on the subject, with several new figures. The origin of the curiously ornate ware, called by the name of Henri II. or Fayence D'Oiron, has been also very ingeniously determined of late; and the author has rewritten this section, and indeed the entire chapter (VI.) on French Pottery. In the notice of Spanish ware, reference is very properly made to the splendid examples of Moresque in the South Kensington Museum; but in the review of the Fayence D'Oiron, where the principal pieces are mentioned, and some of them engraved, there is no reference to this collection, although the Department of Science and Art has given higher prices for that ware than for any other, and has succeeded in obtaining a whole case of choice specimens. The mention of this Henri II. ware suggests an inquiry different from that of scientific development or methods of manufacture, viz., the value of the object under consideration as to intrinsic excellence in art. In this point of view some of the gems of Sèvres and Dresden, now valued at twenty times their weight in gold, would take a very different place. The pair of vases for example, 14½ inches high including the ormolu stand, for which £1942, 10s. was given at the Bernal sale, are in a sadly rococo taste, and are weak in form. Another inquiry, more practicable and more generally interesting, might have furnished Mr. Marryat with a short chapter—the History of Public Taste and the art of Collecting. In Hogarth's time gabelled chimney-pieces were made with shelves for single cups like corbie-steps; china was exclusively valued;



tolerable but excellent, because it puts man more completely into the hands of the Infinite. Mr. Simcox makes both Cassandra and Eloise reveal this mystery. It is the sense he puts into the text, *Si descendero in infernum, ades.*

The happiness of having been forgiven  
Is worth ten thousand thousand years of heaven.  
The brightest Seraph might forswear his crown,  
To lie, and tremble, and to be cast down,  
And fall, and fall, and fall, and find God there,  
And find Him still too beautiful to bear.

This is the unwholesome philosophy which infects Mr. Simcox's poetry. The extraordinary vividness with which he expresses this dreamy and dreary theory, shows how high a level he might reach if he advanced along a clearer course of thought.

59. Mr. GARNETT, in his *Idylls and Epigrams*, has generally attained the grace of his models, their neatness, and their unforced pointedness: he has not always attained their fluency and ease. His couplets sometimes seem clumsy compared to their elegiacs, though now and then this clumsiness recalls the quaintness of Herrick and Donne. The following "On one who died in a Tomb," is a specimen:—

"Worn with old age and penury, nor thence  
Rescued by any man's beneficence,  
Into this tomb with tottering steps I past,  
And hardly here found leave to rest at last.  
Usage for most doth after death provide  
Interment, I was buried ere I died."

Many of these little poems are original; many are paraphrases; still more are translations. In each case the fact is marked in the table of authors; and this was certainly necessary, for Mr. Garnett's own compositions might easily be mistaken for antiques. Here is a quotation which might be two thousand years old:

"Hither, dear Muse, I pray, and with thee  
bear  
A madrigal for Melite the fair,  
Evil with good repaying, for 'tis she  
Who tempts me to oblivion of thee."

Nor would internal evidence justify the suspicion that the following was an original composition of a "barbarian" author:

"My fair barbarian speaks no Greek, of  
course,  
Nor knows divinest Sappho from a horse;  
Yet all the charms that Grecian bards extol  
Are here, save those pertaining to the soul.  
What then in this dilemma shall I do  
Who have not, certes, Greek enough for  
two?  
I'll tolerate the fault I can't remove,  
And deem that Beauty is the Greek of Love."

The following is not the worse for a franker modernism:—

"Fired with the the thirst of Fame, thus  
honest Sam,  
'I will arise and write an epigram.'

An epic, Sam, more glorious still would be,  
And much more easily achieved by thee."

It is curious that Mr. Garnett should have succeeded least with the best epigrams, that have tempted all translators; perhaps they are his first attempts. Some of the paraphrases are harsh and obscure, compared with the originals. No one would suspect the following of being suggested by a pretty poem where the author says he would like to be as rich as Croesus, but as he knows the undertaker will put him in his money-box, he spends his money on merry-making:

"Our undertaker with his acid phiz,  
A grim, austere, sardonic fellow is,  
And, save for business' sake, was never  
heard  
By any mortal man to breathe a word,  
Yet Bacchus, Venus, and the Graces three,  
Have no such potent advocate as he."

Besides the gracelessness of the whole, it is difficult to make out the last couplet without referring to the note; and "the Graces three" are clearly put in for the metre. Here is an inexcusable couplet:

"Tyre brought me up, who born in thee had  
been  
Assyrian Athens, city Gadarene;"

And the following four lines not much better:

"My funeral shaft, and marble shapes that  
dwell  
Beside it, and sad urn receptacle  
Of all I am, salute who seek my tomb,  
If from my own or other cities come."

The metre is crabbed, and the syntax elliptical; the fourth line is unmeaning, or, if it means anything, it imposes a nugatory condition. It would be easy to multiply examples which show that Mr. Garnett has much less feeling for English metre and idiom than for Greek sentiment. When he translates literally it is simply because he has not cared to invent another form for the thought; for he allows himself in all sorts of trivial interpolations for the sake of rhyme. Sometimes this carelessness extends to the sense, and sometimes to the diction: a gnat cannot be called a "mimic minstrel" because it is asked to wake a lady by its hum; and gout may be said to have a cultivated but not a "cultured taste." The book is a curious and agreeable specimen of the success which is possible to a translator who possesses the one great qualification of sympathy with his original, though he is either negligent or deficient with regard to most others.

60. HOMERIC translations fall naturally into three classes. Some take independent literary rank as English classics; others conform acceptably to the prevailing traditions of literature and scholarship; and others are experiments of able men who set aside old precedents, without creating new. Below the



last come simple failures which it is not necessary to classify. It would be difficult to give a better example of the first class than Pope's *Iliad*, of the second than Lord Derby's, of the third than Dr. Merivale's. It must be added that Dr. Merivale's work does not bely his motto. His *Iliad* is a long narrative rather loosely put together, but still undeniably interesting in its incidents, and told in a very clear, lively, readable way. There are felicities of the translator to reward a careful inspection; but the felicities of the poet for the most part disappear. On the other hand, the clumsiness, the perversities, the inequalities are not many. The labour has been a labour of love; and the translator seldom nods. There is plenty of vigour and diligence; but Dr. Merivale's English prose and Latin verse had justified an expectation of delicacy and grace.

A great part of the result may probably be attributed to the metre selected, which is a sort of cross between Chapman and Lord Macaulay. Most of the lines run from thirteen to fifteen syllables; but every now and then comes a half line or two of eight syllables, rhyming with the middle of the next. *A priori*, such a metre might seem attractive on the grounds of rapidity and variety; and the average number of syllables to a line is about the same as Homers. But, after all, Homer's hexameters are smoother and sweeter than most English metres, even in the hands of great masters of versification; and Dr. Merivale's iambs are harsh and rough compared with those of almost any good writer since the days of Cowley and Donne. It is easy for author and reader to tolerate half-a-dozen complets like this:

"So then both of Greek and Trojan one to another cried,  
But Pallas took a Trojan's shape, and midst the throng she hid;"

or even like this:

"She took the form and semblance of one  
Laodorus,  
Son of Antenor, sturdy chief; and sought she  
Pandarus."

But two or three pages of this kind of metre produce a longing, we will not say for the majestic and equable finish of Pope, but even for the rapid neatness and fluency of translators far inferior to Dr. Merivale. This is really important; because every long poem must contain immense tracts of this sort of narrative, and the rank of the poem depends in great measure upon the ease and elevation which can be given to such matter by style and diction. Sometimes, indeed, Dr. Merivale rises to the level of Homer's ordinary flight. The following lines, for instance, are perhaps a trifle more emphatic than the original, but they are not less swift and vigorous:—

"He elntch'd the string, and drew it; the  
notch he let not go;  
Right to his breast he brought the string, the  
iron to the bow:  
And when the orb was rounded, deep drawn  
with all his might,

The string it sung, the lithe bow rung,  
Leapt the keen shaft the hosts among, impatient to alight."

Here is a still more favourable example, which is the finest passage that Dr. Merivale has translated well:

"And when they heard Achilles that brazen  
uproar raise,  
The hearts of all were struck with dread,  
The crested horses turned and fled, foreboding evil days;  
And daunted were their drivers to see that  
radiance flare  
High on the head of Pelens' son,  
The dreadful flames that burned and shone,  
by Pallas kindled there.  
And thrice divine Achilles loud shouted from  
the mound;  
And thrice the Trojans and allies turned,  
routed at the sound;  
And twelve of them, their bravest, were  
strew'd upon the plain;  
And lustily the Greeks at last bore off their  
hero slain."

But the rendering of the celebrated passages is almost always disappointing. For instance, in the scene between Hector and Andromache there is nothing beyond lines of this order:

"But thou to me art father, Hector, and  
mother dear;  
Brother art thou and husband;—then in  
mercy bide thou here.  
Bide here upon the rampart aloft, nor join  
the strife,  
Lest sireless thou thy infant make, and husbandless thy wife."

Homer's delicacy and his intensity evaporate alike in a metre incapable of anything beyond rhetorical excellence, and lending itself easily to sheer vulgarity in this line from Helen's exquisite lamentation over Hector's body—

"Such was thy bland persuasiveness, so gentle was thy strain,"

which can only be explained in accordance with the worst traditions of eighteenth century pastoral.

Among the felicities of the book is the suggestion of "folkherd" as a possible translation of *ποιμένα λαών*; and the dedication, though stiff, is an elegant contribution to literature.

61. CHAMISSE described Uhland's poems as excellent specimens of the class which every one reads and no one writes; and it would be difficult to characterize more accurately their essentially popular qualities. But a poet whose works suggest the idea that he ought only to have written anonymous ballads is not the most promising subject for a memoir; and poems which are familiar and almost hackneyed in their original form need exceptionally felicitous translation. Mr. Sanders has brought to his task a rather solemn conception of its importance. But to the biographical portion



of it he has brought little else; and he has not succeeded in reproducing even tolerably the simple form and naive sentiment of "Der Wirthin Töchterlein" or "Der gute Kamerad," poems which are nothing if not easy and popular, and would certainly never have attained popularity in the present version. Mr. Sandars's translation is very far from a complete one; and no intelligible principle seems to have been followed in the omissions. If the responsibility of selection had been thrown on the inspired *vox populi* of Germany, "The Ring" and "The Nun" would have been included. If the translator was to be guided by the limits of his own power of reproducing the familiar lyrics in a foreign language, he should not have attempted "The three Songs" with the refrain which he curiously renders in this fashion:—

"Thou must battle with me for life and for death,  
And—well—must battle for life and for death."

Still more dangerous than an idiom without a precise equivalent are lines that can be rendered literally, at the expense of English and the context, and seduce all but the most conscientious translators into stanzas like these:—

"Ye have seduced my people, dare ye entice  
my spouse?"  
Shrieks the rage-trembling monarch, and  
fierce revenge he vows;  
He draws his sword, which, flashing, pierces  
the stripling's breast:  
The life-stream gushes upward, the melody's  
at rest."

The poem in the volume which has suffered least is perhaps the pretty ballad, "Klein Roland;" but it is easy to render German verse into some sort of English, and not difficult to render it into better English verse than Mr. Sandars has constructed.

62. SIR FREDERICK OUSELEY'S *Treatise on Counterpoint*, like his former book on Harmony, is creditable to his scientific earnestness. No art offers so many temptations to the mere dilettante as music: in none is scientific study more uncommon or more meritorious. The Oxford Professor founds his grammar of counterpoint upon Cherubini, who was a consummate practitioner of the art, but left the grammar of it much where he found it. The modern Italians are not theoretical reformers. Sir Frederick Ouseley is aware of the deficiencies of this grammar, but still adheres to them. The old writers, he says, imposed very strict and rigid rules as to the employment of intervals, many of which rules were derived from the incomplete notions of harmony prevalent at the time, while others had their origin in the imperfect scales in which ecclesiastical melodies had been composed before the introduction of harmony. He might have added that the introduction of the temperament into our scales, by which alone the complete round of modulations has been made possible, has converted some of the old distinctions between

notes into mere distinctions without difference. Another reason which he gives is, that the severe counterpoint being meant for vocal performance, only the easiest intervals are admitted. Reasons of this kind have ceased to be reasons at all. Whatever the ear, thoroughly accustomed to is easy, within its range, for the voice. Again, the interval of a semitone in our present scales remains the same, whatever name it is called by; it is therefore futile to forbid it as a diminished second, and to allow it as a minor second, especially when the prohibition is soon forgotten, and the use of the interval prescribed is the right means of avoiding false relations. So, the minor third is the same interval as the forbidden augmented second. These distinctions have become altogether arbitrary in the scales to which our ears have become thoroughly familiarized. Again, it is mere superstition to call the fourth a discord. Beethoven said his ear failed to find in it the slightest jangle; and he placed it midway between the perfect or unalterable concords (the fifth and eighth) and the imperfect or alterable ones (the third and sixth). "It could only be pedants and worshippers of the antique," he said, "who would rank it with dissonances." The natural laws of harmony, as determined by the numbers and ratio of vibrations, fully bear out his perception. Another arbitrary exclusion is the harmony of the false fifth. "I should like to make an exception," Beethoven remarks with some disdain, "in favour of the natural fourth note of the scale, over the accessible note, which I prefer to the sharpened fourth, though this does give a perfect fifth." Sir Frederick Ouseley characteristically (p. 14) rejects the well-known "Fuchsische Wechselnote," as the Germans call it, and herein follows Cherubini, who made this sacrifice of melody to pedantry. It would be easy to go on indefinitely noting the stiff way in which the Oxford Professor rejects "the licenses," as the contrapuntists persist in calling them, which are required by the modern ear. But it would be more profitable to inquire how it is that the only available treatises on counterpoint adhere to this method. An exception may perhaps be made in favour of Reicha's works on composition, and of Beethoven's *Studien*, compiled from his papers by Seyfried. But as a treatise the *Studien* is imperfect. Both in the examples he gives, and in the remarks he makes, Beethoven shows his contempt for the scholastic rules, inasmuch, he says, when the art was in its infancy, and at best only adapted for music intended to be sung in vast halls by great bodies of voices, but utterly incapable of bringing out the resources of the modern orchestra, or of the chamber concert. Yet he himself in his latter days was stung with the ambition of proving himself a contrapuntist, and produced some great works, which are great because the lamp of the school is soon eclipsed by the sunlight of his genius. Spohr was another writer who in his later life wished to add the lore of the contrapuntist to his skill in the practice of modern music. There is a vitality in these old rules, partly, no



doubt, depending on the conventionality of the ear, and the ease with which it may be educated to relish imperfect or unnatural scales, but chiefly due to the great mass of truth which they embody, and which is embodied nowhere else. Their faults are rather faults of omission than of commission. Yet it would not be unjust to suggest that, if the principle on which they were founded were carried out in other arts, we should make our young versifiers produce poems containing no A or no B, or from which the verb "to be" in all moods and tenses was excluded, or which should form altars, or wings, or columns. No doubt great scholars have learned their rudiments from the Eton Latin Grammar. But it is no longer thought proper to include in the rudimentary teaching of language principles or propositions which must be unlearned afterwards. The young composer must begin with the simplest combinations; but there is no reason why an arbitrary line should be drawn within which strict art must confine itself, while all beyond is regarded as mere license and irregularity.

63. M. ALBERT DE BROGLIE, though an academician, is more a politician who uses literature as his engine for acting upon public opinion than a literary man. There is not one of his *Nouvelles études*, he says, that does not owe its existence to some of the moral, political, or social consequences of the Revolution of 1789, or does not, directly or indirectly, indicate the one only remedy for the agitation which is the legacy of revolution. The long discord may be healed, he thinks, not by authority, but only by liberty. "La paix par la liberté; la paix entre les croyances par la liberté de conscience et de discussion mutuellement respectée; la paix entre les partis par l'observation commune des règles de la liberté légale; la paix entre les classes par la liberté complète de la propriété, du capital, et du travail." M. de Broglie inherits the traditions of that political writing which arose when France was a despotism tempered by epigrams; and he tries to apply it to a despotism tempered by the material interests of the masses. In old days epigram reacted upon the Government, because it acted on the persons by whom the Government was surrounded. But M. de Broglie's art is too refined and academic to act on universal suffrage. There is a native quickness and intelligence in the French peasant; but he has not yet been educated to comprehend the fine points of allusion, or to appreciate the subtleties, of M. de Broglie's tempered liberalism esoterically taught in essays upon Schiller, Madame Swetchine, Lacordaire, Ampère, De Serre, or Villèle. More than this, a politician who would deny to Italy what he claims for France, and would abridge the freedom of foreigners in order to maintain that of his own countrymen in a higher theoretical temperature, is from the nature of the case debarred from any broad or intelligible exposition of principles, and from the advocacy of any very decided or trenchant measures. Hesitating, as his system must seem to do, between the contradictory propositions of rival schools,

it cannot plead for any present or probable settlement, but only for moderation, equity, and an interim of delay in which liberty may have time to bear fruit. And this seems to be the position taken by M. de Broglie in the later portion of his book. It is a position that gives to his essays an ephemeral character which all the beauty and refinement of their language and thought can scarcely conceal.

64. Two friends of the late Mr. Charles Maclaren have collected and republished some of his papers, consisting mainly of contributions to the *Scotsman*, of which he was the founder, and for thirty years the editor. These *Select Writings* are of a very miscellaneous character, but may be roughly thrown into three groups—political and social articles, scientific papers, and notes of travel. The collection comprehends subjects so diverse as the Maynooth Grant and the traces of glacial action in Scotland, the Reform Bill and the topography of Troy. In most cases so wide a range of interests would imply superficial treatment. This, however, was not the case with Mr. Maclaren. Whatever subject he approached, he brought to it the same careful and conscientious observation of facts, the same superiority to sentiment and prejudice, the same dislike of relying on second-hand authority. Vigorous and lucid, without being brilliant, his style is a faithful index of the character of his mind.

His political opinions underwent little change during his life. With a fearless and unswerving attachment to the cause of civil and religious liberty, he combined a clear insight into political and economical principles, and a desire that the government of the country should, above all things, rest on a rational and scientific basis. It required great moral courage to set on foot a Liberal journal, alone and unaided by aristocratic influence, at a time (1817) when the Liberal cause seemed to have reached its nadir in Great Britain; it is still a greater tribute to Mr. Maclaren's character that he conducted his paper with such uniform moderation and sobriety as to render powerless the vehement and malignant opposition with which, in its early days, the *Scotsman* was assailed. In point of style and thought, the political papers which have been reprinted in these volumes stand considerably above the level of ordinary political articles. They embody the reflections of a sagacious and high-minded observer of passing events. But their author's claim to the remembrance of posterity—and it is considerable—will rest not so much on his collected writings as on the high tone which, as a newspaper editor and contributor, he endeavoured to give to the treatment of political questions, and on his unabating and successful efforts to enlist the interest of his readers in scientific subjects. From the first, physical science presented to him an attraction equal with that of politics; and in his later years it is probable that the latter was subordinate to the former. He never had leisure to devote himself wholly to his favourite studies, and his function through life was that of an interpreter rather than a discoverer of scientific ideas. But he was very



far removed from those representatives of popular science who content themselves with dressing up in finer words the thoughts and discoveries of others. He was never content without verifying his conclusions by personal and laborious investigation. Hammer in hand, he would wander amongst the Scottish and Swiss hills; and the results of his holiday ramble would appear in the columns of the *Scotsman*, where a series of lucid and well-digested articles would embody the thoughts and observations of many months. Geology was his favourite subject; and his keen interest in the new science enabled him to keep abreast of its latest phases of speculation and discovery. The frequent and suggestive papers which are reprinted in the present collection were probably the first which succeeded in directing public attention to the numerous traces of glacial action that are to be found in the north of Scotland and the English lakes. But geological speculation did not monopolize his attention; and by far the most remarkable illustration of the sagacity, almost amounting to prevision, with which he welcomed and appreciated the importance of new discoveries, is to be found in his remarkable articles on railways, in the years 1824 and 1825. In these papers, speculations which now appear like truisms are put forward and supported by careful and minute calculations. But at the time of their appearance they created a profound sensation; and their boldness and significance can only be appreciated by reference to the date at which they were written, and by comparison with the tone of incredulity with which Stephenson's experiments and promises were received even in the best educated circles of society. In his later years, Mr. Maclaren found leisure for travelling on the Continent, especially in France, Italy, and Greece. Wherever he went he kept his eyes open, and allowed no peculiarities of men and manners, no phenomena of geological or antiquarian interest, to escape the range of his acute and accurate observation. His notes of travel were published from time to time in his journal; and the immediate purpose for which they were written is apparent in his constant references, for the purpose of explanation, to home standards—for instance, in the comparison of the Roman Forum in point of size to the Edinburgh Grassmarket.

The interest of the present volumes is mainly historical and biographical, and consists in the picture which they supply of the workings, during half a century, of a mind distinguished by no ordinary sagacity and width of intellectual sympathies. But the papers also derive a value of their own from their clear and forcible style, the shrewd observations with which they abound, and their lucid exposition and copious illustration of abstruse scientific problems.

65. THE first volume of Mr. Martineau's *Essays* was published in 1866, by an American editor, who was so much a stranger to the author that he included an essay by another hand in the volume. The selection, however,

was made with so much aptness that Mr. Martineau adopted it, with the necessary modification, and republished it in England the next year. The second volume is another selection by the same American editor, consisting of essays, generally of an earlier date than those in the first volume. The inferior interest of the present volume, which is but a gleanings after the harvest, bears witness to the competency of the judgment which compiled the former one. The two first essays are a quarter of a century old, and deal with books which have long been dead—Dr. Whewell's *Morals*. They expose that official philosopher's well-known method of supporting a Church and State system of morals with the prop of *a priori* afterthoughts and cunningly contrived axioms. Mr. Martineau, in different essays, seems alternately to defend the metaphysical basis of faith and morals, and to propose adopting a new Baconian basis, assimilated to that of the physical sciences; but the apparent inconsistency may be reconciled if we understand him to mean only that he desires the moral sciences to be conducted more upon the method of the exact sciences—an aspiration which has been in great measure fulfilled since he wrote. Even when the special subjects on which he treats are out of date, Mr. Martineau's style and thoughts continue fresh; and the present volume affords more evidence than the first of his prescience and power of anticipating the course of thought—a great test of a thinker's power.

66. MR. PEROWNE'S Hulsean lectures on *Immortality* are everywhere well meant, and in many parts well executed. His four lectures are thus divided—1. The future life, in which he reviews the modern theories of Materialism, Pantheism, and Spiritualism, and their bearing on the doctrine he is treating; 2. The hope of the Gentile, where he reviews the Egyptian, the Greek, and what he calls the Oriental theories on a future life; 3. The hope of the Jew, where he discusses the various texts adduced to prove the prevalence of the doctrine among the Hebrews; 4. The hope of the Christian, where he maintains, with considerable confusion, that the doctrine rests upon the historical Resurrection of Christ, and the inner life of the Spirit. He uses the analogy of nature as Butler uses it, not to sustain a positive argument, but only to undermine objections.

His reviews of the Egyptian doctrine of a future life is very good as far as it goes; and his criticisms of the Hebrew texts are scholar-like and sober. Indeed, he shows not a little independence of mind in his treatment of the famous text, Job xix, 24-26, where the Hebrew, instead of having "in my flesh I shall see God," has *וְרָאָה בְּבָשָׁר*, *ex carne*, out of the flesh. Of course this is a doubtful expression. To say, "I shall see an object from or out of a castle or a place" may either mean that I shall be out of or away from the place when I see it, or that, being within the place, I shall see the object from it. Accordingly, interpreters are sorely tempted to import their previous opinions into the text.



Professor Ewald gives it a Platonic meaning, and translates it "frei vom Leibe werd' ich schauen Gott;" and M. Renan, "Privé de ma chair je verrai Dieu." On the other hand, Dr. Pusey considers such a translation most uncritical. Mr. Perowne thinks that Job only means, "After my skin has been thus pierced through [with leprosy] yet from my flesh I shall behold God,"—without any distinct reference to any doctrine of resurrection, but with full confidence of living in God.

In his generalizations, Mr. Perowne is less happy than in his special remarks. Two instances will suffice. One is his uncritical notion of "Orientalism" as a definite form of thought; and another is his desire to transplant this bodily, and to fuse it with European thought, instead of being contented to trace the analogies and correspondences of the distant and unconnected systems. To say that Alexandria was a common reservoir of "Oriental" and European thought, in which they became fused, and through whose teachers "the dogmas of the Brahmins were erected under a different form in the country of Homer and Plato," is to repeat in a somewhat mitigated manner an exploded error. Again, it argues a considerable misunderstanding of the status of the materialistic controversy to found a charge of materialism upon the passages which Mr. Perowne quotes from Professor Huxley. Mr. Huxley says that "matter may be regarded as a form of thought, or thought may be regarded as a property of matter,—each statement has a certain relative truth." And whether material and psychological phenomena are alike regarded as molecular effects, according to the materialist, or acts of pure force, according to Faraday, at any rate, Mr. Huxley considers that all natural effects proceed by law, ascertainable in the long-run by human faculties, and capable of being expressed quantitatively. But besides these natural phenomena, reducible to law, he also admits, nay, enjoins, one other belief,—the power of volition to introduce new conditions into the course of events. Volition is a species of force which he sets apart from all other forces, and to which he assigns an extra-scientific, accidental agency, in the course of events. However closely he may have connected himself with materialists, yet, while he holds this distinction, he will be *toto calo* distinguished from them, as holding the ground-work, if not the superstructure, of a belief in spirit and in God. There is much less real materialism in Mr. Huxley's writings, ill expressed and unphilosophical as they often are in their metaphysical portions, than there is in the last page of the concluding chapter of Professor Owen's great work on Vertebrates. But then Professor Owen loudly professes his belief in a resurrection, with which his theory is almost incompatible, and Mr. Huxley is silent on the matter. Mr. Perowne is not quite judicious in his selection of his antagonist.

67. THE fair distribution of taxation is a hard problem of economical science. Many of its points still remain matters of controversy, requiring careful induction before they can be

cleared up; and M. Foubert's book, *De l'Impôt sur les Valeurs mobilières*, is a clever and successful contribution to this end. In France, as elsewhere, public opinion demands that taxation should be proportionate to the income of the taxpayer. But the mode of ascertaining his income is a further question. If the sincerity of his own statement cannot be trusted, and the investigation of authority is regarded as too inquisitorial to be admitted, it remains that a man must be taxed in proportion to his evident means, in proportion to the outward signs of wealth which he exhibits. Such are his lands, houses, shops, dwelling-house, and the like. By determining a man's liability on such grounds a near approach is made to a right estimate of his income. Notwithstanding the isolated errors of any general system founded on average, the French method must be considered to have attained very symmetrical, logical, and brilliant results. But among the agricultural classes in France an opinion exists that the land is taxed too highly in comparison with personal property, especially such sources of income as the funds, shares, policies, debentures, and other commercial or public sources of income. M. Foubert shows that this opinion is not borne out by facts, and in doing so sets out with great clearness the relations between the different taxes in France. He naturally speaks at greater length on personal than on other taxable property; and on this subject he takes occasion to give details which are not to be found elsewhere.

68. M. DURUY, a little while before he withdrew from the office of Minister of Public Instruction in France, supplemented his various publications on French primary and secondary education by a blue book containing the *Statistics of superior education*. The subject-matter of this education in France is comprised in the five faculties of theology, law, medicine, literature, and sciences, and is imparted in a limited number of special schools. These five faculties do not in France, as elsewhere, combine together to form a University, the "Université de France" being simply a name for the total number of scholastic institutions dependent on the State. It is rare to find more than two faculties established in the same town. Only in Paris and Strasburg can all five be found; and even there the faculties and schools have no mutual connection. Hence each faculty has its own number of establishments. Theology has five Catholic and two Protestant establishments, law eleven, medicine three, sciences sixteen, and literature sixteen. Besides these there are three superior schools of chemistry, twenty-two preparatory schools of medicine and chemistry, and five preparatory schools for the higher branches of science and literature. These various institutions contain 12,949 "enrolled" pupils, and 5199 "auditors." The enrolled pupils are those who intend to take a degree, and to enjoy the advantages and privileges to which it opens the way. For them the courses are not gratuitous; they are obliged to put down their names every three months, and to pay certain fees, varying accord-



ing to circumstances. When a pupil has put down his name a certain number of times—a minimum being fixed by the regulations—he may present himself to be examined for the degree of licentiate or of doctor. There are separate examination fees. The auditors are learners who are admitted to the lectures without fees, but not admitted to take degrees. M. Duruy's *Statistique* gives the correct number of enrolled pupils, but only an estimate, probably exaggerated, of the auditors. The funds for the maintenance of the faculties are chiefly furnished by the emoluments, the Government making good the deficiency; but all payments are made through the Government. In 1885, 1886, and 1887 the receipts exceeded the expenditure; but since 1888 the expenditure has been increasing and the receipts diminishing. At that date both sides of the account showed a total of about two millions of francs. Now the sum exceeds three millions and a half—the account being in 1885, receipts 3,597,529 francs, expenditure 3,777,437 francs; but the surplus of expenditure varies greatly in different years. Besides the faculties, there are other establishments of superior education, such as the Collège de France, the Museum of Natural History, and others which are entirely supported by the State. The statistics of the faculty of medicine are curious. Between 1847 and 1866 the number of Doctors in Medicine increased from 10,648 to 11,265. On the other side the numbers of "officiers de santé," doctors who have studied only three years instead of five, diminished from 7456 to 5,624. This gives a total of 18,099 doctors in 1847, and only of 17,840 in 1866, including those in the annexed departments. If there is more medical education, there are fewer practitioners. It would be worth while to investigate the reason of this.

69. In 1848, Professor Göbel drew attention to two important conclusions which he thought himself entitled to draw from the chemical analysis of certain antiquities, namely: (1.) that the metallic antiquities found in the Baltic Provinces are of Roman origin, or, at all events, that the metallurgic knowledge of the Esthonians and other Baltic peoples is derived from Roman sources; and (2.) that there is a very curious agreement in composition between the alloys of the Chinese, the ancient Taudic peoples of Siberia, who worked in metals, chiefly about the Altai or copper mountains, and the Greeks. It remains to be seen whether these ethnologically interesting conclusions will be verified in other ways; but so far they show the value of chemical analysis as an instrument in historical research. The analyses of antiquities hitherto made, however, are, for the most part, of little value for this purpose. They have been made generally for some immediate object, such as to determine the presence of zinc, or the relative proportions of tin and copper. With some important exceptions, as in the case of Mallet, Fellenberg, Wibel, etc., the presence of other metals, such as nickel, cobalt, etc., either has not been noticed at all, or, if it has been recorded, the quantities of

each present have not been determined. And yet these accidental metals would no doubt afford in many cases evidence of the source of the ores, just as the amount of the sulphur, silicon, etc., would help us to judge of the character of the metallurgic processes. Then too, the description of the objects has been generally very unsatisfactory, being confined in many cases to such information as "bronze sword," "bronze celt," etc. To be of real use analyses should be made in considerable numbers of each type of sword, spear, mace, etc., for there can be no doubt that some of the types found in museums, though they may have been found together, have come from very different sources, and belong to different epochs. The processes of analysis should be accurately described, so as to insure uniformity of results. When this has been done, it may become possible to determine the metallurgic centres of the ancient world, and the routes of the commerce of metals. As this must be a work of time, the existing analyses may be of some use; and Dr. von Bibra has accordingly done good service in bringing together all the analyses hitherto made,—the work of no less than eighty-one chemists. To these he has added a very large number of his own, especially of Roman and Greek coins, very carefully made, and with full description of his processes of analysis. Out of a total of 520 analyses of Greek and Roman coins and other bronze antiquities, the results of which are given, 341 are by the author.

The completeness of his collection will be seen from a summary of the localities of the objects analysed:—Roman coins, the greater part dating however from the Empire, Roman weapons, ornaments, statuettes, etc.; Greek, Macedonian, Sicilian, and Carthaginian coins; Greek statuettes; bronze antiquities from Egypt and Nineveh; pre-Christian antiquities from graves in the Crimea, and from graves at ancient Olbia, Nikopol, and Alexandropol on the Borysthenes or Dnieper, from the ruins of ancient Tanais, from Taudic graves on the Yenisei, from graves of the eleventh and twelfth centuries in the Russian Government of Wladimir, from the Baltic Provinces; ancient bronze weapons, tools, etc., of Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Switzerland, France, Great Britain and Ireland; articles of mediæval, renaissance and rococo workmanship; coins, gongs, cannon, etc., from China and Cochin China; and lastly, modern alloys. The author has summarized the chief characters of each of these classes of alloys, and has prefixed to the whole an account of the knowledge of the ancient concerning the several metals and alloys. This, however, contains nothing new, and has a material defect in not giving the references to the ancient authors he mentions. It is to be wished that a collection were made of Chinese copper alloys of different ages, especially of the very ancient ones, portions of which might be analysed with the view of testing the conclusion of Professor Göbel above mentioned.

70. Students of Geology who are interested in igneous and metamorphic phenomena have



felt the want of a monograph of some volcano with a history, like Vesuvius or Ettna—a monograph which should embrace not only an account of the present state of the volcano, but, as far as possible, a good summary of its history. This want has been supplied by Mr. Phillips, who has published the lectures on Vesuvius which he gave at Oxford, in 1868, after his return from a visit to that mountain. The chronological account of it which he has gathered together is very complete and interesting. Out of the historic narrative he has constructed a sketch of the general characteristic phenomena of eruptions from their beginning to their end. This is followed by a well condensed account of the form and structure of the mountain. Then comes a notice of the Phlegrean Fields, without which no description of Vesuvius could be complete. The author next discusses the character of the volcanic energy as shown by the nature and extent of its effects. The remainder of the book is occupied by an account of the minerals of Vesuvius, the character and composition of Vesuvian lava and ashes; and, lastly, some general views on the theory of volcanic action.

The Chemical, that is the mineralogical, part of the book is the least satisfactory portion. The list of minerals is so nearly complete that it was hardly worth while to refer the reader to the British Museum for the remainder. Mineralogy still suffers from having been once looked upon as part of what was called "Natural History." Every specimen was looked upon as a distinct entity, not connected with the rock in which it was found, but with a number of other entities of a like character to itself. Hence collections of Vesuvian minerals are usually objects of curiosity rather than of science, the specimens themselves, and not the conditions under which they were found, being the points of interest. The consequence is that, although the list of Vesuvian minerals is long, and the analyses of a great many of them well made, the mineralogy of Vesuvius is still in a very imperfect condition. What we want to know is not that a mineral occurs in lava, but the circumstances under which it occurs. What, for instance, is the relative age of the lava? If the mineral is found in an ejected block, is that block a fragment of an unaltered aqueous rock, or a previously fused lava? Did the mineral pre-exist in it, or is it the result of the volcanic action? Professor Phillips could not be expected to create the whole of the chemical geology of Vesuvius in a few weeks, and was obliged to take the work as he found it to his hand. He might, however, with advantage have brought the facts more abreast with our present knowledge. Thus, for example, at page 211, he gives, in the following note, Dr. Daubeny's explanation of the action of the vapours of the Solfatara upon the trachytic rocks by which sulphur and various sulphates are formed:—"By union of the sulphuretted hydrogen with the bases of the earths and alkalis in these trachytes, hydro-sulphurets would be formed. Compounds of this class when exposed to air and moisture in

presence of carbonic acid undergo decomposition; the bases are oxidated and combine with the acid; the sulphuretted hydrogen is resolved into its elements; sulphur is partly separated and partly converted into hypo-sulphurous acid, and water is formed by the hydrogen uniting with atmospheric air. Hypo-sulphuric salts also appear, but are not permanent; so that finally sulphur and sulphuric salts remain, as we find to be the case." Whatever this explanation may have been in 1825, it certainly does not express our present knowledge. There is no proof that sulphuretted hydrogen could combine with the alkaline bases of the silicates of the trachyte; and it may be considered perfectly certain that it does not combine with aluminium under such conditions. The decomposition of trachyte, accompanied by the formation of sulphates, and the deposition of sulphur, is a very complicated phenomenon; in some cases, at all events, the decomposition has been due to sulphurous acid, some of which coming in contact with sulphuretted hydrogen formed water and pentathionic acid; this acting on trachyte, etc., decomposed into free sulphur, which is sometimes beautifully stratified, and sulphuric acid, which combining with the bases of the trachyte formed aluminite, and other sulphates. Sulphuretted hydrogen in the presence of air and watery vapour also oxidizes into sulphur acids with the separation of sulphur; sometimes, too, sulphuretted hydrogen and sulphurous acid only produce by their mutual action water and free sulphur. All these changes may be seen at the Phlegrean Fields, at Canale near Civita Vecchia, and everywhere else where volcanic fumes containing sulphur are evolved in any quantity. But in no place do the changes described in the note in Professor Phillips's book take place. In connection with this subject it may be observed that in the list of gaseous products evolved at Vesuvius, given at page 201, sulphurous acid is not mentioned. Perhaps sulphuric acid, which is given, is a misprint for it; for it may be doubted whether any sulphuric acid is ever produced there except by secondary action.

71. Those branches of physical science which not only deal with phenomena, but have to describe and classify objects, undergo a species of metamorphosis in successive stages, separated by long intervals. During such an interval new experiments and observations are recorded day by day; new bodies in chemistry, and new species in natural history are discovered. But the language, nomenclature, and fundamental ideas remain more or less unaffected by the growth of facts. The applied sciences which depend upon them, as mineralogy upon chemistry, and agriculture upon chemistry and biology, are generally in harmony with them in ideas and language. But a time comes when the accumulation of facts so far outgrows the nomenclature and theoretic framework, that the whole structure has to be remodelled, and a new language created. There is always danger of the dependent sciences lagging behind while the revolutionary



crisis affects the fundamental sciences; for it frequently happens that the writers on the practical branches are not in such close intercourse with those on the fundamental ones as to feel continually the onward current of ideas. When this happens the former become conservative, and resist the adoption of the new language and new ideas, the value of which to their special subject they are not in a position to appreciate. Now chemistry is passing, or rather has almost passed, through one of these crises; and biology may be said to be entering one. Hence agriculturists who imagine that they have laid up a store of science for the rest of their lives will have to unlearn much and to turn to study again. *How Crops grow*, by Professor Johnson of Yale College, is an excellent text-book for this purpose, as well as for agricultural students generally. It is known and appreciated in America, and has just been issued in England, in a revised and augmented form, under the care of a chemist and a biologist, who were qualified to bring it up to the level of their respective sciences. The book is divided into three parts. The first, compris-

ing three chapters, is chemical, being devoted to the chemical composition of the volatile and fixed parts of the plant, the quantitative relations among its ingredients, and the influence of the stage of growth upon both; the second, in four chapters, treats of the structure of the plant and the offices of its organs, and is purely biological; and the third is devoted to the life of the plant, embracing physical, chemical, and biological phenomena. It would have made the work more complete if a chapter had been added on the influence of form on the chemical composition and life of plants, a subject of the greatest interest to agriculturists. The book is, of course, a strictly scientific, and in no way a practical book on agriculture; that term would be commonly understood. The best way to apply science to the improvement of agriculture is to teach the science thoroughly, letting each man use his knowledge as a light to his experience, and not to give shreds of science patched together for practical use—a course which only leads to blunder and consequent loss of money by experimental farmers, and to prejudice against real science.



THE  
NORTH BRITISH REVIEW.

NO. CII.

FOR JANUARY, 1870.

ART. I.—BABYLONIAN AND ASSYRIAN  
LIBRARIES.

THE valley of the Euphrates was the seat of a very early civilization, and the birth-place of many of the arts and sciences known to the classical nations of antiquity. Babylonia was inhabited at an early period by a race of people entirely different from the Semitic population known in historic times. This people had an abundant literature; and they were the inventors of a system of writing which was at first hieroglyphic, but gradually changed into what is called the cuneiform or arrow-headed character. This character had its origin from the practice of writing on clay tablets, each line of the figures being separately pressed into the clay with a square instrument, which, going deeper into the tablet at one end than at the other, produced the arrow-head shape of the lines. Specimens of this writing are preserved in various stages, from the simple form to the decided cuneiform. The cuneiform characters were written from left to right; and the shape of the clay tablets used for this purpose was like that of rather flat pincushions. Where the writing is divided into two or more columns, the order of the columns is from left to right on the obverse, but from right to left on the reverse. Of the people who invented this system of writing very little is known with certainty; and even their name is a matter of doubt. In the early Semitic period we find Babylonia inhabited by two races who were called the *Sumiri* or *Kassi*, and the *Akkadi*. The *Sumiri* or *Kassi* were a foreign tribe, called by the Babylonians *lisan-kalbi* \* or the dog-tongued, probably in

allusion to their strange language. They were most probably a branch of the tribes called Cossaii, Cussii, and Cissii, by classical writers.\* These tribes lived to the east of Babylonia; and their dominion in that country is probably alluded to in the Book of Genesis, x. 8-12. As the *Sumiri* appear to have been foreigners, it is natural to suppose that the other tribe, the *Akkadi*, represents the original inhabitants of Babylonia; and we find that in early inscriptions the country is called *kingi-akkad* and *mat-akkad*, "the country of Akkad."

The language of the *Akkadi*, who originally used the cuneiform signs, was different from any known to have existed in the country in historic times. As a rule those particles (prepositions) which, with us, precede the words they govern, followed them in the *Akkad*. Plurals and emphatic forms were often expressed by doubling the root form. In the verbs the root remains unaltered, and is doubled, or has prefixes to denote the various forms. Another peculiarity is, that when a word consisted of two characters any other word indicating a part or quality of it might be inserted between the two characters. These and similar peculiarities in its structure mark the *Akkad* as decidedly different from any Semitic tongue.

The earliest cuneiform texts are written in the *Akkad* language, and well exhibit the peculiarities of its vocabulary and grammar. Probably the most ancient inscriptions are those printed in *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, the title of the cuneiform publications of the British Museum (hereafter referred to in this article as C. I.). The first inscription in the book is translated as follows: "Uruk, king of Ur, who Bit-Nannur built." The king whose name is doubtfully read as Uruk is the earliest

\* *Lisan-kalbu* is only the Semitic translation; how the *Akkad* people pronounced the words, when they gave this name to the *Sumiri*, is quite unknown.

\* Herod. iii. 91, v. 49; Strabo xi. p. 744; Diod. xvii. 111; Pliny vi. 27, s. 31.



known monarch of the country; the city of Ur (now Mugheir) was the capital; and Nannur was the ancient name of the Moon God. This inscription, and many similar ones of Uruk and his successors were stamped on bricks used in erecting the various temples of Babylonia. But the bulk of the Akkad literature consists of a large number of inscriptions, chiefly mythological, which were originally preserved in the libraries of Babylonia, and afterwards copied in Assyria, and accompanied by interlinear translations to explain the Akkad to the Assyrians. Their subject-matter, as a general rule, consists of lists of gods, with their various titles and attributes, legends of the gods, hymns and prayers to the gods, accounts of the influence of various evil spirits to whom diseases were attributed, and prayers against them.

The tablets were preserved in collections or libraries, in the various temples and palaces of Babylonia, and afterwards in Assyria; and it was the custom, from time to time, for those in charge of these literary treasures to have fresh copies made from the originals. The tablets were numbered in different series, according to their places in the libraries; and, for the purpose of identifying the position of each, the following plan was adopted. First, every series was named from the words or sentence which headed its first tablet: thus, the first tablet on evil spirits commenced with "the evil spirits;" and each tablet of the series had its proper number, followed by this extract, as "16th tablet of the evil spirits." And secondly, a line was drawn at the end of the inscription on each tablet, and the first line of the tablet next in the series was written after it. Each new paragraph in these early Akkad texts was headed by a sign signifying the lips or speech, and indicating that the paragraphs were to be chanted or spoken; but in translating from the Akkad the Assyrians always passed this character over, probably deeming it to be unnecessary. Each paragraph was followed by a word which was equivalent to the Assyrian *aiman*, or *amanu*, and our Amen. It is probable that these chants and legends were in existence in the country long before they were committed to writing. Among the hymns may be noticed the following address to the Sun:—\*

O Shamas, in the expanse of heaven thou shinest;  
And the bright locks of heaven thou openest;  
The gate of heaven thou openest.

\* British Museum, No. K, 8348.

O Shamas, to the world, thy face thou directest;  
O Shamas, with the brightness of heaven the earth thou coverest.

The rest of this legend is too imperfect to translate. The following is from a hymn to the Fire God:—\*

God of Fire, with thy bright fire,  
In the house of darkness, light thou establishest;  
Another name, Nabu, gloriously thou establishest;  
Of iron and lead the melter art thou;  
Of gold and silver the purifier art thou;  
The *tabbu* of *Ninkasi*† art thou;  
To the wicked in the night the causes of trembling art thou;  
The works of the man, the child of his God, do thou purify;  
Like the heaven do thou brighten [them];  
Like the earth do thou purify [them];  
Like the midst of heaven do thou make [them] shine.

From an address to a Goddess we have the following:—

The powerful rebel bows like a single reed.  
My will I am not taking, myself I am not honouring;  
Like a flower, day and night I am fading;  
I thy servant cling to thee.

The tablet from which this is an extract is valuable as giving two clear instances of the permansive form of verbs, first pointed out by Dr. Hincks.† It is a grave defect in the French school of cuneiform enquiry that its leading men ignore the existence of this verbal form. The two examples in this tablet are the verbs in the second line of this extract. Both are preceded by negatives.

Many of the legends of the gods are curious; but they are all fragmentary. One of them§ describes the symptoms of a man who was suffering from some illness, and represents the god Maruduk as unable to cure it, and going to the god Hea, his father, for advice. Hea tells Maruduk how, by purifying some water, and applying it to the patient, he can effect the cure. Many tablets relate to the demonology. Several classes of spirits, both good and evil, are specified

\* British Museum, No. K. 44.

† This expression is obscure. It may mean "the emanation of Nin-kasi." Ninkasi appears to be a goddess.

‡ *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. II., part 2, p. 484.

§ British Museum, No. K, 2963.



on them; but the evil certainly predominate. There are the *Asakku* who were concerned with the head, the *Vadukku* with the neck and shoulders, the *Alu* with the breast, the *Ekimmu* with the inside of the body, the *Gallu* with the hand, the *Sintaru* with the life. So numerous were the supernatural beings that one tablet gives 50 great gods of heaven and earth, 7 magnificent gods, 300 spirits of the heavens, and 600 spirits of the earth. A good specimen of an invocation against evil spirits is printed in C.I., Vol. II, pp. 17 and 18. The paragraph on p. 17, lines 30 to 34, prays for deliverance from the supposed operation of some of these beings. It runs thus: "From the maker of evil, from the robber, from an evil face, from an evil eye, from an evil mouth, from an evil tongue, from evil lips, from an evil death, may heaven preserve, may earth preserve." Real historical matter is very scarce in these early tablets; but we have part of an inscription of one early Babylonian king, with an Assyrian translation.

Such is the character of the earliest literary collections of Babylonia; and the Akkad language, in which they were written, probably continued in use in that country down to the close of the sixteenth century B.C. and, for some official documents, even to a much later period. At some time anterior to the nineteenth century B.C. the valley of the Euphrates was conquered by a Semitic race. Of the origin of this race we at present know nothing; it is possible they may have been the same as the Sumiri or Kassî, at one time the leading tribe in Babylonia. The passage in C.I., Vol. II, p. 65, l. 8—12, relates how this people, having on one occasion revolted, slew the King of Babylonia, and placed another man on the throne. The Semitic conquerors, whoever they were, gradually imposed their own language on the country; but, on the other hand, they borrowed the system of writing in use there. From the time of the Semitic conquest the decline of the Akkad language began, and a period of mixed texts (part Akkad and part Semitic) commenced. It is rarely that we find a text of any length purely Semitic. It was usual at all times to use the Akkad for the following words: 1. Names and titles of gods. These are very seldom written in Semitic; and hence their pronunciation is very uncertain. The gods Assur and Nabu are those oftenest written in Semitic. 2. Names of material substances generally, such as woods, metals, stones; but in these cases the Assyrian side or column on bilingual (Akkad and Semitic) tablets often gives the Semitic name. 3. Names of trees, and plants, and animals.

Speaking generally, indeed, it may be said that after the rise of the Semitic power nouns were written in Akkad,\* and verbs in Semitic; but there are occasional exceptions to both these rules.

To the period following the Semitic conquest some of the larger literary works of the ancient Babylonians belong. First among these comes the great work on astronomy and astrology, a branch of ancient learning for which the Chaldeans have always been famous. This work covered at least seventy tablets. Beginning with the supposed influences of the appearance and motions of the moon, it proceeds to eclipses, and then gives the portents from the various positions and appearances of the sun; these are followed by accounts of cloud, rain, wind, &c.; and the work ends with the motions of the planets. Most of the positions and appearances are supposed to shadow forth future events; and on each tablet there are generally about 100 predictions. The following are some of them: "When on the 14th day of the month, the Moon and Sun with each other [i.e. at the same time] are seen, the face shall be right, the heart of the country shall be good, the Gods of Akkad [Babylonia] to give blessings shall incline, joy shall be in the hearts of the people, the heart of the king shall be right, and the cattle of Akkad in the desert in safety shall lie down." The next is a weather prediction, "When the aspect of the moon is very cloudy, great floods shall come." Notes are sometimes added by way of explanation. Thus, after the mention of some of the names of Jupiter, we are told: "The star of Maruduk [Jupiter] at its rising [is called] the star Dunpaudu; when it reaches 5 kaspu,† the star Sakmisa; when it is in the middle of heaven [southing] the star Nibiru." There are rules for calculating eclipses; but, as they depend on the appearance of the moon, they are of no value. Most of the predictions from the heavens relate to the fortunes of kings and countries. This astrological work could not have been composed later than the 16th century B.C., and may be much older; for, although it contains numerous geographical notices, it has not a single reference to Assyria. The kingdoms

\* Foreign names are almost always written phonetically.

† The Babylonians divided the heavens into 12 parts, and the day likewise. These divisions are called *kaspu*: thus on the equinox tablets the formula is, "The day and night are balancing (i.e. are equal), 6 kaspu the day 6 kaspu the night." The position here called 'Maruduk reaching 5 kaspu' probably indicates the position of Jupiter about a month before it souths at 12 p.m.



of Akkad (Babylonia), Gutium (the Goim), Subarti,\* Anduan, Nituk or Asmun (on the Persian Gulf), Martu (Syria), and the Khatti (Hittites), and Elam (Susiana) are all mentioned; but Assyria probably had not yet risen to the rank of a kingdom. The geographical notices scattered through the work are one of its most interesting features. Many of the principal towns of Babylonia are mentioned; and predictions respecting them are given.

There was a companion work, comprising more than 100 tablets, which gave a large number of portents from terrestrial occurrences and objects—from trees, animals, streams, dreams, births both human and animal, and many other things. The portents derived from these were not supposed to affect the fate of kings and countries, but related, as a rule, to minor matters, such as the life or death of a man or his wife, his child, or even his slave. These works on omens, celestial and terrestrial, mention in several places the name of Sargina, an ancient king of Babylonia, who, according to the tablet printed in C.I., Vol. II, p. 65, reigned a little before the time of Khammurabi. The passages in which Sargon is mentioned are not at present sufficiently perfect to enable us to say whether the word was used as a proper name, or whether it was the title of a race of kings who claimed descent from Sargon. If the word is used as a proper name, it would be probable that these works were composed in the reign of Sargon. We know that the period of the Babylonian king Sargon was considered an important one; for amongst the Babylonian treasures which were copied and preserved in the Nineveh library was a tablet of his which commenced with the words "I am Sargina King of Agani." Agani was one of the principal cities of Babylonia, and was celebrated for a temple of the goddess Anunitu.

Beside the works already mentioned, there was one on the Mythology, which consisted of over 110 tablets. It is now very much mutilated, and has not yet been thoroughly examined. The Babylonian collections also contained many minor works; in fact this store of literature was so rich that the greater part of the Assyrian writing consists of copies from it. The great centre of learning in these early times was the city of Ur, famous as the birthplace of

Abraham, and now represented by the ruins of Mugheir. Ur remained the northern capital of the country until Khammurabi (probably in the 18th century B.C.) transferred the seat of government to Babylon.

In the flourishing days of the early Babylonian monarchy, Assyria was colonized from that country; and the earliest rulers of Assyria were governors subject to Babylonia. Their title was *Patesi*; and their office included the functions of high priest and governor. The seat of government was the city of Assur (now Keleh Shergat), and the territory reached at least as far north as Nineveh, where a temple to one of the goddesses was founded in the 19th century B.C. Afterwards, under Bilkiplu, Assyria became independent, and the city of Assur became an important place. It was the capital of Assyria for about 1000 years, and the seat of the first Assyrian library. Little, however, is known of this collection, for the extensive ruins of the city have never been properly explored; but several valuable inscriptions have been found there, ranging from B.C. 1850 to B.C. 800. It was during this period that the translations of the early Akkad works were made. That these translations were made in Assyria and not in Babylonia, we gather from the fact that, in cases of words which differed in the two countries, the documents have the Assyrian and not the Babylonian form. Shalmaneser I, king of Assyria, B.C. 1200, had founded a city near the junction of the Upper Zab with the Tigris, and called it Kalakh. It was rebuilt by Assur-nazir-pal, B.C. 885; and here an important collection of inscriptions was made. The earliest tablets from this place belong to the 9th century B.C., and include a copy of the great Chaldean work on Astrology. Various other copies of this and other works were made from time to time; and our information about the libraries becomes by degrees more definite. The keepers of these literary treasures bore the title of *Nisu-duppiatu*, "man of the written tablets." The title was originally an Akkad one; and the first man known to have borne it was a Babylonian named Amil-anu, who lived in the reign of Emuq-sin, king of Babylonia, about 1000 years before the date of the library at Kalakh and Nineveh. The signet cylinder of Amil-anu has the following inscription: "Emuq-sin the powerful hero, the king of

\* The countries of Akkad, Elam, Gutu, Martu, and Subarti are the only ones mentioned on the majority of these tablets. But one tablet gives the additional geographical names; and this (No. 2 in the series) is possibly of later date than the body of the work.

\* One of the most beautiful and perfect of these is the inscription on the four cylinders of Tiglath Pileser I, cir. B.C. 1120. Translations of this inscription by Sir Henry Rawlinson, Mr. Fox Talbot, Dr. Hincks, and Dr. Oppert were published by the Royal Asiatic Society in 1857.



Ur, king of the four regions, Amil-anu the tablet keeper, son of Gantu, his servant." The principal part of the Kalakh (Nimrod) collection, was written under the care of a librarian named Nabu-zuqud-gina, who had charge of the collection from the 6th year of Sargon, B.C. 716, to the 22nd year of Sennacherib, B.C. 684. Many of the tablets written under his direction are interesting not only from their contents, but from the fact that they are dated with the name of the yearly eponym, the regnal year of the king, and the month and day when they were written. These dates are valuable for comparison with the Assyrian Canon of Eponymes. Translations of all the dates referring to the reign of Sargon, B.C. 722—705, were given in the *Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache und Alterthumskunde*, in July, 1869; but the Sennacherib dates have not yet been published.

The first work known to have been executed under Nabu-zuqud-gina was a copy of the great Chaldean work on astrology, made in B.C. 716. The following is the statement at the close of one of these tablets: "When in the month of Tasritu [Tisri] and the first day, the sun is \* . . . . Tablet number 36 of the *Inu Anu Bil* [Astrological series] written according to the documents and old tablets of Babylon; tablet of Nabu-zuqud-gina, son of Maruduk-mubagar the librarian, grandson of Gabbu-ilanikamis the great librarian. City of Kalakh, month Sivanu, day 29, eponym Tabu-zilli-zira prefect of Assur, 6th year of Sarukin-arku, [Sargon] king of Assyria." By this time there had arisen two versions of the work on astrology, one of them omitting a tablet which is found in the other. The word here translated "document," indicates some other material for writing on than clay; it is probably parchment or papyrus, though which is intended is uncertain. Another copy of the astrological work was written three years later, and in the eleventh year of Sargon one of the works on terrestrial portents. In this case the copy gives the name of the writer of the tablets copied from, who probably lived in the 12th century B.C. In some instances, owing to the length of time since a tablet had been written, parts had become illegible; and wherever this was the case the copyists inserted the word *khibi* "defaced" or "lost."

Various copies of standard works were executed at Kalakh in the 6th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 13th, 14th, 15th and 16th years of Sargon, and in the 1st, 4th, 6th, 7th, 11th,

19th and 22nd years of Sennacherib; all of them are however copies of works already described or extracts made from them for specific purposes. Sennacherib at the beginning of his reign made Nineveh his residence, and set to work to rebuild the palace, which he gradually enlarged and adorned till it reached an unprecedented magnificence. In this and other buildings at Nineveh, chambers were set apart for the records, and large numbers of tablets were collected. The site of Nineveh furnishes by far the greater number of our Assyrian tablets and fragments; and the Nineveh literature exhibits a superior variety.

Besides copies of the works already referred to there are other inscriptions of interest.

1. There is a history of the transactions between Assyria and Babylonia.\* This work even in its present fragmentary condition is valuable. Its substance may be briefly described as follows. It opens with an explanatory statement of its contents, now imperfect, but appearing to indicate that it gave the events of forty reigns. Where it again becomes legible it relates the conclusion of a treaty between Karindas king of Babylon, and Assur-bil-nisi-su, king of Assyria, about some border land, cir. B.C. 1480. Then there is a treaty about the same provinces, between Burna-buryas of Babylon and Buzur-assur of Assyria, cir. B.C. 1450. Then it gives the marriage of Serua-mupal-lit, daughter of Assur-upallit, king of Assyria, to the king of Babylon, the revolt of the tribe of Kassî against her son Karakhardas, his murder, and the accession of a usurper, Nazibugas. This is followed by an invasion of Babylonia by the Assyrians, who kill the usurper and place a son of Burna-buryas on the throne of Babylon, cir. B.C. 1420. The narrative here breaks off again, several reigns being lost. Afterwards we are told of the death of Bil-kudur-uzur, king of Assyria, and the accession of Ninip-palzira, cir. B.C. 1200, in whose time the king of Babylon invaded Assyria; to him succeeded Assur-dayan, who invaded Babylonia in the reign of Zamama-sum-iddina, king of Babylon. Here a reign is lost; and then we have two invasions of Assyria by Nabu-kudur-uzur I (Nebuchadnezzar) king of Babylon, who was defeated by Assur-risilim, king of Assyria. Next we have Babylonia invaded by Tiglath-pileser I, King of Assyria, in the time of Maruduk-iddina-akhi, king of Babylon (this was the famous war which Sennacherib states was 418 years before his own

\* This is the heading of the next tablet. See former remarks on this point.

\* This inscription was first published by Sir Henry Rawlinson in the *Athenæum*, No. 1869.



capture of Babylon), cir. B.C. 1120. Then come the friendship between Assur-bil-kala, king of Assyria, and Maruduk-sapik-zira, king of Babylon, the death of the Babylonian king, and another invasion of Babylonia. Again there is a break; and then we have the defeat of a Babylonian monarch named Nabu-sum-iskun by an Assyrian king whose name is lost. This is followed by an account of the friendship between Shalmaneser II of Assyria and Nabul-bal-iddina of Babylon, the war of succession between the two sons of Nabu-bal-iddina, and the intervention of Shalmaneser. The rest of the historical matter is lost; but the tablet is important for historical studies, and a full translation of the fragments should be published. It is written in an early style, and probably was composed about B.C. 800; its history covered a space of about 700 years.

2. Perhaps the most important work in the Assyrian library was the Canon of Eponymes.\* The earliest copies of this work now known to us were written in the reign of Sennacherib, cir. B.C. 700, and the latest cir. B.C. 640 in the reign of Assur-bani-pal. Although we have seven copies of this work, not one of them is perfect, and some of them are mere fragments; but, from a comparison of the various copies, the chronology of the Assyrian empire from B.C. 892 to 666 is ascertained without the loss of a single year. This Canon gave a list of the annual officers, after whom the years were successively named, and is similar to the list of the Roman Consuls. Most of the public and private documents in Assyria were dated in the current Eponymies; and, so far as the seven copies are preserved, the agreement between them is perfect. Three copies gave not only the names and titles of the yearly Eponymes, but the principal events which happened during their terms of office. This Canon has caused more discussion than any other Assyrian inscription, on account of the alterations it makes in the chronology of the period.

3. In addition to these tablets there are others giving the annals of particular reigns, and two on the history of foreign relations. One of these is an account of affairs between Assyria and Arabia, commencing with the capture of Edom by Sennacherib, and relating the embassy of Khazail, king of Arabia, to Esarhaddon, to ask for his gods, which had been carried off by Sennacherib; it closes with the revolt of Arabia and its conquest by Assur-bani-pal. The other is a history of transactions between Assyria and Elam.

\* First published by Sir Henry Rawlinson in the *Athenaeum*, No. 1805.

When the Babylonians or Assyrians founded or repaired a building, they deposited in receptacles, at the four corners, cylinders with the name and titles of the builder accompanied in some cases by a history of his reign. Cylinders of this kind were deposited in the libraries ready for use. Fragments of a great number of them belonging to the reign of Assur-bani-pal have been discovered at Nineveh; and the libraries of Nineveh and Kalakh possessed tablets giving the history of Assur-nazir-pal, B.C. 884-859, Shalmaneser B.C. 859-824, Tiglath-pileser B.C. 745-727, Sargon B.C. 722-705, Sennacherib B.C. 705-681, Esarhaddon B.C. 681-668, and Assur-bani-pal B.C. 668-627. All these records are in the same style, magnifying the kings who wrote them, by ascribing all their successes to superhuman aid. The annals of Sennacherib and Assur-bani-pal are rather more poetical than the others. The following translation of part of Sennacherib's campaign against Hezekiah will serve as an example of the historical writing; the text is printed in C.I. 38: "The priests, nobles and people of Ekron, Padi their king, who was faithful to Assyria, in bonds of iron had placed, and to Hezekiah king of Judah had given him to be killed: he sought my protection. Their hearts feared: and the kings of Egypt, and the warriors, archers, chariots, and horses of the king of Ethiopia, gathered and came to their aid. In the vicinity of the city of Altauq against me their battle array they were setting; and they extended their troops. In the service of Assur my lord with them I fought; and their overthrow I accomplished. The charioteers and sons of the king of Egypt, and the charioteers of the king of Ethiopia, alive in the midst of the battle my hands captured: the cities of Altauq and Tamna I invested and captured; I carried off their spoil. Into Ekron I entered: the priests and nobles who had caused the defection I slew, in the . . . and city I threw down their dead bodies. The young men of Ekron and the evil disposed I distributed as spoil; and the rest of them, who did no sin and violence, and who their party had not joined, their uprightness I proclaimed. Padi their king from the midst of Jerusalem I brought, and in the throne of dominion over them I seated; and the tribute of my dominion upon them I fixed."

The Assyrians had settled laws and a regular administration of them; but we have only one tablet with part of their code upon it. This tablet is from one of the Nineveh libraries, and is now in the British Museum. It has been referred to and partially translated by several Assyrian students. The



spirit of the enactments will be seen by the following extract, being the law of husband and wife: "If a wife to her husband is unfaithful, and shall say 'Thou art not my husband,' into the river they shall throw her. If a husband to his wife shall say, 'Thou art not my wife,' one half maneh of silver he shall pay [to her]." These laws are written in Semitic and Akkad, in parallel columns; but the statement at the close is to the effect that they were copied from Assyrian tablets, so that it is uncertain whether they extended to Babylonia.

In the time of Assur-bani-pal we meet with a number of tablets which have been termed syllabaries and bilingual explanations of cuneiform signs. They come from Nineveh, and were intended to explain the phonetic value and meaning of the various signs, the characters on the left of the signs giving the Akkad value, and those on the right the equivalent Assyrian one.

Tablets of this kind were intended to teach the Assyrians the rudiments of the Akkad vocabulary; others were written to show the conjugation of the verbs; and others again gave short sentences in Akkad and Assyrian, as examples of construction.

There were also various lists of names of woods, stones, animals, &c., in the two languages. The names are very obscure; but many can still be recognised.

We possess also geographical lists giving the cities of the then known world, lists of rivers, of countries and their productions, of seats of the worship of different gods, and various other matters. Our present copies of tablets of this kind were generally made during the reign of Assur-bani-pal (B.C. 668-627), who was a great patron of literature. From their nature it is evident that they were meant for educational purposes; but the fact that they were intended for the people is distinctly stated on several of the colophons attached to the tablets of this reign. Those deposited in the record chambers at Nineveh\* read as follows:—Form 1. *Assur-bani-pal saru rabu saru dannu* Assur-bani-pal, the great king, the powerful *saru kissati saru mati Assur pal* king, king of nations, king of Assyria, son *Assur-akh-iddina saru mati Assur pal* of Eearhaddon, king of Assyria, son of *Sanakhi-irba saru mati Assur va ki* Sennacherib, king of Assyria; according to *pi duppi islihusi udppi gabri mati Assuri* the documents and old tablets of Assyria,

*mati Sumiri va Akkadi duppu suati ina* and Sumiri and Akkadi, this tablet in the *tapkharti duppani astur azniq* collection of tablets I wrote, I studied [?], I *abre va ana tamarti saruti-* explained, and, for the inspection of my *ya kirib hekal ya ukin sa* kingdom, within my palace I placed. Who- *sumu satri ipassitu sum su* ever my written records deface, and his *isaddaru Nabu duppi satri* own records shall write, may Nabu all the *gimri sum su lipsit.* written tablets of his records deface.

Form 2. *Hekal Assur-bani-pal saru* Palace of Assur-bani-pal, king of *kissati saru mati Assur sa ana Assur* nations, king of Assyria, who to Assur and *va Assuritu taklu sa Nabu va Urmitu* Assuritu trusts, to whom Nabu and Urmit *usni rapastu isrukus ikhusu* attentive ears have given, and imparted *eni namirtu nisik* sharp sighted eyes, the characters of the *duppi satri sa ina sarrani alik* written tablets, which among the kings my *makhri-ya nin miri suatu la ikhuzzu* predecessors none their value appreciated, *nimiki Nabu tikipsan taksi* the wisdom of Nabu inspired me entirely [?], *mala bassam ina duppani astur* all there was [i.e. everything] on tablets I *azniq abre va ana tamarti* wrote, I studied, [?], I explained, and for the *sitassi-ya kirib hekali-ya ukin* inspection of my people within my palace I *ebilu liha [?] nur sari* placed. Lord of glory [?], light of the king *ili Assur mannu sa itabbatu* of the gods, Assur. Whoever this destroys, *va sumi su kima sumi-ya issaddaru* and his record like my record shall write, *Assur va Assuritu aggis* may Assur and Assuritu violently and *issis liskipu su va sum su* forcibly overthrow him, and his name and *siri su ma mati likhaliqu.*

his race in the land may they destroy. At the close of the tablets which were deposited in the library of the temple of Nebo, at Nineveh, there was a more devotional inscription of the same sort. It read thus:—"To Nabu, the great lord, his lord, Assur-bani-pal, the prince beloved by Assur, Bel and Nabu, the guardian of the sanctuaries of the great gods, the grand lord of their priests [?], son of Eearhaddon, king of nations, king of Assyria, grandson of Sennacherib, king of nations, king of Assyria, for the saving of his life, for the prolonging of his days, for peace to his seed, and for the stability of the power of the throne of his

\* Mr. Layard, who discovered these record chambers, describes them as filled with tablets to the height of a foot or more from the floor. See *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 845.



kingdom, hear his prayer and receive his supplication," &c. This is followed by much the same inscription as the others, substituting the temple of Nabu for the palace.

We have one beautiful legend, which may be termed the descent of the goddess.\* It relates how one of the goddesses descended from heaven to a region indicated by a sign, the phonetic reading of which is unknown. She passes through seven gates on her passage; and at each gate the gate-keeper takes off some of her ornaments. On her passing through the first gate, he takes off her great crown, at the second gate the earrings from her ears, at the third gate her necklace, at the fourth gate her ornament worn on the breast, at the fifth her girdle, at the sixth her ornaments worn on the hands and feet, and at the seventh the covering for the back. Afterwards Shamas relates to the god Hea why the goddess has gone; and ultimately a spirit is commanded to bring her back. He does so; and at each of the celestial gates he restores to her the ornament taken from her at that place.

Another class of tablets contains forms of prayer for the use of private persons. One peculiarity of these is the employment of a sign meaning such a one, or so and so. The worshipper was intended to use his own name in this place. Belonging to the libraries which contained these miscellaneous collections, some fragments of catalogues have been found. They give the headings of the tablets, and in some cases the number of lines on them. One catalogue gives a list of 25 tablets, which it says contain the knowledge of heaven and earth. Of these, 14 are enumerated as containing the knowledge of the earth, and 11 the knowledge of the heavens; among the latter there is a tablet on the planet Venus (No. 3), another on the planets (No. 4), two on the Moon (Nos. 5 and 6), and one on Comets called "the star which proceeding from its head has a tail after it" (No. 8).

In connection with the libraries, observatories were established, and the reports of the astronomers were preserved. There were observatories at Assur, Nineveh, and Arba-il (Arbela). The astronomical reports were on the equinoxes, the eclipses of the sun and moon, the position of planets, and the date when the moon was first seen at the beginning of each month. These reports were addressed to the king; and about 12 of them from the Nineveh libraries are now in the British Museum. If an astronomical event occurred which was supposed to be

unfavourable to the king, it was the duty of the astrologers to find some reason either for its not applying to their own monarch, or for its meaning something different from what was supposed. Eclipses were generally thought to be evil omens; but on some of the tablets there are ingenious explanations to the effect that particular eclipses were good omens for the king. When any event of particular importance took place, or when the king went on a foreign expedition, the astrologers had to examine various portents to see if they were favourable to the king; and the date of the rebellion of Saul-mugina, the brother of Assur-bani-pal and the king of Elam, one of the most formidable revolts which happened during the Assyrian empire, is known from the dates on a number of portent tablets, which Assur-bani-pal had made, to see if they were favourable to him on that occasion. This rebellion broke out in the year B.C. 652, and was suppressed in B.C. 646.

The only foreign works known to have been kept at Nineveh were treaties and letters from foreign monarchs. Among the latter is a letter from *Umman-aldasi* king of Elam, to Assur-bani-pal, on the following matter. Nabu-bil-sumi, a grandson of Merodachbaladan, having joined in a revolt, had incurred the displeasure of Assur-bani-pal; and he escaped into the land of Elam. Some diplomatic correspondence ensued between Assyria and Elam, Assur-bani-pal threatening to invade Elam again unless Nabu-bil-sumi was given up. A revolt then took place in Elam; and Umman-aldasi ascended the throne. Nabu-bil-sumi, fearing that the new king would yield to the demand of Assur-bani-pal, committed suicide in company with his armour bearer; and his body was then delivered to the envoy of Assur-bani-pal, with the letter, a copy of which was kept in the archives of Nineveh.

With the reign of the son of Assur-bani-pal the Assyrian power came to an end, and the empire passed to Babylon. Under Nabukudur-uzur II (Nebuchadnezzar) the Babylonian dominion was as great as that of Assyria in its palmy days. Documents were again collected, and tablets written; but of this later literature we have few specimens, owing to the want of excavations in Babylonia, a region richer in treasures of ancient literature than Assyria. We have, however, one astrological portent tablet, which was written when Nebuchadnezzar made an expedition into Elam. The annals of Nebuchadnezzar have never been recovered from Babylon; and this is a solitary reference to an expedition otherwise quite unknown. Most of the inscriptions of this period relate to the temples, palaces, and fortifications, of

\* British Museum, No. K, 162. This tablet was first noticed by Mr. Fox Talbot, from a photograph.



the cities of Babylonia, which were repaired by Nebuchadnezzar, Nergal-sar-uzur (Nergalissar), and Nabu-nahid (Nabonidus), who incidentally mentions his eldest son *Bel-sar-uzur* (Belshazzar) the prince who was slain on the night of the impious feast. Sale tablets, with names of witnesses attached, have been found, dated in the reigns of Nebuchadnezzar, Nabonidus, Cyrus, Cambyses, Darius, and even of the Greek kings who succeeded Alexander; but no trace of any of the later libraries has been discovered, though we know that they existed in the third century B.C., when Berosus wrote his history of Chaldaea.

Such are some of the materials gathered from the Euphrates valley, and now in the British Museum. Together with the tablets from the libraries, there are many fine cylinders containing the annals of various kings, besides inscribed bricks, votive dishes, &c., which are valuable for the genealogy and succession of the monarchs. The collections came to the British Museum, broken into more than 20,000 fragments. But all these have been carefully examined; and considerable progress has been made in joining together the different parts of the tablets. Many of them have been copied; and three volumes of inscriptions have been published, which contain most of the historical monuments, and an interesting collection of bilingual fragments. Another volume is nearly ready, which will contain the annals of Assur-bani-pal, the inscription on which Ahab is mentioned, most of the remaining historical fragments, a more perfect copy of the Assyrian Eponyme Canon, and various sale tablets, birth portents, and mythological and astrological fragments. With a view to future work, the Assyrian collection has been divided into sections according to the subjects of the tablets, one section comprising the historical tablets and cylinders, another the bilingual, another the mythological, another the astrological, &c. It has been found that most of the tablets are incomplete; and some are mere fragments. But the best preserved and most important tablets are exhibited to the public; and students have ample facilities for inspecting the remainder.

Whenever it becomes practicable to recommence excavations in the valley of the Euphrates, more important results even than those already obtained may be anticipated. The progress of knowledge has enabled us to determine the most likely spots in which to seek particular information. Nineveh, the capital of Sennacherib, has already yielded his annals, and the account of his expedition against Hezekiah; and there is no reason to

doubt that from Babylon, which was the capital of Nebuchadnezzar, it would be possible to obtain the annals of that monarch, and his account of the captivity of the Jews.

## ART. II.—SWIFT.

AFTER the lapse of nearly a century and a half, Swift still retains his place as the greatest of English prose satirists. Junius is the one writer who has, in a measure, achieved proportionate success; and Junius, it can hardly be doubted, owed much of his popularity at the time to the transcendent interest of the events on which he commented, and to the mystery which still shrouds his personality. Swift's most brilliant performances were on matters for which the public cared little, till he forced them into notice. The pamphlets by which he sustained Harley's ministry are cleverly argued and nervously written; but the world would willingly have let them die if the author had produced nothing of less perishable stuff. The satire of the *Tale of a Tub* and of *Gulliver's Travels* addresses itself to broad differences of thought, and to questions concerning the whole structure of society, just the matters on which men believe that nothing new can be written till the something new appears. The *Drapier's Letters* and the tracts on Ireland deal with the minute interests of an oppressed province, which statesmen scarcely regarded in their calculations. Swift himself cared so little for the first, and not the least, of these masterpieces that he left it eight years unpublished, and suffered it to appear at last with interpolations by a strange hand. But the world has estimated his works at their true value; and precisely those imaginative flights in which he rises above the petty turmoils of the day, those touches of cynical sympathy in which he scathes English misrule with none but the most general political purpose, are the passages which have embalmed his memory. Often, unconsciously to himself, he was aiming beyond the abuse at which he struck.

Swift's personal character has been less favourably judged than his works. To a certain extent the low estimate is a just one. A man whose relations with women have been conspicuously unfortunate through his own fault, a clergyman who writes profanely and filthily, a politician who begins life as a Whig, changes apparently for interest, and is unscrupulous in invective against his old



patrons, is below the common standard of society in some matters which it can ill afford to disregard. Thackeray, whose heart was with Steele and Fielding, has brought other charges against Swift in a singularly unappreciative criticism, treats his irony upon Irish distress as "Rabelaisian," and imagines that throughout life he was "strangled in his bands"—haunted by the remembrance of vows which he had taken, could not believe, and would not renounce. Add these touches to the picture, and Swift is indeed irredeemably bad and base. Fortunately for mankind, the complete depravity of a whole life is seldom witnessed in any man, and is rare, perhaps unexampled, in men of genius. No one who has studied Swift conscientiously will acquit him of many weaknesses and much selfishness; no one who has followed him through the unguarded confidences of his writings will pass sentence upon him as dishonest or hard.

His failings, in fact, were as much those of an impulsive as of a calculating temperament; and so evenly was he poised between opposite influences that the course of his life seems to have been determined by accident. He had the vanity of a child; but it was combined with a strong will, which perpetually raised it into self-assertion and principle. As a boy, he bought a knacker's horse for the sake of a day's triumph over his school-fellows; and as a man he treated ministers and peers with such petulance as a royal mistress might have shown. He separated from the Whigs on a question of personal slight. But he lost the first preferment that came in his way, by declining to purchase it with a bribe; and, in a time of general venality, he never bartered his good offices for money. He was constitutionally cold, and for ever philandering. His satires on the infidelity of his times are caustic and earnest to the last degree, and express the profoundest scorn for fashionable scepticism. But the faith that was proof against all argument yielded without effort to the opportunity of an epigram; and there is scarcely a mystery of Christianity, scarcely a current tenet of faith, on which Swift has not jested. No man felt more strongly on the subject of clerical decency, and no man is more notorious for his flagrant offences against good taste. The only virtue to which he was never false was his kindness, and even his love of money did not interfere with it. He lent money to Gay, gave it to Harrison, supported his sister, spent freely during his lifetime to improve his living of Laracor, and bequeathed almost all his property to public uses. During his short political reign he scattered good offices on all who had any

claim on him, and especially upon men of letters. The man of established reputation and the rising genius—Congreve and Steele, Harrison and Parnell—were in turn befriended or pushed without thought of rivalry, and without superciliousness. The world forgives a good deal to a man of active and expansive good-nature; and Swift, who often complains of coldness and ingratitude, probably owed more than he knew to the general character he had earned for benevolence. The most caustic of satirists, he escaped with gentler retribution than Pope, or Dryden, or De Foe.

But Swift's character has, in fact, been sketched by himself; and, imperfect as the outlines are, they will serve to correct two or three general misconceptions. Take first a rather remarkable letter which he wrote to a friend in February 1691, being then about twenty-four years old, and already quartered with Sir William Temple as an amanuensis. His correspondent, Mr. Kendall, had heard some gossip from Leicester, where Swift's mother resided, of her son's entanglement with a young woman of the place, and writes to remonstrate with him lest he ruin his prospects in life. Swift answers at length:—"My own cold temper and unconfined humour is a much greater hindrance than any fear of that which is the subject of your letter. The very ordinary observations I made with going half a mile beyond the University, have taught me experience enough not to think of marriage till I settle my fortune in the world, which, I am sure, will not be in some years, and, even then itself, I am so hard to please that I suppose I shall put it off to the other world. A person of great honour in Ireland used to tell me that my mind was like a conjured spirit, that would do mischief if I would not give it employment. It is this humour which makes me so busy when I am in company, to turn all that way; and since it commonly ends in talk, whether it be love or common conversation it is all alike. This is so common that I could remember twenty women in my life to whom I have behaved myself just the same way, and I profess without any other design than that of entertaining myself when I am very idle, or when something goes amiss in my affairs." He goes on to say that he has heard reports against Miss Jones's character, and that if there is the smallest warrant for them, as is likely, that in itself would be a sufficient cause for him to hate any woman. He proceeds to say:—"I confess I have known one or two men of sense enough, who, inclined to frolic, have married and ruined themselves out of a maggot; but a thousand household



thoughts, which always drive matrimony out of my mind whenever it chances to come there, will, I am sure, fright me from that; besides that I am naturally temperate, and never engaged in the contrary, which usually produces those effects." This is not by any means a pleasant letter; and the calculating selfishness of its tone certainly speaks ill for so young a man as Swift. After all, the girl was his own connection, and had some expectations, though she seems to have been badly brought up, and spelled like a kitchen-maid. But we may probably take his words as conclusive evidence that he was determined to make his way in the world, and that his life was free from any stain of vice. A whole mass of legends and unpleasant conjectures, associating his conduct to Stella, and the indecencies of his later writings, with the constitutional results of early profligacy, may be dismissed from consideration. No hypothesis of the kind will stand against the unsuspicious witness of a confidential letter to a friend, and the silent testimony of his enemies and libellers, who could not collect even a flying scandal of the kind during his long life.

Swift's prospects were in fact far more brilliant than the honourless graduate of Trinity, Dublin, the needy son of a widow, could have any reason to expect. He had now been more than a year with Sir William Temple; and even if his first position were only that of a clerk, as the Temple family insinuated, it is evident that his powers of mind soon made themselves felt. No mere underling would have been employed by a veteran statesman to argue William III. into compliance with the bill for Triennial Parliaments (1692), or would have received the promise of a prebend (November 1692) from a sovereign who was a little chary of rewards. Indeed, within a year of his residence at Moor Park, Swift had ventured to address complimentary verses to Temple, as a divine spirit, cast in the same mould with himself; and in three years more he addressed the first wit of the time as "My Congreve." It is probable that success turned his head. He believed, not quite unreasonably, that Temple found him too serviceable to part with, and was not really anxious to procure him preferment. A quarrel ensued, in which the patron seems to have behaved well, the protégé captiously. But it had the effect of deciding Swift's destiny. Being offered a small place in the Rolls, he declared that he was now able to gratify the wish of his heart, and take orders with a safe conscience, as no one could tax him with mercenary motives. He was ordained

accordingly,\* and through Temple's interest, which was given him without solicitation, obtained the small benefice of Kilroot. If Temple had acted on calculation, the result proved that he knew his man thoroughly. Swift could not endure Irish exile, and was no longer too proud to return to a patron whose late conduct had atoned for his first shortcomings, and who now wrote to urge reconciliation. As hastily as he had left England, Swift arranged with his bishop that Kilroot should be bestowed on a poor and meritorious clergyman, and returned in less than a year to Moor Park. The next four years of his life were spent in his patron's service and society.

For a young and ambitious man the opportunities were good; and Swift carefully improved them. He tells us himself that "he was then a young gentleman, much in the world;"† and everything, in fact, proves that he was on the outskirts of the highest society. Yet it was an uncertain position; and the bitterness with which he attacked Dryden in the *Tale of a Tub* gives the measure of his resentment against a relative who had not helped him at need. Dryden's alleged criticism, "Cousin Swift, you will never be a poet," was in fact disagreeably true; and the young man had not yet taught the world or perhaps learned himself, where his strength lay. But he was pruning his

\* Thackeray says, "I do not know anything more melancholy than the letter to Temple, in which, after having broke from his bondage, the poor wretch crouches piteously towards his cage again, and deprecates his master's anger. He asks for testimonials for orders." Swift had undoubtedly quarrelled with Temple. Finding that he could not be ordained without his late patron's testimonial to character, he "appears to have paused nearly five months before endeavouring to procure it" (Sir W. Scott). Then, constrained by circumstances, he applied in a letter, which merits all that Thackeray has said of it. There are few spectacles more pitiable than the prostration of a proud man; and few, it may be added, are so apt to bow abjectly as those who bow seldom. But a single letter of deprecation from a young man to an offended patron during a quarrel surely does not prove that their relations at other times were those of tyrant and slave. That Temple was pompous and stately, Swift sensitive and passionate, may be granted. That Swift sometimes chafed at being treated "like a schoolboy" was only natural. All the more is it noteworthy that Swift rose in his patron's confidence, went back to him by request after a rupture, stayed with him till death, always mentions him with respect, and in the last years of his life wrote to his nephew and heir testifying an unabated regard for the family name.

† *Apology for the Tale of a Tub*, vol. xi. p. 18. The references from Swift's Works are to Sir Walter Scott's edition.



wings for the highest flights. The wonderful *Tale of a Tub* was the work of his leisure hours in 1696; and its literary history is remarkable. Swift does not seem to have attached any great importance to it when he wrote it. The manuscript lay by him for years, and at last passed out of his hands into those of one who could better appreciate it, probably the cousin who afterwards tried to claim it. Swift's consent to the publication was obtained; some passages that seemed dangerous were either suppressed or altered; and the book came out anonymously in 1704. It is some evidence how completely Swift had already made his mark in London society, that no one hesitated to regard him as the author. So unmistakable was its success that within five years he was able to say of it, that it seemed "calculated to live at least as long as our language." Four years later his "little parson cousin," as he calls him, Thomas Swift, published a key, and claimed the book as his own, impudently observing that the real author did not know enough theology to have written it. Swift scarcely cared to notice the attack, but suggested to his printer that Thomas Swift should be induced to set his name to his work: "I should be glad to see how far the foolish impudence of a dunce would carry him." Even the surmise that Thomas Swift had a hand in it, and supplied some of the learning, is extremely improbable. It is not a work of any real erudition; and its most recondite illustrations are drawn, not from theology, but from authors like Paracelsus and Ctesias, whom Swift was likely to know as well as his cousin. As regarded the cardinal differences between Catholics, Anglicans, and Presbyterians, Swift must have been less than man if he had not mastered their principal points, in an age when controversy was in the air. In his *Apology*, he distinctly claims the undivided authorship. "The whole work," he says, "is entirely of one hand;" and he offered to resign the whole credit of it to any person who could establish a claim to three lines. The jealousy with which he asserted his rights, now proved so valuable, was only natural. "My God, what a genius I had when I wrote that book," was his criticism upon it in later years; and few will say that his estimate was excessive.

The *Battle of the Books*, another fruit of Swift's residence with Temple, is rather a jeu d'esprit than a serious piece. His heart was not in these matters; and it is difficult to credit him, at the expense of his good sense, with the furious pedantry which inspired his patron—probably the last educated man who wrote against Harvey's dis-

covery of the circulation of the blood, because it was not known to Aristotle. But the book shows that the young Irishman was already in friendly alliance with Atterbury and Boyle, both eminent among "the mob of gentlemen who wrote with ease," and both wanting the essentials of greatness in character and reality in learning. The service to Temple was enormous. With a weakness not uncommon in public men, Sir William had believed that he could carry his official rank into literature, and was annoyed beyond measure when he found an obscure scholar like Wotton replying to him on equal terms as an adversary. When he died, two years later (1699), he rewarded Swift with a small legacy and the charge of bringing out a posthumous edition of his works. The old diplomatist had again mistaken his importance. The volumes of defunct treatises attracted no attention, and brought neither fame nor profit to the unlucky editor. Swift found in a moment that he was without a home, position, or prospects. The Temple family disliked him; and Lady Gifford, in particular, accused him, not quite justly, of tampering with the *Memoirs* to curry favour with public men.\* King William refused to give him any preferment. After some months of fruitless expectation, Swift was glad to accept the post of chaplain and private secretary to Lord Berkeley. He was speedily supplanted in the latter employment by a Mr. Bush, who represented that the post was one in which a clergyman ought not to be placed. Before long the Deanery of Derry fell vacant, and was in Lord Berkeley's gift. Swift had been promised the first preferment, and applied for it. But he was baffled by opposition in two quarters. King, then Bishop of Derry, remonstrated against the appointment of a young man who would be "eternally flying backwards and forwards to London." Bush demanded a fee of £1000 for his good offices. Swift indignantly refused to bribe, and another man was made Dean. Swift wrote some humorous verses against Berkeley and Bush at the time, as two "blundering Kings of Brentford," but soon let the quarrel die; and it is to his credit that he afterwards befriended King when he gave offence to Harley by some unlucky words. Yet their relations were never cordial; and Swift complained, not without dignity, that King's enmity had extended over twenty-six years, and had never slept since the hour of

\* Swift's answer was that he printed from a copy made by himself, in which Temple had inserted his last corrections, and in which some peevish passages reflecting on old associates had been omitted at Swift's suggestion.



the Queen's death. He ascribed it to the Archbishop's dislike of his independent bearing. From all we know of Lord Berkeley, he is more likely to have yielded to the Bishop's remonstrances than to have been the dupe of his secretary's intrigue. He retained Swift in his household (where the friendship with Lady Betty Germaine began), and in time presented him to the two livings of Laracor and Rathbeggan (1700). These, with the probend of Dunlavin, which was given a little later, made up an income of nearly £400 a year. Swift was at last provided for, and independent.

But the humour for entertaining himself with flirtations, to which he acknowledges in his letter to Mr. Kendall, had been actively indulged during the last five years, and threatened to bring its possessor into serious complications. During his residence at Kilroot, he had become intimate with a Miss Jane Waring, the sister of one of his college friends. If we are to take his own words literally, it was the one genuine attachment of his life; for he tells Varina, in his last letter to her, that he never thought of marrying any one else, while his language to Stella, at a later date (1720), was equally distinct on the other side:

"With friendship and esteem possessed,  
I ne'er admitted love a guest."

But the real difference probably was in the interval between eight-and-twenty and four-and-fifty. Swift, as a young man, was more warm-blooded in his own despite than he liked to acknowledge afterwards. He wrote from England, a year after his return (April 1696), and offered to give up England, and all his hopes of preferment, if Varina would marry him. The lady, it seems, hesitated. She had a little money of her own, and did not care to bind herself to a penniless lover. She was fond of dress and society; and her state of health was at one time so delicate that the physicians warned her she must regard marriage as impossible. But the correspondence went on intermittingly, though Swift was slowly passing under new influences. Esther Johnson, whose mother had been the dear friend of Temple's favourite sister, Lady Gifford, had come, when only a child, to reside at Moor Park (1691), and at sixteen was placed under the secretary for instruction. The companionship of Abelard and Eloise is always dangerous. The few months of separation that elapsed after Temple's death convinced Swift that Miss Johnson's society was indispensable to his happiness, and probably were not without effect on the lady. But the news of Swift's preferment to Laracor called out a letter

from Miss Waring, in which she seems to have claimed performance of his promises. He answers with some dignity, as a man who is not wholly in the wrong, but also with some brutality, as a man who wishes to close a distasteful connection: "I singled you out at first from the rest of women, and I expect not to be used like a common lover." Will she marry him on less than £300 a year? (his income before he obtained the probend of Dunlavin.) Can she give up dress and society in exchange for the quiet domesticity of a country parish? Is her health so much improved that she can marry safely? Altogether the impression left on the mind is that the lady had only trifled with Swift at the time when he was genuinely attached to her, and was now anxious to profit by his improved position. It would have been wiser if he had closed their acquaintance earlier, and better if he had now closed it frankly or renewed it cordially; but he was on the whole as much sinned against as sinning. If literal execution of a one-sided covenant was to be enforced, only literal compliance could be expected. The letter produced its desired result; and the correspondence with Miss Waring terminates.

Swift was now able to invite Stella to Ireland. The death of Sir William Temple had changed the situation at Moor Park; and, though Mrs. Johnson continued to reside with Lady Gifford, her daughter disliked living under a strange roof on sufferance. Swift, on his first visit to England, persuaded her that she would get better interest on her small fortune in Ireland, where ten per cent. was then a common rate, while all the necessaries of life were half as cheap. Mrs. Dingley, a connection of the Temples, and a friend older than herself, agreed to live with her; and the two went together to Dublin, and then to Laracor. Naturally there was some scandal on the subject. Stella was then only nineteen years old, a pretty black-haired girl, with a little too much embonpoint, and with a good carriage. But the strictness with which she and Swift guarded against all appearance of excessive intimacy soon dissipated all rumours to her discredit; and society recognised the facts that she was only capable of one friendship, and that it was not adequately returned. Yet Stella was not in the least a woman of violent impulse and passionate warmth like her unhappy rival Vanessa. There is reason to think that she was not disinclined to accept the proposals of a Mr. Tisdal, five years after her settling in Ireland; and the rejected lover was probably right in ascribing his disap-



pointment to Swift's influence, though Swift in a rather evasive letter denied it. From that time Miss Johnson no doubt regarded Swift as affianced to her, and only waiting till circumstances should allow him to marry. Under his counsels and guidance she became, not indeed a learned woman—for her spelling was never immaculate,—but well read, able to judge for herself, and a good critic of style. The verses in which she thanks the Dean for having taught her

"how I might youth prolong,  
By knowing what was right and wrong,"

are creditable alike to pupil and teacher. Swift was too capable of power to have any jealousy of independence in women; and his whole training was directed to bring out the character. Miss Johnson startled society by her courage and self-assertion. She had read Hobbes, and studied anatomy. Personally fearless, she once fired into a party of burglars, and wounded one of them mortally. But the best instance of her moral courage is the reproof she administered to a coxcomb, who annoyed a company with several double-entendres. "Sir," said Stella, "all those ladies and I understand your meaning very well, having, in spite of our care, too often met with those of your sex who wanted manners and good sense. But, believe me, neither virtuous nor even vicious women love such kind of conversation. However, I will leave you, and report your behaviour; and whatever visit I make, I shall first inquire at the door whether you are in the house, that I may be sure to avoid you." Such a woman deserved a better fate than to have her life sacrificed to the calculating selfishness of a man of genius.

Nine years of Swift's life passed quietly, and we may believe not unprofitably, in the retirement of Laracor. A High-Churchman to the core, who admired Sancroft for non-juring, and attacked Sherlock for what appeared an interested conformity, Swift was strict in all liturgical observances, and appeared to have settled down into a country parson whom George Herbert might have owned. It was his ambition at this time to excel as a preacher; but nature was too strong for him, and he discovered at last that he could only preach pamphlets. He watched the controversies of his day with keen interest. In 1708 and 1709 he produced no fewer than five treatises or pamphlets in defence of the Anglican religion or of Christianity. Of these, one, *The Sentiments of a Church of England Man*, is in praise of the moderation of the Church of England, and a vindication of the clergy against the charges constantly levelled at them by the Whigs,

whom Swift still regarded as his own party. The *Letter concerning the Sacramental Test* is a defence of Irish Church supremacy against the Ulster Presbyterians; and the more tolerant spirit of the Anglican branch is given as the reason why Dissenters are not to be tolerated. On both these points Swift was manifestly Tory; and the circumstance must be borne in mind, as it is partly the excuse of his sudden change. The criticisms on Tindal are a keen dissection of fashionable freethinking, with a brutal attack on the author as "wholly prostitute in life and principles." But it would not be fair to pass severe sentence on the style of a book which was left unfinished, and never saw the light till the author was in his grave. Swift wrote more moderately, though not less decidedly, in the *Argument against Abolishing Christianity*, and in the *Project for the Advancement of Religion*. It is quite possible that his theological bias received a fresh impulse about this time from his political mischances. His relations with London were not improved, though he had done his best to maintain them. An essay on the political *Contests and Dissensions in Athens and Rome*, written with modern applications, in the style still novel in France, had enjoyed only that trifling success which is of no value to a rising man. A few barren introductions to great men had ended in nothing but disappointed hopes; and the Whigs kept their dangerous recruit under the cold shadow of aristocracy. Above all, the profligate Wharton, who was now Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland (1708-1710), was Swift's avowed enemy, and may have done him ill service in London. Swift kept more than ever within his parish, and consoled himself with forming "long schemes of life" in Stella's society. But it was probably understood between them that he could not marry upon his actual income; and Stella does not seem to have perceived that she was sacrificing her life to her lover's selfishness.

Suddenly a change came in the political world, which no one had foreseen, whose greatness startled even those who had effected it, and which, as a peaceful coup d'état by the sovereign, is almost without a parallel in English history. The great Whig Lords, who had carried the nation triumphantly through a difficult war, were forced to choose between resigning office and the breaking up of their party. Godolphin, Somers, Sunderland, Halifax, Walpole, were replaced by Harley, whose talents were essentially commonplace, and by Bolingbroke, whose splendid genius was scarcely yet as well known as his vices, and who had not even been elected to the last Parliament. To statesmen there



could be no question that Marlborough's dismissal from the army was only matter of time. It is still difficult to understand how even with such watchwords as "the Queen, the Church, and the Peace," so great a change could be effected quietly. But several circumstances had impaired the Junto's prestige. The trial of Sacheverel had been taken up as a challenge by the High Church party. The Whigs, at once irritated by opposition, and too weak in the Lower House to carry any large measures of toleration, revenged themselves on the clergy by refusing to relieve them from patent grievances, and did nothing to conciliate the Nonconformists. Moreover, the war had lost some of its popularity. The last great victory of Malplaquet had rather given us a name to inscribe on banners than any solid advantage. It was generally believed that our allies reaped the larger profit of the bloodshed and taxation to which we contributed the greater share. Moderate men might well wish that our relations with the States should be watched by ministers who could be jealous as well as compliant. And no one supposed that Harley and Bolingbroke, who had served two years before in the Whig Cabinet, would be less careful of the national honour than their old friends and colleagues. Even the Queen's known wishes were no slight circumstance. It was then possible for a Cabinet to carry on government with a Parliamentary minority; and the great function of opposition was rather to criticise than to displace the ministry. It may be added that it was not Harley's fault if the change was so complete as to be little short of revolution. He was anxious to keep several of his predecessors in office. Pride and party feeling defeated his overtures. The Whigs could not yet believe in a government from which they were excluded; and no member of the party could honourably remain in place under men who had just defeated and expelled his leaders.

The change was just taking place when Swift (in Sept. 1710) came over to London to press some claims of the Irish clergy on the Government. His first visits were to his old allies. Most of them were profusely civil, and apologized for their former neglect. But Godolphin received him with such coldness that Swift left the house, almost vowing revenge. He once hints that magnanimity was not one of Godolphin's virtues; and the words seem to imply that the satirist had already given some personal offence. He also had a private quarrel with Somers, whom he suspected of not backing him in Ireland. Somers now laid the blame upon Wharton; but Swift, who reckoned dis-

simulation among the Chancellor's "chief perfections," quietly refused to listen to his excuses. With Halifax his private relations were more friendly; and four months before he had begged a book of him as the only favour ever shewn him by the Whigs. But he was not inclined to sacrifice his resentment to sentimental memories. The day after his interview with Godolphin (September 10), he was talking "treason heartily" with Lord Radnor "against the Whigs, their baseness and ingratitude." Not long after, he refused a toast to the resurrection of the party, unless their reformation were coupled with it. In less than a month he was having interviews with Harley, and had declined an invitation from Halifax. Within a fortnight Harley had convinced him that he desired his alliance and private friendship. Halifax alone of the Whigs still tried to retain him in the old allegiance. But the die was by this time cast. It was not the act of a man of stainless honour; but it was the most venial form of political apostasy. Harley's were still the tactics of compromise; and it was whispered that he did not wish the Tories to be too powerful in Parliament. He contrived to persuade Swift that he loved the Church. Swift's pride had been that he was "a Whig, and one who wears a gown;" but events had convinced him that the two characters could scarcely be reconciled. He could not foresee that the new Cabinet would in any way endanger political liberty; and he might fairly think that the Church was entitled to better treatment than it had received. After all allowance—for Swift's indiscretions, for Whig hauteur, and for the contempt with which men of rank might regard a political pamphleteer—it is not improbable that Swift's Church principles had really stood in the way of his promotion. He himself believed that he had suffered from his strong advocacy of the Test Act. His party had in fact deserted him before he had deserted them, by claiming that unconditional obedience which men of first-rate capacity are never willing to bestow.

With a government as weak as Harley's, Swift soon discovered that he might make his terms; and he was only not in the Cabinet. One political triumph marked his influence. He procured the boons coveted by the Irish clergy,—the remission of a twentieth, and the application of the first-fruits to Queen Anne's Bounty. He himself attached such importance to this success that he wished a mention of it to be inserted in the deed by which he conveyed a glebe to Laracor. But, except in this solitary



instance, he never seems to have interfered with the measures brought forward in Parliament. He was eminently a partisan, not a leader, and brought his persuasive common sense and keen wit to the advocacy of all his party's policy. There is no reason to suppose that this involved any great sacrifice of principle. A man easily takes the tone of his society; and the Peace of Utrecht was not after all a measure that even a moderate Whig might not see grounds to approve. Harley assured Swift that our financial position was such as to make further wars impossible. Nor was this statement altogether unreasonable. There was even in 1710 a floating debt of ten millions; Exchequer bills were at a discount; and it had been necessary to borrow from the Swiss Cantons. Ten millions in Queen Anne's time impressed the public imagination as a hundred millions would now, and impressed it the more because many persons, and Swift among them, believed that the expenses ought to be paid year by year, and that the country could not support a national debt. The money had on the whole been well applied. It had delivered Europe from the fear of France, and had raised England to the first rank among nations. But a portion of it had clung to private hands, Marlborough and Walpole being among the offenders; and not a little had been spent in excess of the proportion which England was bound by an informal treaty to contribute. Peace was every way desirable. But the one difference between Godolphin's and Harley's ministry was that the Whigs made it a condition that Lewis xv. should aid them against his grandson in Spain, while the Tories, in the end, sacrificed their Spanish allies. The claim of the Whigs might seem as if they wished the war to be perpetual. The Tory surrender of men who had trusted the national faith was wholly indefensible. A middle course would have been to restrict the war to Spain till honourable terms for the Catalonians had been obtained. Nominally this was done; and it is some excuse for the English Parliament, that it probably did not know, as our leading statesman knew, how altogether illusory were the terms granted. Swift is nowhere weaker, nowhere more dogmatic and less argumentative, than when he defends this part of the treaty, and argues that we were justified in allowing our allies to be deprived of privileges "of which they never made other use than as an encouragement to rebel." Nevertheless, when this discount has been made, the treaty might be defended as a fair one for England, and not substantially unjust to

Holland and Germany, who had certainly been more regardless of their engagement than England was of their interests.

From the moment when the fate of the treaty was decided, Swift ceased to be necessary to the ministers, and they were no longer necessary to one another. He was anxious to reap the reward of his services; and they were probably well disposed to pay and be rid of a partisan whom neither could quite trust to be in his own interests. Certain it is, that Swift for a time thought himself altogether thrown over, and was most annoyed with Harley as the more powerful patron. "Lord Treasurer told Mr. Lewis that it [the warrant for a deanery] should be determined to-night; and so he will say a hundred nights, so he said yesterday, but I value it not," and afterwards, "Much as I love England, I am so angry at this treatment that, if I had my choice, I would rather have St. Patrick's." Yet he was not altogether pleased when it was decided that he should go to St. Patrick's: "Neither can I feel joy in passing my days in Ireland; and I confess I thought the ministry would not let me go; but perhaps they can't help it" (April 18, 1713.) Some of these complaints are well founded. It was Harley's weakness never to act openly; and he often inspired distrust where he did not deserve it. The chances are that he really desired and tried to serve Swift, but that he did not care to push his promotion as circumstances required that it should be pushed, and was not very sorry to provide for him out of England. In a few months, when it was too late, he succeeded in bringing him back to England, where Swift could only witness the break-up of the party, and when he was no longer inclined to serve Harley or able to follow Bolingbroke. The story of great men's ingratitude is too common to be very interesting. Much may be said in defence of the Tory ministers. Swift had taken out his pay in patronage and arrogance. Later in life he made out a list of more than forty persons whom he had befriended, mostly during his day of power. "I am so proud," he once writes, "I make all the lords come up to me." Tradition says that he did even more than this, that he once sent the Lord Treasurer to call Bolingbroke out of the House merely in order to fix the dinner-hour, and was rude to visitors at his own rooms in proportion as their rank was high. He boasted that he forced dukes to pay him the first visit. He made public criticisms on the wine at the Queen's table. He applied for the post of Royal Historiographer in such a manner as to insult Lord Kent, who had the pa-



tronage. When he paid visits, he claimed the right of choosing his bed-room before the rest of the company. The satire that served his friends did not always spare those whom it was inexpedient to provoke. Mrs. Cutts complained that her brother was attacked while he was still serving the Queen. The Duchess of Somerset, heiress of the proudest house, and married to the proudest man in England, was taunted with the murder of her first husband, and, more unpardonably still, with her red hair. The Scottish Union was represented as the marriage of a person of quality to a woman much his inferior, and even as "an infamous proposal," to which nothing but necessity could have made England consent. Such a writer had only himself to blame if his old indiscretions were steadily brought up against him, and the coveted English mitre obstinately withheld. Somewhat better terms might, perhaps, have been made for him; but the difference between an English and an Irish deanery fairly gauges their extent. Windsor, which Harley tried to get for him, has always been treated as royal patronage. It is on the whole creditable to Swift, that he never attacked the Queen, whose dislike had blasted all his prospects in life, except by the epithet of "royal prude." Neither is it true, as has been said, that he deserted the Earl of Oxford in his fall. Harley's conduct at the time was so ambiguous that his friends generally believed he intended to make his peace at their expense; and Swift, of all others, may be pardoned if he had not a very confident trust in his patron. Erasmus Lewis, who took part against Bolingbroke, declared that Lord Oxford had done himself more harm by his own meanness than any enemy could have done him. But if Swift did not interpose to support him—and it is doubtful whether such support would have been very valuable at the time—he never attacked him, and remained on easy, almost cordial, terms with him to the last.

Swift was not among those whom the new Government cared to molest. The Whigs had learned from the trial of Sacheverel that it was not safe to attack a clergyman; and indeed the general feeling of the Hanover Club was that the late ministry had been merciful, and ought to obtain mercy. It is doubtful whether there was any real ground even for Bolingbroke's flight. Still, after the Rebellion of 1715, public sentiment was in favour of strong measures, and would not have tolerated free discussion or sharp criticisms upon men in power. Swift's correspondence with his friends about this time is always so worded as to bear inspection;

and it was two years before he ventured to write to Bolingbroke. His life was occupied with the cares of his new position, with paying off the debt of £1000 which went for first-fruits, patent, and his new house, and in quarrels with his bishop for patronage, and with his chapter for authority. He had other troubles, of a more delicate kind. The time had now come when he had visibly earned all that life could give him, and was bound by every honourable obligation to marry the woman to whom he was virtually, if not explicitly, engaged. The excuse of indebtedness, though he probably alleged it, will not hold. Stella's fortune would have relieved them from all temporary embarrassment; and Swift need not have scrupled to accept a small loan from his wife. It seems certain that his attachment had cooled. During his stay in London he had become intimate with Mrs. Vanhomrigh, the widow of a Dutch merchant, sometime commissary of stores at Dublin, and who was admitted to the best London society. Swift's unhappy faculty for "entertaining" himself with women soon brought him into intimate relations with the elder daughter, Esther; and under pretence of directing her studies, though she was then twenty, he saw her so constantly that within six months it was a joke to send for him in her name. She seems to have been a beauty of the Dutch type—"a white witch," as he once calls her, somewhat masculine (he represents Pallas mistaking her for a boy), though with what her detractors called "a baby face,"—clever, impulsive, and head-strong in character. She followed out her tutor's orders with enthusiasm, became a better French scholar than himself, studied Montaigne, and kept carefully behind the fashion in dress. So far nothing could be better than Swift's training. But it was among his doctrines that people were bound "to act what was right, and not mind what the world would say;" and he gave a dangerous latitude to this principle. It meant, as he explained it, that all conventions might be defied, if we were certain of our own intentions. He would not have dared to apply this doctrine to himself. He had many little eccentricities of manner, such as biting paper, pulling his wig, and staring, and he gave free vent to his self-assertion and arrogance; but he was withal timidly sensitive to public opinion on all points where he was really vulnerable to ridicule. He was startled and annoyed when Vanessa, who could not understand his conduct, proposed to him (1711). She, a young and pretty woman, with a fortune of £5000, probably thought that the slovenly middle-aged clergyman was doubtful of his own



right to address her. The circumstances were difficult, and Swift acted badly. Either he did not wish to close their connection, or he did not dare to explain his relations with Stella. He temporized, talked of his strong regard for Miss Vanhomrigh, put aside her proposal as a girl's fancy, and continued his intimacy. Meanwhile Stella's suspicions were excited; and Swift, whose journal exhibits a growing coldness, seems latterly to parade his friendship with the Vanhomrighs, which he at first concealed. There are nearly twenty allusions to them between January 30 and September 15, 1710. There had been only two in the preceding five months. It is noteworthy, too, that his letters latterly (February 1712 to May 1713) were addressed not to Stella, but to Mrs. Dingley. He did not, could not, meditate an open breach with his old love; but it is doubtful whether he did not hope that distance and time would bring about a separation.

Matters were in this state when Swift was appointed to St. Patrick's. His first visit to Ireland was long enough to renew the intimacy with Stella, and not so long that Vanessa need despair of seeing him in England again. But after the Queen's death this prospect was at an end; and the Dean, just as he was about to return, learned to his horror that Vanessa, who owned property in Ireland, intended to go there, under colour of looking after it. This was an old project (*Journal to Stella*, August 1711); and it would be interesting to know whether Swift had opposed it some years before. Anyhow, he now wrote urgently to dissuade her (August 12, 1714): "If you are in Ireland when I am there, I shall see you very seldom. It is not a place for any freedom: but it is where everything is known in a week, and magnified a hundred degrees. There are rigorous laws that must be passed through: but it is probable we may meet in London in winter; or, if not, leave all to fate, that seldom comes to humour our inclinations. I say all this out of the perfect esteem and friendship I have for you." "I would not answer your questions for a million, nor can I think of them with any ease of mind." One of the questions probably was whether or not Swift was engaged; and indeed, had he meant at this time to marry Miss Johnson, the announcement of his intention would have stopped Vanessa's journey. We may fairly assume that his purpose was to live again as at Laracor, enjoying Stella's society and worship, but not encumbering himself at forty-seven with a wife. Yet the reasons for marriage were so overwhelming that it is not wonderful if his reluctance has been the riddle of his biographers and the

text of every probable conjecture. It was the one honourable and the one safe course, the only escape from a dangerous dilemma and the certain way to silence scandal for the future. Nevertheless Swift's conduct is explicable, to those who have studied his life, from very simple though very mean motives. He was unblushingly selfish. To a man of his temperament and age marriage was only desirable as a social arrangement; and reflection seems to have convinced him that he should lose more than he should gain by it. Stella was indispensable to him; but he saw her through all the disenchantment of long and familiar acquaintance, and had probably learned to contrast her provincial manner with the refinement and cultivation of London society. It would have cost money to marry her: and even this motive had its weight with a man who was very jealous of his independence, and genuinely distressed by the prospect of money embarrassments. The fear of Vanessa's violence, and of some unpleasant disclosures, may have influenced him. But, lastly, it seems certain that he shrank from the ridicule of marriage. The satire of his times played freely upon husbands; and the marriage of a divine of nearly fifty to a lady of no great fortune or connection, who had been described as a servant in Temple's will, would have been a six days' topic to the small wits and gossip of a provincial capital. To Swift it seemed natural that he should only consult his own comfort; and he probably expected that Vanessa would in time weary of his coldness, and Stella acquiesce in a position which gave him all he wished without any drawbacks.

The issue proved that he had miscalculated his influence. Stella, justly indignant and jealous, insisted on the performance of his promises; and the Dean consented to be privately married to her in 1716. It is said that on the day of the marriage, not long after the final vows had been pronounced, he was seen by Delaney leaving Archbishop King's room in an agony of grief. "You have just seen," said King, "the most unhappy man on earth, but on the subject of his wretchedness you must never ask a question." Speculation, of course, has not been idle as to the reasons. One theory is that Swift and Stella were both the natural children of Sir William Temple, and had married within the prohibited degrees. This conjecture may be dismissed as absolutely untenable. There is no evidence that Temple, who was envoy at Brussels during the two years preceding Swift's birth, ever made surreptitious visits to Ireland; and no ground for supposing that Mrs. Swift was carrying



on a criminal intrigue while her husband was on his deathbed. Temple had patronized Swift's cousin before himself on the score of relationship, and would scarcely have left a son uncared for during twenty years. But, above all, the discovery of this relationship would have given Swift the very argument he needed for confining his relations with Stella to friendly intimacy. A second and more possible supposition is that Swift, in a moment of weakness, had been married privately to a low woman, by whom he had a son, and who was pensioned to keep out of his sight. The evidence of an old servant is quoted, that a boy, believed to be Swift's son, was actually kept at school by an unknown father or friend. Of course at this distance of time it is not likely that this story can ever be absolutely disproved; but it is highly improbable. There is no date to which such a marriage can be referred: not to his residence at Kilroot, for he was then proposing to Miss Waring; not to his stay in Lord Berkeley's family, for he was then watched by enemies; least of all to the years at Laracor, when he was in the first fervour of intimacy with Stella. Had there been any real grounds for such a scandal, it must sooner or later have come before the world. On the other hand, Swift's suspicious visits to Vanessa may easily have given his servants the idea of a criminal intrigue; and, as the friend of many men of the world, it is not impossible that he may once in his life have been intrusted with the guardianship of a foundling. Of all men he would scarcely have chosen Ashe, his old tutor, to perform the marriage service, if he had been running headlong into bigamy. No men are greater recipients of floating rumours than those who live in the scandalous atmosphere of a common-room, and are always seeing and talking about former pupils. It is inconceivable, under any circumstances, that Swift would have confessed to a felony; but he certainly would not have made his shrift to King, whom he regarded with good reason as a private enemy. The story is most likely an exaggerated version of some very trifling incident. Swift may have thought it expedient to give his own history of the connection with Vanessa, at a time when he was united to Stella by a bond which any accident might make public. He probably represented himself as the victim of Miss Vanhomrigh's headstrong passion, and restrained by fear of public scenes and a distressing notoriety from acknowledging his marriage with Miss Johnson. No one hearing the story, however varnished, could fail to see something of its true meaning, or to

predict the deepening shadow over Swift's life.

But the Dean would not or could not renounce his intimacy with Vanessa. That impracticable young woman had taken up her residence in Ireland, and, favoured by her father's former connections in Dublin, was admitted into the best society. The Archbishop was among her friends; and two clergymen of high position proposed to her. Swift himself interceded for one of them. He affected to treat her passion for himself as a joke. "One would think you were in love," he once writes to her, "by dating your letter August 29, by which means I received it just a month before it was written." But he was seriously annoyed by her perseverance. One of his letters is an angry complaint, because a note from her has been delivered to him in company. One of hers is a threat that she will fetch him, if he does not come to her of himself. Indeed, all barriers of reserve and delicacy had been broken down. "I was born," she says, "with violent passions, which terminate all in one,—the unexpressible passion I have for you." "Your dear image is always before my eyes. Sometimes you strike me with that prodigious awe, I tremble with fear: at other times a charming compassion shines through your countenance." It is often said that Swift tried gradually to break off the acquaintance. The letters are evidence to the contrary; and he seems rather out of sheer cowardice to have entertained her more and more with protestations of an affection beyond friendship. "Soyez assurée," he once writes, "que jamais personne au monde n'a été aimée, honorée, estimée, adorée, par votre ami que vous" (July 1721), and again, as if for greater safety, in French, "Croyez que je serai toujours tout ce que vous desirez" (June 1722). But the vulgar selfishness of his nature is manifest everywhere. "If you knew how I struggle for a little health," is the constant burden of his excuses for not calling or writing. Sometimes his egotism dilates with something of a sublime pathos: "Shall you, who have so much honour and good sense, act otherwise to make Cadenus and yourself miserable? Settle your affairs, and quit this scoundrel island, and things will be as you desire." It is the one redeeming circumstance in Vanessa's self-abandonment, that she did not know of Swift's relations to Stella. That she had once entertained suspicions is more than probable: that they had been completely dissipated is the most emphatic evidence of Swift's duplicity. Accident seems to have brought the mys-



tery to an end. One account represents Vanessa as calling Swift to a peremptory decision; the other and more probable one represents her as hearing a rumour of the secret marriage, and writing to Mrs. Johnson for an explanation. Both agree that the answer was delivered by the Dean in person, who flung a letter upon the table, left the house silently, and never entered it again. Miss Vanhomrigh did not long survive the shock. Dr. Berkeley, who was one of her executors, perused the whole correspondence with Swift, and pronounced him innocent of any criminal intrigue with her. As he soon afterwards was a suitor to Swift for an introduction to Lord Carteret, we may assume that he saw palliating circumstances in the Dean's conduct. Swift does not seem to have suffered for it in public estimation. Another of his female admirers told him pleasantly, some time afterwards, in a copy of verses, that she should "like Vanessa die," if he did not return to Ireland; and it is the single notice of the dead lady in his correspondence. Stella remembered her with some feminine resentment. In a party where the Dean's poem of *Cadenus and Vanessa* was discussed, some one remarked that a woman who could inspire such verses must have had great attractions. "Oh," said Stella, "every one knows that the Dean could write well on a broomstick."\*

The annoyance of his relations with Vanessa had probably combined with his fear of Government to keep Swift from steady literary work. Anyhow he produced little between 1714 and 1724 except a *Proposal for the Use of Irish Manufacture*, which attracted a prosecution from the Government, and made him favourably known in Ireland. But in 1724, fortune gave the veteran pamphleteer an opportunity which no one else would have seen, and by which scarcely any one else could have profited. William Wood, an inventive and honest but unsuccessful man, procured a patent for introducing £100,000 of copper coin into Ireland. His offer was favourably reported on by Sir Isaac Newton, and was accepted by the Government. There was no question that a new coinage was wanted; and the only real objection to Wood's patent was that it was part of the vicious system by which Ireland was governed as a foreign dependency, and its Parliament not consulted about their own concerns. Swift had the sagacity to see, and the courage to expose, this flaw. Where he argues about the

value of the coinage, he is simply an unscrupulous special pleader, making statements which could not have borne the test of a week's inquiry or a moment's consideration. But the undying interest of his work is in the thread of thought that runs through the whole: "Whatever liberties or privileges the people of England enjoy by common law, we of Ireland have the same." Here he touched the popular fibre. After the first rancours of civil war had died out, the Protestants of Ireland were the first to discover that they were the chief losers by the system which referred everything to England. It was not the oppressed peasantry who welcomed the Protestant Dean as an agitator. The yeomen and cottiers of the provinces were either too brutal to care for any misrule that did not actually endanger life and property, or too hopeless of a successful issue to think of agitating for any political reform. It was the squire, merchants, and professional men, the very classes on whom Protestant ascendancy depended, who had become impatient of the restrictive system, which left them the least favoured nation of earth, even for their English trade. "I have not heard of any man," says the Drapier, "above mine own degree of a shopkeeper, to have been hitherto so bold as in direct terms to vindicate the fatal project."

Was Swift then a sincere Irish patriot? On the whole there seems to be evidence that he was. He was not eminently single-minded; and it is probable that he cared for himself more than for Ireland. A desire to thwart the ministry and to show his power were among the influences that first carried him into the contest. It is likely that he was quite willing to be bought if Walpole had been disposed to purchase him; and there is a letter of Lord Peterborough's making an appointment for him with the Premier, which seems to show that negotiations were actually commenced. We may perhaps connect this with the offer, once made him of a settlement within twelve miles of London. That no bargain was actually concluded may have been because Swift demanded too much for himself; but it is at least possible\* that he also desired to make terms for Ireland or for the Church. His relations with Harley had not disposed him to accept the position of a mere Government hack. Yet, when all abatements have been made, it remains certain that Swift's

\* Alluding, of course, to the *Meditation upon a Broomstick*.

\* In the notes to the Dublin edition of the *Farces on the Death of Dr. Swift*, which the Dean either communicated or approved, it is said that Walpole's explanation of his Irish policy was the obstacle to a treaty of alliance.



thoughts constantly dwelt upon Irish grievances, that he was the first man of eminence who sturdily asserted the equality of the two countries, and that against one controversy which he may have undertaken for his own profit we may set a dozen pamphlets, sermons, or letters, in which he seems to glow with a divine anger against oppression. His political economy was often faulty. He believed, like most men of his day, that a country ought to export more than it imported; and he thought it politic to foster manufactures which were not native to the soil, or were dying off from it. He did not perceive that Ireland was even then, thanks to a long peace, recovering from the depression of its worst times. But his vision was all the clearer to see the transparent iniquities of foreign government, restrictions on native industry and trade, and a system which carried the upper classes out of the country. "My heart is too heavy," he once writes,\* "to continue this irony longer, for it is manifest that whatever stranger took such a journey would be apt to think himself travelling in Lapland or Iceland, rather than in a country so favoured by nature as ours, both in fruitfulness of soil and temperature of climate. The miserable dress and diet and dwelling of the people; the general desolation in most parts of the kingdom; the old seats of the nobility and gentry all in ruins, and no new ones in their stead; the families of farmers, who pay great rents, living in filth and nastiness, upon buttermilk and potatoes, without a shoe or stocking to their feet, or a house so convenient as an English hog-sty to receive them,—these, indeed, may be comfortable sights to an English spectator, who comes for a short time only to *learn the language*, and returns back to his own country, whither he finds all our wealth transmitted." This is not the language of a mere grievance-monger. It would be easy to cite instances where the nature of the criticism and the mode of its delivery are alike inconsistent with the hypothesis of an attack on Government. Take, for example, the following passage from a sermon on "the causes of the wretched condition of Ireland:"—"Lastly a great cause of this nation's misery is that Egyptian bondage of cruel, oppressing, covetous landlords, expecting that all who live under them should make bricks without straw, who grieve and envy when they see a tenant of their own in a whole coat, or able to afford one comfortable meal in a month, by which the spirits of the people are broken and made for sla-

very, the farmers and cottagers, almost through the whole kingdom, being to all intents and purposes as real beggars as any of those to whom we give our charity in the streets. And these cruel landlords are every day unpeopling their kingdom by forbidding their miserable tenants to till the earth." Such language would not annoy an English Premier or a Lord-Lieutenant; but it must have given offence to the squires, whom Swift regarded with such hearty and just contempt. Yet the context shows that he was as little careful to flatter the peasantry as to conciliate the squires. He repeatedly dwells on the ignorance, sloth, barbarism, and vice of "the natives," as among the determining causes of their wretched condition. But he firmly believed that education and equal laws would civilize them. "The common objection," he once says,\* "drawn from the laziness, the perverseness, or thievish disposition of the poor native Irish, might be easily answered by showing the true reasons for such accusations, and how easily those people may be brought to a less savage manner of life; but my printers have already suffered too much for my speculations. However, supposing the size of a native's understanding just equal to that of a dog or horse, I have often seen those two animals civilized by rewards at least as much as by punishments." Elsewhere, he expresses his belief that a system of good parish schools, in which English should be taught, would "in time bring the natives to think and act according to the rules of reason."† His opinions from first to last are consistent and sensible. They are those of a clear-headed man, who regards the connection with England as natural and necessary, but believes that misgovernment and injustice are crimes against the Divine order, and who already sees the beginning of retribution in the emigration of Protestant families to America. It may be added that Swift's private letters and writings bear strong testimony to the strength of his convictions. He mentions it among the praises of Stella that "she loved Ireland."‡ We may impute it to the irritation of self-interest, when he tells an English bookseller:§—"I do as a clergyman encourage the merchants both to export wool and woollen manufactures to any country in Europe, or anywhere else, and conceal it from the custom-house officers, as I would hide my purse from a highwayman

\* *Short View of the State of Ireland*, vol. vii. p. 880.

\* *Answers to Letters from Unknown Persons*, vol. vii. p. 393.

† *Causes of the Wretched Condition of Ireland*, vol. viii. p. 125.

‡ *Character of Mrs. Johnson*, vol. ix. p. 500.

§ *Letter to Mr. Benjamin Motte*, vol. xix. p. 88.



if he came to rob me on the road, although England hath made a law to the contrary; and so I would encourage our booksellers here to sell your author's books printed here, and send them to all the towns in England, if I could do it with safety and profit." But he certainly had no private interest in remonstrating with a London company\* against raising their rents, on the ground that corporations should be easy landlords, especially if it be true, as he asserts, that he acted on this principle himself, so that his own lands as Dean were let "four-fifths under their value." On the whole, there are not many men who have deserved better of Irish gratitude than Swift; and it is creditable to the popular instinct that it has recognised a friend in a cynic's garb.

But Swift's reputation culminated with the publication of *Gulliver*, some part of which appeared in 1726, and the remainder in 1727. That it was at first issued anonymously, and that Pope and Arbuthnot professed to be uncertain as to the authorship, though its plan had been foreshadowed in the *Memoirs of Scriblerus*, can only be due to the anxiety which Swift may for a time have felt lest it should obtain the honours of a political prosecution. Walpole, however, like the public at large, seems to have understood that it was something more than a mere party pamphlet, and that its personalities were its smallest part. Nor, in fact, should we lose much if we could not supply the key to the allusions. It is interesting, but not really important, to identify Lilliput and Blefuscu with England and France, Flimnap with Walpole, and the queen who could not forgive Gulliver for saving her palace from the flames at the expense of decency with Queen Anne, who forgot Swift's services to the Church in her indignation at the profane jokes that disfigure the *Tale of a Tub*. The parties of the Big-endians or Little-endians are the zealots of all time, even more than Whigs and Tories; and the more Swift advances in his narrative the more he seems to disentangle himself from the petty interests of his faction, and to rise to general principles of State polity. In fact, his story in the first two parts is so essentially creative, his plan throughout so entirely designed to show what a country should be rather than to ridicule its defects, that he explains away the Lilliputian choice of ministers by dexterity on the tight-rope as an innovation that had gradually crept into Lilliput. From this point of view his conception of Utopia is sufficiently remarkable. To use modern

terms, it is democratic and socialist. He acknowledges no mysteries of government, and believes that honesty and common sense, virtues in every man's power, are the great requisites for office. He is prepared to take children from their parents and intrust their education to the State, while the parents are chargeable with its cost. Women are to be "educated much like the males." Standing armies are to be replaced by militias. To reward merit is as much the State's function as to punish crime; and the great benefactors of mankind are those who add to the world's material wealth. With all the scorn of projectors and chemists which Swift afterwards exhibited in the voyage to Laputa, he yet gives a high place in Brobdingnag to the study of applied mathematics. In literature his chief contempt is for metaphysics, as in practical life for lawyers and politicians.

The *Voyage to Laputa* is its own commentary. Swift was not absolutely indifferent to the great discoveries of the day, and once went so far as to purchase a microscope; but he was not in the least competent to understand the great revolution in thought which Newton and his fellow-workers had inaugurated. The hypothesis that the diamond was only a form of carbon would seem to a man of his temperament about equal in value to the calcining of ice into gunpowder. Politically, he had a quarrel with Newton for his share in recommending Wood's patent; and it is not impossible that he viewed theories which even then had produced an outcrop of Arianism with the vague distrust of a theologian. As in politics, so in philosophy, he believed in common sense as the surest guide; and he saw no reason why the doctrine of gravitation should not be exploded when it had lived its day, like the doctrine of vortices.\* Of scientific history he had, and perhaps could have, no conception. Well acquainted with the false estimates of men and measures that had been current in his own day, and having contributed his share to misleading public opinion, he could not understand that a time would come when the public acts of the past would have been tested by experience, and its statesmen judged on better evidence than pamphlets. An Englishman to the core, he detested as visionary and dangerous whatever could not be measured by plumb and line. This feeling explains the *Voyage to the Houyhnhnms*. Its strong and savage bitterness has often diverted attention from the real import of

\* *Letter to Mr. Alderman Barber*, vol. xix. p. 135.

\* It is curious that the Danish satirist Holberg, who published an imitation of *Gulliver*, expresses very similar views about Newton and Descartes in his *Autobiography*.



the satire. It is not merely the spleen of a discontented and morbid man against the human race. As Professor Brewer has pointed out, it is an answer to the philosophy which Mandeville had popularized in the *Fable of the Bees*. To Mandeville all society was founded on vice. Honour and decency were mere chimeras, without truth or being, which were counted hereditary, like the gout in great families. On the other hand, take away luxury and avarice, the vices that promote production and conserve wealth, and all arts and crafts will lie neglected. Mandeville desired to apply this principle in its most cynical extent. In his essay on charity-schools he denounces popular education as dangerous, but wishes attendance on church to be enforced, in the interest of innocence, sincerity, and other good qualities that conduce to the public peace. It may seem singular that Swift was not attracted by such a theory, which is even more contemptuous of mankind than his own satire. His good sense delivered him from its extravagances; and his literary skill enabled him to refute it with a lash that fell at once upon society and its critic. The natural man, whom Mandeville, like Rousseau at a later date, believed to be simple, veracious and temperate, Swift saw as the savage or the Yahoo. Men who cannot use their reason to form an orderly society are in reality below brutes. On the other hand, destroy thought and literature, restrain natural affection within the narrowest limits, and reduce the science of life to the provision by simple instinct for common wants, and the most perfect exemplar of polity will be among beasts. Voltaire's remark after reading Rousseau, that "he did not wish to walk upon all-fours," is in fact the spirit of Swift's answer to Mandeville. It is a satire upon the Englishman of his time, "the reasoning, governing animal of his country;" but it is emphatically a vindication of humanity.

Stella lived to see her husband again honoured, and almost powerful. Once he offered to acknowledge her publicly as his wife. But she answered sadly that it was too late; and Swift easily acquiesced in her decision. If the date assigned to the incident be correct, she knew at the time that she had not long to live. So early as 1720 she had been seriously ill. Her weak constitution was gradually giving way, and her death was believed to be at hand in July 1726. Swift was then in England, and behaved characteristically. "Pray, write to me every week,"\* he says to a correspondent, "that I may know what steps to take, for I am deter-

mined not to go to Ireland to find her just dead, or dying." "I am of opinion that there is not a greater folly than to contract too great and intimate a friendship, which must always leave the survivor miserable." Let her know, however, that Swift has thought of her and bought her a gold watch. But on no account must she die in the deanery; that would be "a very improper thing." Some consciousness of his own meanness seems to have haunted him while he wrote thus; and he "conjures" his correspondent "to burn this letter immediately, without telling the contents of it to any person alive." But it was not a mere paroxysm of baseness, such as will sometimes visit a generous man. Rather more than a year later (September 1727), under similar circumstances, he wrote again, repeating his cowardly directions, in Latin:—"Habeo enim malignos qui sinistre interpretabuntur, si eveniat (quod Deus avertat) ut illic moriatur." As it happened, however, Swift was visited about this time with an attack of vertigo, and decided that it would be prudent to return to Dublin while he could yet travel. This, at least, is his own statement in a letter, before his departure, to Mrs. Howard; and there is the less reason to doubt it as he afterwards apologized to Pope for his abrupt flight from Twickenham, stating that he found it "more convenient to be sick" in Dublin, where, he observes, "I have a race of orderly elderly people of both sexes at command."\* The last sentence seems to show that he came over, not to attend Mrs. Johnson's last moments, but in the belief that she would still be able to nurse him, as she had often done before, when she was ill herself. But his correspondence for that period is meagre; and he seems to have thought it "improper" to write freely about his wife. An opportune "sickness" hindered him from attending her funeral. But that his grief at her death (January 28, 1728) was genuine may readily be believed. In an intimacy of six-and-thirty years the heart acquires a certain habit of attachment from which it cannot be severed without pain. Swift undoubtedly felt more than mere selfish grief at the loss of a useful friend; and there is an endless pathos in the cynical superscription to the packet of "only a woman's hair." Yet those who knew him best had never given him credit for romantic attachment. "My wife," says Bolingbroke, just before Stella's last illness, "sends you some fans, just arrived from Lilliput, which you will dispose of to the present Stella, whoever she be."

\* Letter to Mr. Worrall, vol. xvii. p. 76.

\* Letters to Mrs. Howard and Mr. Pope, vol. xvii. pp. 178, 181.



But even to Swift's genius and vitality old age had at last begun, and another Stella was impossible. After her death he produced nothing of importance, except some pamphlets on the state of Ireland, in 1729. Of these the *Modest Proposal for making the Children of Poor People beneficial to the Public* is among the best known and the least understood. True, the humour is ghastly and Rabelaisian. Cannibalism is a sad subject for a jest, even though it cover a deep earnest; and Swift's peculiar literalness of execution brings every revolting detail before the reader's mind, and shows the children dressed, "hot from the knife," and served up "seasoned with a little pepper or salt." But the state of Ireland which he describes might excuse strong colours. "Some persons of a desponding spirit," he remarks, "are in great concern about that vast number of poor people who are aged, diseased, or maimed. But I am not in the least pain upon that matter, because it is very well known that they are every day dying and rotting by cold and famine, and filth and vermin, as fast as can be reasonably expected. And as to the young labourers, they are now in almost as hopeful a condition; they cannot get work, and consequently pine away for want of nourishment, to a degree that if at any time they are accidentally hired to common labour, they have not strength to perform it, and thus the country and themselves are happily delivered from the evil to come." To a writer who had exhausted himself in recommending other expediences, it might well seem as if such a state of society were a gangrene that would only admit of the cautery. Something must also be allowed for the growing despondency of Swift's temperament, and to a certain morbid taint that began to show itself, and was perhaps connected with the brain-disease of which he at last died. He had been passionately fond of society; he began now to complain that he was alone in the world; and though the statement was certainly over-coloured, it seems he was really distrustful of his own ability to please. He had always been capable of coarse allusions; his mind now seemed at times to dwell lingeringly upon filthy images. One by one the friends of his manhood, Arbuthnot, Gay, and Harley, dropped into the grave before him. Little by little his bodily powers decayed. The strong, active, self-reliant man was becoming dependant on others for help and toleration. The change is painful to all men; to Swift it was indescribably bitter.

Yet he was now reaping the full harvest

of his life; and the good and bad in him alike seemed to contribute to his well-being. He had sacrificed Stella to the exigencies of a small income; and his savings had made him a rich man. His wonderful conversational powers secured him an entry into every house he cared for; and the people of Ireland regarded him as a friend and patriot. No man insulting him could have walked Dublin safely; and the younger generation of peers and men of letters, Oxford, Otrry, and King, were eager to make his acquaintance. The burgesses of Cavan went out in procession to meet him when he visited Sheridan. His influence over women endured to the last; and he found fair correspondents to flatter him, and a faithful relative, Mrs. Whiteway, to live with him. Some of his letters to this lady when her son died are pleasant reading, for their earnest and thoughtful kindness. He seems also to have derived genuine enjoyment from his relations with Dr. Thomas Sheridan, whose wit had some affinities with his own, and whose coarse, simple, testy nature admirably fitted him to be the butt without being actually the slave of his overbearing patron. Sheridan was indebted to Swift for numerous good offices, and seems to have repaid him with a sincere attachment. But the Dean's visits must have been grievous inflictions to his friend's wife, whose relations with her husband were always bad, and whom Swift bullied, satirized, and thwarted in every possible manner, from the ordering of her dinners to her daughter's marriage. Altogether, the Dean might be a formidable guest. Lady Acheson must have been the most good-natured of women if she forgave him his countless raileries on her person, and the nicknames of "skinny and lean," or "snipe." Yet Swift was rather eccentric and inconsiderate than capable of giving pain wantonly. There is a pleasant story, how, once visiting in a country-house, he was told that a young officer had expressed his dread that the Dean would make fun of him. Swift at once went up to the alarmed guest, assured him that he never desired to give pain to men of honour, and so treated him during the whole time of his stay that the young man left the house absolutely fascinated.

At last the time came when Swift was incapable alike of friendship and of society. He had once sketched a ghastly counterpart to the legend of Tithonus, and painted the blank wretchedness of the man who was doomed to outlive friends and memory, to linger on without part in action and without hope of death, who was "least miserable" if



he turned to dotage.\* There can be little doubt that he wrote with a terrible anticipation of his own fate, the long years of growing impotence, and the slow approaches of the disease which he had again prophesied when he said, pointing to a blasted elm, that he should die at the top. During the last nine years of his life (1736-1745) he was the Struldbrug his own fancy had foreboded. The quarrels with Sheridan (who incautiously taxed him with parsimony), the bickerings with Mrs. Whiteway, may in all charity and sincerity be excused as the workings of a diseased brain. Happily a few friends were left who rewarded his old kindness with pious care; and the brain-disease, which had at first been attended by frenzy and paroxysms of pain, passed into an almost unbroken stupor during the last three years of his life. He died in October, 1745, and the unquiet heart at last rested where, in his own words, "bitter indignation could no longer torture it."

Swift's epitaph is the key-note of his character. A burning abhorrence of falsehood and wrong is the one noble feature of a faulty life, the one immortal part of the works by which he is remembered. There are skilful mechanics of style in every age, who can mould language after the best fashion of the day, and be humorous or pathetic as the pamphlet or journal requires laughter or tears. Swift did work of this kind at times; and it is work only known to the professed student. But when he wrote from the heart he wrote for eternity. He was compounded of strange antitheses; and, as his private loves were so essentially forms of self-enjoyment that attachment and friendship were constantly sacrificed to calculation, his religion and patriotism were often curiously blended with self-interest. But he is in reality most genuine where he is most general. He could not face the discomfort of renouncing a pleasant acquaintance that ministered to his vanity, though it ended in the wreck of a woman's life; and there is not a line in evidence that he reproached himself for the unrequited sum of daily love which Stella laid at his feet. As long as the victim was uncomplaining, the Dean's profound egotism assumed that there was no cause for complaint; and the little murmurs that reached him from time to time seem only to have impressed him as unreasonable and capricious. In one of the prayers he drew up for Stella during her last illness, he implores God to make her sensible that if she has been afflicted with weak health, it has been

"largely made up to her in other blessings more valuable and less common." But his mental vision was keen, and as he saw he spoke, often passionately. "Ah, man," says Thackeray, "you, educated in Epicurean Temple's library, you, whose friends were Pope and St. John, what made you swear to fatal vows, and bind yourself to a life-long hypocrisy, before the heaven which you adored with such real wonder, humility, and reverence?" "May not a man," Swift has replied by anticipation, "subscribe the whole Articles because he differs from another in the explication of one?"\* If he believes that "those who are against religion must needs be fools,"† if he is content to merge differences which he regards as small for the sake of the priceless interests at stake, are you to cry him down as a knave and hypocrite?

The question is not a simple one. "My doubts," says Bishop Blougram, "are great; my faith is greater." Swift might have used very much the same words, but more honestly. He unquestionably saw difficulties in the common doctrine of Christianity, and disliked the way in which it was set forth. "Divines of all sorts," he thought, "lessen God's mercy too much;"‡ and he objected particularly to the fashion of depreciating the Pagan philosophers. Their ethics, he said, wanted little but a divine sanction.§ Again, he believed that theological subtleties were a hindrance to the real union of Christians. And as he exalted the ethical above the dogmatic parts of Christianity, he certainly inclined to reject its supernatural dogmas. He would have allowed missionaries among Mussulmans to drop the article of Christ's divinity. The satire that spoke of holy water as universal pickle, and explained transubstantiation by the similes of a brown loaf and a sirloin, was as offensive to High Anglicans as to Catholics. There is other evidence of Swift's views on this point. "Religion," he wrote later in life, "seems to have grown an infant with age, and requires miracles to nurse it, as it had in its infancy."|| So far his scepticism is undeniable. But his faith was greater. "The Scripture system of man's creation," he writes, "seems most agreeable of all others to probability and reason."¶ The whole doctrine [of the Trinity] is short and plain, and in itself incapable of any controversy,

\* *Remarks upon a Book*, vol. viii. p. 259.

† *Thoughts on Various Subjects*, vol. ix., p. 442.

‡ *Thoughts on Religion*, vol. viii. pp. 174, 175.

§ *Letter to a Young Clergyman*, vol. viii. p. 349.

|| *Thoughts on Various Subjects*, vol. ix. p. 482.

¶ *Further Thoughts on Religion*, vol. viii. p. 178.

\* *Gulliver's Travels*, vol. xii. p. 274.



since God himself hath pronounced the fact, but wholly concealed the manner."\* "I am apt to think that in the day of judgment there will be small allowance given to the wise for their want of morals, and to the ignorant for their want of faith, because both are without excuse. . . . But some scruples in the wise, and some vices in the ignorant, will perhaps be forgiven upon the strength of temptation to each."† Practically, therefore, he concludes that the right-minded man will keep his doubts to himself, and not attempt "to shake the walls of the world." "The want of belief is a defect that ought to be concealed when it cannot be overcome."‡ But a previous passage shows that he only counsels reticence where the difference of opinion is not fundamental, though he certainly objects to schisms like that of Socinus, which have no real chance of success. All this, however, merely means that Swift was more a statesman than a metaphysician, and regarded tenets and forms of faith as comparatively unimportant. Two considerations will help to explain his position. As a High Churchman he attached peculiar importance to outward conformity. As a clear, strong-headed thinker, he believed that the attacks on Christianity were immeasurably weaker than the defence. In order to refute Collins, he simply published an abstract of his discourse. The particular points which Collins attacked were "Providence, Revelation, the Old and New Testaments, future rewards and punishments, the immortality of the soul;" and on all these there is reason to believe that Swift was orthodox in the common sense of the word. No one can defend his logic by the light of modern philosophy; but no one can doubt that thousands have held views substantially resembling his in almost every particular. Half Scotland to this day believes the Bible, accepts the doctrine of the Trinity, and recognises a sterner form of church government than even Swift contended for; while it is just as incredulous as himself as to the supernatural graces of Baptism and the Eucharist. Considering, therefore, that his consistency is undeniable, that he damaged himself with the Queen by his doubts, and with the Whigs by his churchmanship, and that many of his strongest expressions of faith occur in writings that were not published during his lifetime, it seems against all evidence to assume, as Thackeray has done, that he was a sceptic at heart, and put his apostasy out to hire.§

Thackeray adds elsewhere: "The Dean was no Irishman." Simple as the words seem, they cover a charge that Swift's patriotism was policy. The examination of his works has, perhaps, given us some reason to judge more charitably. It remains to appreciate how far Thackeray's statement expresses an actual fact. Swift's parents were English. He himself says that he was indeed born "by a perfect accident" in Ireland, but that the best part of his life, the years which gave him culture and the sense of power, had been spent in England.\* He regarded his Irish promotion as sentence of exile. For many years he was on bad terms with the great men of the country. "There is not one spiritual or temporal lord in Ireland whom I visit or by whom I am visited," he writes in 1732. He hated and despised the Irish squires as enemies of the Church, oppressors of their tenants, jobbers, proud and illiterate.† To one who had mixed in the best London society, the change for such companionship must have been very bitter, especially as the distinction between English and Irish was still sharply defined; and Swift's position was that of a colonist rather than of a native. Moreover his mind, as Thackeray has finely pointed out, was cast essentially in the English mould. His style is grave, nervous, and self-restrained, never florid or circumlocutory; he writes, as it were, in "the tone of society." Grant all this, and the fact still remains that he gradually identified himself with the country of his adoption. "What I did for this country," he says to Mr. Grant, "was from perfect hatred of tyranny and oppression." But the burst of gratitude and love with which his efforts were welcomed by a warm-hearted people fairly carried him away. "Drown Ireland," says Pope, "for having caught you, and for having kept you; I only reserve a little charity for knowing your value and esteeming you." "What you tell Mr. P.," writes Alderman Barber, "of my speaking disrespectfully of the Irish is false and scandalous; I love the Irish."‡ The Chevalier Wogan, an Irish refugee, corresponds with the Anglican Dean as a sympathizing patriot. Mr. Grant writes from Scotland to compliment him on "your public spirit and great affection to your native country." "As to this country," Swift writes mournfully

worth quoting. He writes to Swift in 1732, congratulating him on living in Ireland: "Perhaps Christianity may last with you at least twenty or thirty years longer," vol. xviii. p. 183.

\* *Letter to Mr. Grant*, vol. xviii. p. 254; *Letter to Mr. Windoor*, vol. xviii. p. 7.

† *Character of an Irish Squire*, vol. vii. p. 372. ‡ Vol. xviii. pp. 218, 219.

\* *Sermon on the Trinity*, vol. viii. p. 89.

† *Thoughts on Various Subjects*, vol. ix. p. 434.

‡ *Thoughts on Religion*, vol. viii. p. 174.

§ Arbuthnot's evidence on this subject is



in 1736, "I am only a favourite of my old friends, the rabble, and I return their love, because I know none else who deserve it." \* Foreign as his intellect was, he was able, by force of genuine liking and sympathy, to understand the peculiarities of Irish wit. He several times intersperses bulls in his letters. He is the first Englishman who translated an Irish ballad. † Nor was he quite unaffected by Irish influences in his humorous poetry. From the petition of Mrs. Francis Harris to the verses exchanged with Sheridan, there are many among his light pieces which are thoroughly un-English in structure and sentiment.

"It was Pope," says Thackeray, "and Swift to aid him, who established among us the Grub Street tradition," that is, the fierce contempt of poverty, and especially of authors as poor. If by this be meant that Pope often, and Swift occasionally, make the squalid surroundings of an enemy their favourite topic of ridicule, and that their satire has been widely read and remembered, the charge is undoubtedly true. But the word "established" must be used in its most restricted sense; for Pope and Swift only copied the fashion of a preceding generation. Dryden's MacFlecknoe in his "drugget robe," Rochester's Otway who can kill his lice because his pockets are filled, Rymer satirized and engraved as the Garreteer Poet, are very literal types of the meaner men whom Pope pilloried in the *Dunciad*, and Swift ridiculed in the coarse pamphlets which were probably written to please Pope. But the charge generally against Swift is of the lightest, for a few faulty passages in his works are nobly compensated by the generous acts of his life. His good services to struggling authors have been alluded to. They are traits of the strong feeling for poverty that seemed as it were burned into him by the early miseries of his own life, and which no license of his pen can disprove. He applied "the first five hundred pounds which he could call his own," says Scott, "to establishing a fund from which persons of small means might obtain loans;" and, in spite of Dr. Johnson's criticism, the institution seems to have been successful. His next spare money went in purchasing a glebe for the parish of Laracor (Dec. 1716). This he bequeathed to succeeding vicars of Laracor, "as long as the present episcopal religion shall continue to be the national established faith." But if it should be sup-

planted by any other form of Christianity, as Swift sometimes feared it would be by Presbyterianism, the proceeds were to go to the parish poor, "excepting professed Jews, atheists, and infidels." From that time forward Swift's savings were dedicated to the object he carried out in his will, the establishment of an hospital for the mad. But he gave liberally to the poor as long as he lived, and owed part of his popularity among the lower orders of Dublin to his benevolence. Nor was he wanting when personal friends applied to him for assistance. "Could any man but you," writes Lord Bathurst, "think of trusting John Gay with his money?" \* and would any other man, it may be asked, have befriended Mr. Pilkington and Mrs. Barber? He bought an annuity of £20 for the daughter of an old servant. † And when he wrote calmly, no man expressed a stronger feeling for poverty in two classes he most cared for, the clergy and the peasantry. The pamphlet *On the Bill for Clerical Residence*, and the *Considerations on Two Bills*, shows Swift in his true light, impatient of all that degraded an order to which he belonged, and so far only contemptuous of poverty as it implied loss of self-respect. In one of those outspoken sermons which would now be denounced as revolutionary, he calmly observes that it is "worth considering how few among the rich have procured their wealth by just measure," and winds up, in the spirit of Arbuthnot's epitaph on Chatterbox, by asking, if riches and greatness are essential to happiness, how is it that God suffers them "to be often dealt to the worst and most profligate of mankind"? Curiously enough, Swift was himself ridiculed in the very zenith of his reputation for living among "half-shirts and shams, rowlers, decayed night-gowns, snuff swimming upon gruel, and bottles with candles stuck in them." In fact there was a Dutch school, so to speak, in our literature, which delighted in coarse descriptions of sordid actualities; and Swift sometimes borrowed its style in the trifles flung out against ignoble enemies. But no man was less capable of charging poverty as a crime upon the profession to which he belonged, than the man who never forgot he had been poor, who was even ostentatious in his small economies, and whom no enemy ever accused of having forsaken a humble friend, or with want of sympathy for distress.

A reproach, however, rests upon Swift's literary memory, which cannot be explained

\* Vol. xix. p. 88.

† "O'Rourke's noble fare will ne'er be forgot,  
By those who were there, or those who  
were not," etc.

Vol. xiv. p. 134.

\* Vol. xvii. p. 388.

† Vol. xviii. p. 217.



away, and can only partially be extenuated. Most of his great works are disfigured by a coarse passage here and there; and some of his minor writings are simply disgusting. He would probably have replied that very nice people have very nasty ideas, and would have justified himself by the example of his contemporaries. The latter is the only valid excuse. He lived in the age when Walpole defended the practice of obscene conversation by the plea that it gave the only topics on which a mixed company could talk. Some of the worst letters in Swift's correspondence are from ladies. Some of the worst poems with which his name is associated were really written by Pope and Arbuthnot, and ought now to be excluded from his works. His *Diary* and his *Manual of Polite Conversation* alike show that the relations of the sexes were jested on in drawing-rooms by men and women with a surprising freedom. He once speaks of retiring at an early hour from Bolingbroke's dinners, because he finds his presence a restraint on the company.\* Generally, the case against him may perhaps be thus stated: that he was coarse from the first; that his coarseness is peculiarly distasteful from the concentration of style and minuteness of detail; but that essentially he was no worse than his contemporaries during the first fifty-eight years of his life. The *Voyage to the Houyhnhnms* seems in this respect to mark distinct deterioration; and the apology of its philosophical significance has only a partial value. For some of the minor pieces even this plea is wanting; and we must either assume that the Dean's natural propensity ran riot when the restraint of Stella's criticisms was removed, or that disease of the brain had already begun (1730, 1731).

Yet with all his imperfections the man was a great man. Forget his coarseness, put aside the wretched egotisms of his private life, assume—what is surely true—that a man may be incapable of unselfish personal feeling, and yet upright, generous, and ardent in his general perceptions and sympathies; and then say if there be any man between Milton and Burke who is so essentially the Hebrew prophet inspired to detect and denounce wrong as Swift. Make every abatement for private piques and the partly venal services of the political writer; and when every tainted or doubtful passage is struck out, what remains is the terrible in-

dictment against England in her Augustan age. It was the fashionable era of satirists. Pope, Arbuthnot, Gay, De Foe, Addison, were men who might almost be matched with Swift for mere mastery of style; and their pages are repertories of graceful trifles, such as might amuse a Court in the hours that precede disgrace and death. Swift's stand out in fire, like the warning letters on the wall. Ignorant ministers, unrighteous laws, a corrupt upper class, and a degraded commonalty, were seen by him as no one else saw them; and his vision was thronged with images of national decline and ruin. So it was that after ten years' respite from work as a pamphleteer, he took up his old weapons for a nobler warfare. The women whom he sacrificed understood him; the people whom he despised, defended, and loved, rewarded him with an uncalculating attachment; his literary friends treated him with the old homage to the end. It would surely be without parallel in history if the man was no more than a counterfeit, genuine only in certain real powers of intellect, and with no other claim to a bitter indignation than that which the consciousness of his own hypocrisy might give.



### ART. III.—THE ORIGIN OF AMERICAN STATE RIGHTS.

THE part played in American history by the doctrine of State Rights is a remarkable instance of the way in which distinctions, of little moment in themselves, sometimes give rise to controversies of fundamental importance. When the thirteen Colonies separated from Great Britain, the precise relations to be established between them might fairly have been classed among matters of detail. Either apart or united, these communities might exemplify all the faults or all the virtues incident to political societies. Their well-being would obviously depend upon the provisions they might enact as to the composition of the legislature, the executive, and the judiciary, and as to the relations to exist between the three. But whether these provisions should be enacted by and for each colony separately, or by and for all of them together, and if the latter, whether the enacting bodies should unite themselves into a single nation, or retain a qualified independence, might have seemed a question affecting nothing more serious than their mutual convenience. Instead of this, American history has all along turned upon this

\* "I give no man liberty to swear or talk bawdy in my company," etc. (*Letter to Stella*), vol. ii. p. 262. At a much later period Swift complains that four worse lines had been tacked on to his poem of *Tim and the Fables*, in the tenth *Intelligencer*.



one point. The Constitution of the United States remains in all its essential features what it was originally. The interpretation of its leading provisions has never occasioned any dangerous disputes. There has been no really formidable conflict between the President and Congress, no sustained attempt on the part of either to destroy the independence of the judges. But the relations of the States to one another has been a recurring cause of quarrel, postponed again and again by a well-timed compromise, but culminating at last in the greatest of civil wars. Every other controversy has taken shape and colour from this one. No matter in what it may have originated, it has come round to the question of State Rights in the end. The limits of authority, the principles of taxation, the rights of minorities, the lawfulness of slavery, may have been the avowed occasion of each successive contest: but the true cause of all alike is to be sought for here. It is the question that has called forth the profoundest political philosophy, and furnished a text for the most effective political oratory, which America has produced. It is not often that the birth and death of such a theory is comprised within a period of little more than seventy years. But in this case it seems safe to say that it has already become historical. The civil war has dealt it a death-blow. The great principles which have at different epochs been connected with it will remain or reappear as subjects for political discussion; but the conflicts arising out of them will no longer turn upon the mutual rights of the members of the Union. The great controversy between Nationalism and Federalism has been decided by the sword.

The origin of State Rights must be sought in the Convention of 1787. Before that time the conditions out of which the doctrine grew did not exist. After the thirteen Colonies had successfully asserted their independence, the separate sovereignty of each one of them was universally admitted. The peculiar conflict or compromise of claims implied in the term State Rights could only come into being contemporaneously with an attempt to harmonize these claims with one another. American writers have sometimes given this attempt an earlier date than 1787. Story, in particular, lays great stress on the fact that the Declaration of Independence was the united act of all the Colonies, and denies that its framers had any thought of the individual sovereignty of several States. It is true, no doubt, that as the thirteen States rose out of the revolutionary chaos at the same moment, and by a common act, they rose in some sort a united body. But

in the Declaration of Independence itself there is not a word said of any union between them, other than that accidental one which naturally results from the pursuit of a common aim, and the presence of a common enemy. Their representatives declare "that these united Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States, . . . and that, as free and independent States, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, and do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do." The revolution was the act of all the Colonies; but the first consequence of the revolution was, as Mr. Curtis says, "the establishment of local governments, which should be the successors of that authority of the British Crown, which they had everywhere suppressed."\* The communities which, two years later, ratified the Articles of Confederation, knew of no limitations to their separate sovereignty, beyond those imposed by the terms of the Articles. "Each State," by the Second Article, "retains its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right which is not by this Confederation expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled." Whatever union for national purposes there had been before the formation of the State governments, had accomplished its work when they were formed. From the ratification of the Articles of Confederation, at all events, the thirteen States were sovereign societies, except so far as they had chosen by that particular act to divest themselves of any portion of their sovereign character. "The parties to this instrument," to quote Mr. Curtis again, "were free sovereign political communities—each possessing within itself all the powers of legislation and government over its own citizens which any political society can possess."† In the words of a still more unimpeachable witness upon this point, Mr. Motley, "The Continental Congress, which was the central administrative board during this epoch, was a diet of envoys from sovereign States. It had no power to act on individuals. It could not command the States. It could move only by requisitions and recommendations. Its functions were essentially diplomatic, like those of the States-General of the old Dutch Republic, like those of the modern Germanic Confederation. We were a league of petty sovereignties."‡

\* *History of the Constitution of the United States*, i. 39.

† *History of the Constitution of the United States*, i. 142.

‡ Quoted in Stephens's *Constitutional View of the late War between the States*, i. 65.



This last quotation may serve to show of how small a portion of their sovereign character the States which signed the Articles of Confederation had in fact divested themselves. The inability of Congress to keep the Confederacy together was soon made manifest. Its relation to the State governments was virtually that of an adviser, and an adviser only. It could contract debts; but it could not raise the money with which to pay them. It could declare war; but it could not raise the troops with which to carry it on. It could make treaties; but it could not insure their observance. It existed for the maintenance of republican institutions; but it could not guarantee their continuance to any of the States represented in it. During the period from 1781 to 1787, the union between the members of the Confederacy grew constantly weaker, until at length the need of a change was recognised by the leading politicians of every State. It was necessary that some modification of their sovereignty should be submitted to by the separate communities composing the United States, unless, in the language of the General Assembly of Virginia, "the good people of America" were determined "by giving way to unmanly jealousies and prejudices, or to partial and transitory interests," to "renounce the auspicious blessings prepared for them by the revolution and furnish to its enemies an eventful triumph."\* In this conviction the Federal Convention of 1787 had its origin; and with the Federal Convention the history of State Sovereignty ends, while the history of State Rights begins.

The diversity of views which prevailed among the States represented in the Convention was substantially identical with that which appears and reappears in American history down to the Civil War. Upon the question whether a National government should be substituted for the Federal government, or the latter retained with such additions and improvements as recent experience had proved to be necessary, the Convention was broadly divided into a majority of six States, and a minority of five. Rhode Island was not represented in the Convention; and the New Hampshire delegation did not arrive till the great compromise between the opposing views had been arranged. But the two parties in the Convention were differently constituted from their respective successors. On the side of a National government were ranged the larger States; on the side of a purely Federal government the smaller. Virginia, Pennsylvania, North

Carolina, and Massachusetts, then the four leading States of the Union in respect of area and population, were eager for the adoption of a system in which their material preponderance would be adequately represented; and these carried with them South Carolina and Georgia—the last mentioned State possessing at that time a territory thirty times as large as Connecticut. The minority was formed by the smaller States of New Jersey, Delaware, and Connecticut, to which, for other reasons, there had joined themselves New York and Maryland, then the fifth and sixth States of the Union in order of importance. The two theories that found themselves thus confronted with each other were known, from the States whose representatives undertook to reduce them to definite shape, as the Virginia plan and the New Jersey plan. The former proposed to establish a National government, consisting of a supreme legislature, executive, and judiciary; the latter limited its aim to such a revision, correction, and enlargement of the Articles of Confederation as would "render the Federal Constitution adequate to the exigencies of government and the preservation of the Union." By the New Jersey plan, therefore, the legislature of the Union was to remain a Congress of Delegates, appointed as directed by the State legislatures, in which each State would have one vote. By the Virginia plan the legislature was to consist of two branches, the first to be elected by the people, the second by the State legislatures; and the right of suffrage, in both branches, was to be according to some equitable ratio of representation. The executive, in both plans, was to be appointed by the legislature. The choice of the judges was intrusted, in the Virginia plan, to the second branch of the legislature, and in the New Jersey plan to the executive. The legislature under the Virginia plan, besides enjoying all the powers vested in Congress by the Articles of Confederation, was to legislate "in all cases to which the separate States are incompetent," and to have a negative on all State laws which it considered to contravene the Articles of Union. The New Jersey plan simply declared all acts of Congress, made in pursuance of powers expressly vested in it, to be the supreme law of the respective States, and authorized the Federal executive to "call forth the power of the confederated States to enforce and compel" obedience.

These two schemes were not submitted to the Convention at the same time. A series of resolutions embracing the main features of the Virginia plan were introduced by Governor Randolph, one of the deputies

\* Elliot, *Debates on the Federal Constitution*, etc., i. 132.



from that State, on the 29th of May, the first day on which the Convention met for actual business.\* They were immediately referred to a committee of the whole House; and the Convention was occupied with the discussion of them until the middle of June. The question of the position the several States were to hold under the proposed government at once presented itself; but the defenders of State Sovereignty, or, as they were then called, the Federals, confined themselves in the first instance to the suggestion of a doubt whether the deputies were authorized by their credentials to discuss a system founded on wholly different principles from those of the existing Confederacy. On the other side it was contended that the Convention was to consider what changes were required "to provide for the exigencies of government;" and that the idea of government includes supremacy and compulsion, whereas a federation is nothing more than a mere compact, the observance of which depends only on the good faith of the parties, and consequently is not, properly speaking, a government at all.† The rule of suffrage, the point on which the issue between the two parties turned, was postponed in deference to the scruples of the Delaware delegation; and the alternative of election to the first branch of the legislature by the people or by the State legislatures was debated at this stage of the controversy on other grounds. The first attempt to state the case of those who wished to see no changes which were not plainly essential introduced into the Articles of Confederation, was made by Mr. Dickinson, one of the deputies from Delaware. He saw in the division of the country into distinct States a principal source of stability to the Government. There could not, he argued, be a limited monarchy in America, because, amongst other reasons, there was no House of Peers; and the best substitute that could be suggested was the system of checks and counter-checks supplied by a federation.‡ It is worthy of notice that on this, the first appearance of the doctrine of State Rights in the debates of the Convention, the defence of it was placed on a philosophical basis similar to that on which it was maintained by Calhoun more than forty years later. This height of argument was not again reached in 1787. On the 6th of June the question by whom the first branch

of the legislature should be elected came up for the second time. The original decision had been in favour of election by the people. It was now moved to set this resolution aside, and to give the choice to the State legislatures. The change was advocated by Roger Sherman, one of the deputies from Connecticut, on the ground that the ordinary government of the country would be best administered by the separate States, and that the only way of preserving harmony between these and the national legislature was to vest the election of it in their hands; but there was still an apparent indisposition to narrow the controversy within these limits, perhaps from the conviction of the members that whenever this was done the fundamental antagonism between the large and small States would manifest itself too plainly to leave any hope of settlement.

At length, however, it became impossible to postpone the contest. Of all the questions raised in the Convention, the most decisive as regards the relation of the States to the National Government was the rule of suffrage in the national legislature. By Governor Randolph's second resolution, the representation of the States in both branches was to be "proportioned to the quotas of contribution, or to the number of free inhabitants." When this clause came on for discussion, on the 9th of June, Mr. Patterson, one of the deputies from New Jersey, opposed it with great vigour.\* The Convention, he argued, was guilty of usurpation of power in entertaining any such proposal. It owed its existence, in the first instance, to an Act of Congress, by which its "sole and express purpose" was defined to be the revision of the Articles of Confederation, together with the recommendation of such alterations in them as should "render the Federal Constitution adequate to the exigencies of government and the preservation of the Union." The idea of a National, as distinguished from a Federal, government had never entered into the mind of any of the States. The delegates were not authorized to go beyond the Federal scheme; and, apart from this restriction, the people whom they represented were not prepared for the adoption of any other. With regard to the immediate question before the Convention, Mr. Patterson maintained that, whether the United States were to remain a confederacy or to be formed into a nation, the theory of proportional representation was equally untenable. "A confederacy supposed sovereignty in the members composing

\* Elliot, *Debates on the Federal Constitution*, etc., i. 143.

† Ibid. v. 133. This seems to be the argument of Gouverneur Morris's speech, but the report is so abridged that the meaning is not clear.

‡ Elliot, *Debates*, etc., v. 148.

\* Elliot, *Debates*, etc., v. 176.



it, and sovereignty supposed equality." A nation could tolerate no State distinctions; the whole territory must be thrown into hotch-pot, and thirteen equal parts be substituted for the existing division. The small States could never agree to a ratio which would give sixteen votes to one State, and one to another. As to the argument that a great State, contributing much to the common treasury, should have more votes than a small State contributing little, there was no more reason in it than that a rich citizen should have more votes than a poor one. In both cases, protection is paid for in proportion to the amount of it required. A great State, like a rich citizen, has more to be protected than a small one has; and for this reason it is only fair that its contributions should be in a corresponding ratio. Representation is no guarantee against tyranny, if the representatives are necessarily in a minority. He admitted that the Articles of Confederation wanted amendment, but only in such ways as would "mark the orbits of the States with due precision, and provide for the use of coercion." The great States might unite if they liked, but they had no authority to compel the others to unite. New Jersey, at all events, would never remain in the confederation on the basis of proportional representation—"she would rather be swallowed up;" and for himself, Mr. Patterson "would rather submit to a monarch, to a despot, than to such a fate." On the other side, Mr. Wilson, afterwards one of the Judges of the Supreme Court, who represented Pennsylvania, went quite as far in defence of proportional representation. "Equal numbers of people ought to have an equal number of representatives, and different numbers of people different representatives. . . . If the small States will not confederate on this plan, Pennsylvania would not confederate on any other. The gentleman from New Jersey is candid in declaring his opinion. I am equally so. I say again, I never will confederate on his principles. If no State will part with any of its sovereignty, it is vain to talk of a national government."\* With the view of bringing the debate to a definite issue, it was then moved "that the right of suffrage in the first branch of the national legislature ought . . . to be according to some equitable theory of representation," leaving the determination of the particular theory, and the propriety of applying the rule to the second branch, for separate consideration. This motion was carried by seven States to three—Maryland being divided. Later in the same day it was proposed to give the States

equality of suffrage in the second branch of the legislature. This was negatived by a majority of one—Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland voting in the affirmative. The superiority of the National party in the Convention being thus established, the rest of Governor Randolph's resolutions were adopted, with sundry amendments; and the Virginia plan was reported by the committee.

By the decision in favour of proportional representation in both branches of the legislature, the opponents of the Virginia plan had been united among themselves. They were not all hostile to the creation of a National Government instead of the mere addition of a few new powers to the Congress of the Confederation; but even the most moderate of them shrank from the prospect of being subjected to the absolute domination of the larger States. What has been already described as the New Jersey plan was now submitted to the Convention by Mr. Patterson, by way of substitute for the resolutions reported by the committee; and on the 16th of June the Convention a second time resolved itself into a committee of the whole House to consider the two rival schemes.

Luther Martin, the Attorney-General of Maryland, has given a vivid description of the state of parties in the Convention at this moment. One party, he says, wished to annihilate the State governments, and to substitute one general government, of a monarchical character, over the whole continent. Those who held this opinion were too few in number to have any chance of getting it adopted; but, "well knowing that a government founded on truly federal principles, the basis of which were the thirteen State governments preserved in full force and energy, would be destructive of their views," they voted for the most part with the second party, whose object was to give "their own States undue power and influence over the other States."\* This second party was national as regarded the constitution of the legislature, because proportional representation would make the large States absolute masters. The two sections united were a little more than a match—in the most critical division of all they were just a match—for the Federals. Mr. Patterson's speech in support of his resolutions was in the main a repetition of his previous one. His arguments resolved themselves into two. First, the Virginia resolutions exceeded the powers intrusted to the delegates; secondly, they were not in accordance with the wishes

\* Elliot, *Debates*, etc., v. 177; i. 404.

\* Elliot, *Debates*, etc., i. 344.



of the people. The former objection was soon disposed of by Mr. Wilson. The members of the Convention, he maintained, were "authorized to conclude nothing," but they were "at liberty to propose everything." Their function was to make recommendations; and, said Mr. Randolph, "when the salvation of the Republic was at stake, it would be treason to their trust not to propose what they found necessary." As to the sentiments of the people, why, it was asked, should a National Government be unpopular? "Has it less dignity? Will each citizen enjoy under it less liberty or protection? Will a citizen of Delaware be degraded by becoming a citizen of the United States?" The Congress of the Confederation did not deserve to have its powers increased. It was founded on inequality of representation, and a system by which the smallest bodies had the same weight as the largest must be as fatal to liberty in America as it already threatened to be in Great Britain. Again, it consisted only of a single legislature, and so afforded no security against despotism. Without some restraint on the legislative authority, there could be neither liberty nor stability; and a legislature can only be restrained by being divided.\*

The defects of the New Jersey plan were exhaustively stated by Madison. It would prevent neither the violations of treaties and of international law, which had been made a constant subject of complaint, nor the encroachments on the Federal authority, the frequency of which had brought so much discredit on the government of the Confederation. It would promote neither internal tranquillity nor good legislation in the several States, nor the maintenance of peace and harmony between State and State. It would not even secure that independence which the smaller States desired; for the coercion contemplated by it would be sure to be exercised in the interest of the most powerful members. Such a confederacy was "the cobweb which could entangle the weak, but would be the sport of the strong." The best result the small States could hope for from obstinate adherence to an inadmissible plan, would be that no plan at all would be adopted. In that case, would they be more secure against the ambition of their larger neighbours than "under a general government pervading with equal energy every part of the empire, and having an equal interest in protecting every part against every other part."† It was in this debate that the greatest of American statesmen delivered the speech which, imperfectly reported as it

is, still ranks among the greatest achievements of political oratory. To Alexander Hamilton the Virginia plan seemed only a degree less objectionable than the New Jersey plan. But he hoped that, if the latter were got rid of, its rival might be deprived of some of its most obnoxious features, and made to resemble more nearly the political ideal he was anxious to recommend to his countrymen. The Federal government as it was, and as the New Jersey plan proposed in essentials to keep it, was defective, he maintained, in all those principles which are required to make government efficacious. The ordinary motives which secure the support of the governed would all operate for the benefit of the parts, not of the whole. The State governments could do most to promote the interests of their citizens; and they would consequently have the first claim on their attachment. This preference could only be counteracted by such a complete sovereignty in the general government as would enlist all these strong principles and passions on its side. To this end, he would have abolished the State governments altogether, providing an effectual substitute in a machinery of local self-government—"corporations for local purposes"—and making the Central Government less democratic by appointing a President and Senate for life.\* Hamilton had no expectation that his plan would be preferred to the others; indeed, he confessed that it was "very remote from the idea of the people." But then, he added, the Virginia plan shared in this disadvantage; and, though the New Jersey plan might be more favoured at that moment, the people were "gradually ripening in their opinions of government," and beginning "to be tired of an excess of democracy;" and if this change of sentiment was to be turned to good account, it must be by some scheme which would assimilate the American Constitution to that of Great Britain.†

The result of the debate was that a motion to report Mr. Randolph's resolutions to the Convention was carried by seven States against three. The first resolution was then amended by the substitution of the words, "the Government of the United States," for the words "a National Government." This omission of the word "National," to which in later controversies so much importance has been attached, seems to have excited no attention, and was assented to without a division. Throughout the discussions on the second and following resolutions, the great controversy was kept in the back-

\* Elliot, *Debates on the Federal Constitution*, etc., i. 179.

† Ibid. v. 198; i. 417; v. 205.

\* Elliot, *Debates*, etc., v. 194. † Ibid. v. 206.



ground; but at length, on the 27th of June, the seventh and eighth resolutions, "which involved the most fundamental points, the rule of suffrage in the two branches," were taken up. The most critical debate in the Convention was opened by Luther Martin, who had only lately taken his seat. His letter to the legislature of his State contains the fullest account which has been preserved of the arguments employed by the advocates of equality of suffrage.\* They rested their claim first on the original principles of government. In a state of nature, they argued, men are equally free and independent; and, when they submit themselves to government, each has a right to an equal voice in its formation and subsequent administration. Independent States stand to each other as individuals in a state of nature. They, too, are equally free and independent; and, when they unite themselves under a Federal government, the same principle applies to them. "Every argument which shows one man ought not to have more votes than another, because he is wiser, stronger, or wealthier, proves that one State ought not to have more votes than another, because it is stronger, richer, or more populous." As the adequate representation of men in a State government consists in each man having an equal voice in the choice of representatives, so the adequate representation of States in a Federal government consists in each State having an equal voice in everything relating to the government. Indeed, this equality is more important in the latter case than in the former, since the members of a State government have generally a common interest in the making of just laws, whereas the different States of an extensive confederation may have interests so totally distinct that what would benefit one may destroy another. It was further argued that the maxim that taxation and representation ought to go together did not apply. It was true that no person ought to be taxed who was not represented; but the amount of representation ought to depend upon the amount of freedom, just as the amount of taxation depends on the amount of protection. Large States and small are equally free; therefore they are equally represented. A large State has more protection than a small one—that is, she has the same protection for more wealth and more inhabitants—therefore she pays more taxes. A confederation knows nothing of the citizens composing a State; their individuality is swallowed up in that of the State to which they belong. In America, the thirteen States were thirteen distinct po-

litical individual existences united under a Federal government; and as the largest State was no more, and the smallest State no less, than a single member of this government, both ought to have one vote. As to the unwillingness of the great States to put their interests at the mercy of the small States, these interests would either be identical with those of the small States, in which case the latter would co-operate in the pursuit of them, or antagonistic, in which case the small States would need all the protection that equality of representation could afford them. It was not this equality that constituted the weakness of the existing Federal system, but the want of power in the Federal Government; and, if this latter defect were left without a remedy, no alteration of the rule of suffrage would prevent a recurrence of similar inconveniences.

On the other side it was urged that there was a fallacy in confounding a treaty between sovereign States with a compact creating an authority "paramount to the parties, and making laws for the government of them." The prerogatives which it was proposed to vest in the National Government were so extensive as to assimilate it to the State governments; and they ought, therefore, to be exercised by a body constituted on the same principles as the State legislatures. It would be time enough to give small and large States equality of representation in the one, when small and large counties were equally represented in the other. There was no reason to dread any combination of the large against the small States. Virginia, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania were separated from each other by situation and by staple productions; they had nothing in common but similarity of size. They had never shown any propensity to a specially intimate association; and the argument from history made it improbable that they ever would do so. Among nations, as among individuals, of pre-eminent power and position, rivalries were far more frequent than coalitions. The two extremes before the Confederation were perfect separation and perfect incorporation. In the first case, the smaller States would have everything to fear from the larger; in the last they would have nothing to fear. The true policy of the small States, therefore, lay in promoting those principles and that form of government which would most approximate the States to the condition of counties.\* Hamilton especially attacked the extreme democratic theories put forward by Luther Martin. Individuals, he maintained,

\* Elliot, *Debates*, etc., i. 351.

\* Elliot, *Debates*, etc., v. 250.



when forming political societies, did, as a matter of fact, modify their rights of suffrage differently. Strict equality of representation was not observed in any of the State governments: and in all some individuals were deprived of the right of voting altogether. Why then might not States, when forming a Federal government, modify their right of suffrage differently—the larger exercising a larger, and the smaller a smaller, share of it? After all, States were but collections of men; and which ought to be most respected—the rights of the people composing them, or the rights of the artificial beings resulting from the composition? When the arguments on both sides were exhausted, the speakers had recourse to warnings. The National party was informed, “and informed,” says Luther Martin, “in terms the most strong and energetic that could possibly be used,” that the smaller States would never agree to a system giving such undue influence and superiority to the larger. No worse consequences could possibly ensue from their refusal than were certain to ensue from assent. If the States remained separate, they might be enslaved by some stronger power; but no slavery could be more abject than the system proposed by the Nationalists, under the pretence of forming a government for free States.† The determination of the large States was expressed with equal vehemence. A rupture of the Union would be most unhappy for all, but it would be the small States which would suffer most. Delaware would be at the mercy of Pennsylvania, and New Jersey at the mercy of New York. Their only protection lay in being united with these powerful neighbours in such a way as would put it out of the power of the latter to oppress them. Nor was it only the independence of particular States that would be endangered: the liberty of all would sustain a fatal blow. The weakness of the small States would compel them to maintain a regular military force, to guard against being surprised by their stronger neighbours; and constant apprehension of war would lead to great discretionary powers being given to the chief magistrate. Here were the two chief elements of tyranny ready to their hand—a standing army and an overgrown executive.‡

At length, after three days' debate, a division was taken on the motion “that the right of suffrage in the first branch of the legislature ought not to be according to the rule established in the Articles of Confede-

ration.” The Ayes were Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Virginia, the two Carolinas, and Georgia. The Noes were Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, and Delaware; Maryland was divided.\* Immediately afterwards, Mr. Ellsworth, on behalf of the moderate Federals, moved, “that in the second branch of the legislature each State shall have an equal vote,” a compromise which had already been suggested in the former debate by Dr. Johnson, Mr. Ellsworth's colleague in the representation of Connecticut. This gentleman had observed, with great truth, that while one side insisted on regarding the States as so many districts of people, composing one political society, and the other side insisted on regarding them as so many distinct political societies, the controversy must be endless. As a matter of fact, the States existed as well as the people composing them, and therefore both ought to be represented in the legislature.† This idea was now taken up by Mr. Ellsworth. He should not regret, he said, the decision the Convention had just come to upon the first branch, if a compromise could be arranged with regard to the second branch. Without a compromise the Convention must break up. With the exception of Massachusetts, no State north of Pennsylvania would listen to a proposal for excluding the States from an equal voice in both branches. Resistance to such a scheme was a natural instinct of self-defence; and to attempt to ignore it in the construction of a common government was to risk the existence of the Union.‡ But the National party showed no disposition to abandon their advantage. They maintained that if the minority of the American people would not combine with the majority on just and proper principles, it would be better to leave them out altogether. The opponents of proportional suffrage were not quite a fourth part of the Union; and their withdrawal would be a less evil than the renunciation on the part of the remaining three-fourths of their indisputable and inalienable rights. The proposed compromise was no compromise at all. Equality of votes in either branch would enable the minority to control, in all cases whatsoever, the sentiments and interests of the majority. Though a majority of States in the second branch could not carry a law against the majority of the people in the first branch, it could prevent a law from being passed, however advisable, or even necessary, a majority of the people might consider it. And

\* Elliot, *Debates*, etc. v. 258. † Ibid. i. 355.  
‡ Ibid. v. 255, 257.

\* Elliot, *Debates*, etc., i. 192. † Ibid. v. 255.  
‡ Ibid. v. 260.



as the second branch would probably possess some special powers peculiar to itself, the majority of the States might, to the extent of those powers, even impose measures upon the majority of the people.\* To this it was answered by Mr. Ellsworth that the concession of equality in one branch would not enable the minority to rule the majority, but only protect it from being destroyed by the majority. It was not a novel thing that the few should have a check on the many. There was an instance of it in the English House of Lords, which, though its members formed so small a proportion of the nation, possessed notwithstanding an absolute negative on legislation, as a necessary defence of its peculiar rights against the encroachments of the Commons.†

On Monday the 2d of July the Convention divided. The numbers on each side were equal, Maryland voting this time with the Ayes, and Georgia being divided‡. After some further discussion a "Grand Committee," composed of one member from each State, was appointed to devise and report a compromise. In this committee, says Mr. Yates, the Chief Justice of New York, who was one of the members, many, "impressed with the utility of a general government, connected with it the indispensable necessity of a representation from the States according to their numbers and wealth, while others, equally tenacious of the rights of the States, would admit of no other representation but such as was strictly Federal, or, in other words, equality of suffrage."§ The proposal of compromise came from Dr. Franklin. The Nationals offered to consent to equality in the second branch if the Federals would surrender it in the first. "To this it was answered," says Luther Martin, who was also a member of the committee, "that there was no merit in the proposal; it was only consenting, after they had struggled to put both their feet on our necks, to take one of them off, provided we would consent to let them keep the other on, when they knew at the same time that they could not put one foot on our necks unless we would consent to it."|| Happily for the success of the Convention this extreme view found few supporters. On the 5th of July the committee presented a report recommending proportional representation in the first branch of the legislature, and equality in the second, with a proviso that all money bills should originate in the former, and be incapable of alteration or amendment elsewhere.¶ The report was

received with great disapprobation by the representatives of the larger States. Mr. Madison said that the Convention was now reduced to the alternative of either departing from justice in order to conciliate the smaller States and the minority of the people, or displeasing these in order to do justice to the larger States and the majority of the people. When the choice lay between justice with a majority and injustice with a minority, he could not hesitate as to the course he ought to take.\* Some days were occupied in arranging the details of the proportional representation in the first branch; and, on the 14th of July, a final effort was made to repudiate equality in the second branch, and to obtain proportional representation in a modified form, according to which Virginia should have five votes, Massachusetts and Pennsylvania four each, New York, Connecticut, and Maryland three, and the remaining States two or one respectively. After this proposal had been rejected, the Convention divided on the question that the report of the Grand Committee be adopted in its entirety. The smaller States all voted for the compromise, North Carolina taking the place of New York, now no longer represented in the Convention. If the larger States had held out the numbers would again have been equal; but Massachusetts was divided, and thus a majority of one was obtained for the report.† A meeting of members from the larger States was held early the next morning to decide what should be done in consequence of this vote.‡ It was soon discovered that there was a great division of opinion even among those who disliked equal suffrage. Some, thinking the compromise fatal to the interests of good government, wished to continue their opposition even to the point of retiring from the Convention, and recommending a separate Constitution. It was clearly useless, however, to push matters to this extreme, unless the representatives of the larger States were unanimous; and, in the absence of this condition, nothing came of the consultation. The victory of the Federals was made more complete in the end by the modification of the limitation as to money bills; but, with this exception, the compromise was preserved intact. Nothing need be said here of that wealth of casuistry which has been lavished on such incidental words and phrases in the Constitution as have been thought to bear upon the relative rights of the States and of the Federal Government. There is no trace of anything

\* Elliot, *Debates*, etc., v. 262, 264. † Ibid. v. 263.

‡ Ibid. i. 198.

§ Ibid. i. 356.

§ Ibid. i. 478.

¶ Ibid. i. 193.

\* Elliot *Debates*, etc., v. 275.

† Ibid. i. 206.

‡ Ibid. v. 319.



of the kind in the discussions of 1787; it dates from that later time when the Constitution had become invested in the eyes of Americans with an almost Biblical sacredness.

✓ Next in importance to the debates in the Federal Convention comes the action of the several States when the Constitution was submitted to them. In five cases Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Virginia, North Carolina, and Rhode Island,—the ratification of the Constitution was accompanied by a proposal of the amendment subsequently adopted, that “the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.” The ratifications of Massachusetts and New Hampshire acknowledge “the goodness of the Supreme Ruler of the Universe, in affording to the people of the United States, in the course of His providence, an opportunity of entering into an explicit and solemn compact with each other, by assenting to and ratifying a new Constitution, in order to form a more perfect union.”\* † In the Virginia ratification, the delegates “declare and make known that the powers granted under the Constitution, being derived from the people of the United States, may be resumed by them, whensoever the same shall be perverted to their injury or oppression, and that every power not granted thereby remains with them and at their will.”† The New York and Rhode Island ratifications contain a declaration “that every power, jurisdiction, and right, which is not by the Constitution clearly delegated to the Congress of the United States, or the departments of the Government thereof, remains to the people of the several States, or to their respective State governments to whom they may have granted the same; and that those clauses in the said Constitution which declare that Congress shall not have or exercise certain powers, do not imply that Congress is entitled to any powers not given by the said Constitution, but such clauses are to be construed either as exceptions to certain specified powers, or as inserted merely for greater caution.”† In the several State Conventions, the debates, when there were any, largely turned upon the question, whether the new Constitution did or did not convert the United States from a confederacy to a nation. The opposition to ratification came from the uncompromising defenders of State sovereignty; its advocates were generally those who in the Federal conven-

tion had been counted as Nationals. But these latter were no longer found arguing in favour of a consolidated government. They had accepted the Constitution as, at all events, the best within their reach; and they did all they could to show that it did not, as a matter of fact, bear that national character which, if they had had their own way, they would have given it. The change of tone was perfectly natural under the circumstances. The Nationals saw the Constitution in danger of being rejected for merits which it did not possess. Had it been really that consolidated government which at the outset they had tried to make it, such a failure might have displeased them less: they would have relied upon the inherent advantages of the proposed system to recommend it to the calmer judgment of the people at some future time. As it was, however, they had consented to a compromise which they thoroughly disliked, rather than run the risk of bringing their labours to no conclusion. The last thing, therefore, they were likely to wish was that this compromise should miss its object, through its nature not being clearly understood, or its extent properly appreciated. In the Pennsylvania Convention the defence of the Constitution devolved on Mr. Wilson, who had been a most strenuous supporter of the Virginia plan, and had to the last opposed the adoption of the report of the Grand Committee. ✓ The principle on which he conceived the Constitution to rest was thus stated by him: “Whatever object of government is confined in its operation and effects within the bounds of a particular State, should be considered as belonging to the government of that State; whatever object of government extends in its operation or effects beyond the bounds of a particular State, should be considered as belonging to the government of the United States.” In answer to the objection that the sovereignty of the States was not preserved, he maintained that sovereignty resided neither in the State governments nor in the Federal government, but in the people, who “can delegate it in such proportions, to such bodies, on such terms, and under such limitations, as they think proper.”\* In the Massachusetts Convention one of the advocates of ratification said: “No argument against the new plan has made a deeper impression than this, that it will produce a consolidation of the States. This is an effect which all good men will deprecate. . . . The State governments represent the wishes, and feelings, and local interests, of the

\* Elliot, *Debates, etc.*, i. 322, 325.

† Ibid. i. 327.

‡ Ibid. i. 327, 334.

\* Elliot, *Debates on the Federal Constitution, etc.*, ii. 424, 456.



people. They are the safeguard and ornament of the Constitution; they will protract the period of our liberties; they will afford a shelter against the abuse of power, and will be the natural avengers of our violated rights."\* In the Virginia Convention, Edmund Pendleton, the President, in answering the objection to the use of the phrase, "We, the people," instead of "We, the States," said, "We the people, possessing all powers, form a government such as we think will secure happiness; and suppose in adopting this plan we should be mistaken in the end, where is the cause of alarm? . . . Who shall dare to resist the people? No, we will assemble in Convention, wholly recall our delegated powers, or reform them so as to prevent such abuse."† Madison again said, "The powers vested in the proposed government are not so much an augmentation of powers in the general government, as a change rendered necessary for the purpose of giving efficacy to those which were vested in it before."‡ Even some of those who were favourable to ratification thought the new Constitution nothing more than a stop-gap. In a letter written about this time by R. B. Lee, the grandfather of the Confederate commander-in-chief, there occurs this passage:—"The Southern States are too weak to stand by themselves, and a General Government will certainly be advantageous to us, as it produces no other effect than protection from hostilities and uniform commercial regulations. And when we shall attain our natural degree of population, I flatter myself that we shall have power to do ourselves justice with dissolving the bond which binds us together."§ In the New York Convention, Hamilton ridiculed the fear that the adoption of the Constitution would lead to the abolition of the State governments. "Their existence does not depend upon the laws of the United States. Congress can no more abolish the State governments than it can dissolve the Union. . . . The States can never lose their powers till the whole people of America are robbed of their liberties. These must go together; they must support each other or meet one common fate."|| Writing in *The Federalist*, again, he laid it down as "an axiom that the State governments will, in all possible contingencies, afford complete security against invasions of the public liberty by the national authority. . . . Possessing all the

organs of civil power, and the confidence of the people, they can. . . readily communicate with each other in the different States, and unite their common forces for the protection of their common liberty."\* In another number of the same publication, Madison did his utmost to remove the fears entertained by the States party, by pointing out that the ratification of the Constitution would not be a National but a Federal act. It "is to be given by the people, not as individuals composing one entire nation, but as composing the distinct and independent States to which they respectively belong. . . . Each State, in ratifying the Constitution, is considered as a sovereign body, independent of all others, and only to be bound by its own voluntary act."† And elsewhere he characterizes the equal vote allowed to each State in the Senate as "once a constitutional recognition of the portion of sovereignty remaining in the individual States, and an instrument of preserving that residuary sovereignty."‡

In reviewing this, the earliest phase of that prolonged controversy which closed with the surrender of Lee's army, the first thing that calls for notice is the narrowness of the issue directly raised. With the exception of a word or two here and there, such as the speech of Mr. Dickinson quoted above, the speakers on the Federal side seem to have shown little or no grasp of political principles. It was only by Luther Martin that the question was argued on abstract theory; and then the policy which in later American history has been identified with Constitutional conservatism was advocated on the most revolutionary grounds. The dislike of these men for a "consolidated" government was not much more reasonable than the similar feeling which often animates local bodies in England. The weight of argument in the Convention was invariably on the side of the Nationals. Their opponents might succeed in proving that this or that provision in the proposed Constitution would act injuriously on the State governments; but they wholly failed to give any conclusive reason why the State governments should be preserved. A country of which it could be truly said that it had been given by Providence "to one united people, a people descended from the same ancestors, speaking the same language, professing the same religion, attached to the same principles of government, very similar in their manners and customs, and who by their joint counsels, arms, and efforts, fighting side by side throughout a long and

\* Elliot, *Debates*, etc., ii. 45.

† Ibid. iii. 37.

‡ Ibid. iii. 259.

§ This letter was found in General Stuart's house during the late war. It is quoted in the edition of *The Federalist*, edited by J. C. Hamilton, p. lxxviii.

|| Elliot, *Debates*, etc., ii. 319, 355.

\* No. xxviii.

† No. xxxix.

‡ No. lxii.



bloody war, have nobly established their general liberty and independence,"\* seemed marked out by nature for the seat of a single nation. None of the Colonies had a long and glorious history, to keep alive in them the pride of independence. They all had but just emancipated themselves from a condition of provincial obscurity; and whatever renown they had achieved in the process was the common possession of them all. The deputies of the smaller States had every right to protest against the creation of a national system against the will of their constituents; but, when the motives which determined that will come to be examined, they are rarely of any higher type than a jealous dislike of any system whatever which should subject them to more orderly rule. So far as the hostility to the proposals of the National party had any more respectable basis, it is to be found in the vast extent of the American continent. This circumstance, which led Hamilton almost to despair of the possibility of Republican government, did no doubt present difficulties of real moment, since the distance of the outlying States from the seat of the central administration might fairly lead them to fear lest the conduct of government should by degrees fall wholly into the hands of the citizens of that State in which it might happen to be fixed. But, for the most part, the love of independence which was so strong in some of the States was a mere sentiment, which it might be difficult to account for, but the existence of which it was necessary to recognise.

The next point to be noticed is the hold which this sentiment had upon the minds of a large part, perhaps even a majority, of the American people. It was universal, or, at all events, overpowering in the smaller States; but even in the largest States it was the sentiment of an active and powerful minority. In Massachusetts the Constitution was only ratified by a majority of 19 in a Convention of 355 members.† In Virginia, the Convention sat for nearly a month, and the votes were 89 in favour of ratification to 79 against it.‡ To speak, therefore, of the assertion of State sovereignty by the Southern States in 1861 as only the pretext, and of their determination to uphold slavery as the cause, of the civil war, is to ignore the facts of history. The Union was dissolved in 1861 on the very ground on which it had been so nearly shipwrecked in 1787. The compromise discovered on the

earlier occasion was the offspring "of a spirit of amity, and that mutual deference and concession which the peculiarity of the political situations rendered indispensable."\* Seventy-four years later mutual deference and concession had disappeared from the scene; and opposing interests and rival fanaticisms had come in to aggravate the old hostility. But the Southern planters whose irritation precipitated the war, and the Northern farmers whose resolution brought it to a close, were the representatives, by direct political descent, of the Federals and Nationals of the Philadelphia Convention. ✓

It is to be observed, too, that in 1787 neither party in the least foresaw the course that events were to take. In the eyes of the Nationals, the danger to be dreaded was a state of political paralysis, the result of the gradual encroachments of the State governments on the central authority. They did not conceive the growth of that intense national sentiment which has of late manifested itself with such overpowering strength. They took it for granted that in any conflict between local and national interests, the latter must go to the wall. The Federals were not much more accurate in their anticipations. Their fears mostly pointed to an aggrandizement of the central government, which should eventually give it an absolute mastery over all the States. During the stage of the conflict immediately succeeding that which has here been described, there was some prospect of this expectation being realized; but it passed away with the overthrow of the Federalist party by Jefferson's election to the Presidency. The enemy to which State rights finally succumbed was the aggregation of all the strongest States on one side of a geographical line. It was not the Federal Government that reconquered the South; it was the compact phalanx of the Northern States. In 1787 nothing indicated the great sectional division which was by and by to split the Union in halves. The larger States were separated from one another by the interposition of smaller neighbours; and cotton had not yet arisen to give an industrial unity to any one group.

At the date of the adoption of the Constitution, the compromise out of which State rights, properly so called, were developed, had been universally accepted. Each party had surrendered something; but the Nationals had apparently surrendered most. Their scheme of making the United States a nation had for the time proved impractica-

\* Jay, in *The Federalist*, No. ii.

† Elliot, *Debates on the Federal Constitution*, etc., ii. 178.

‡ Ibid. iii. 654.

\* Madison, in *The Federalist*, No. ixii.



ble. The requisite assent was wanting in the smaller States; the willingness to use force if persuasion failed was wanting in the larger. A representative equality had been accorded, however unwillingly, to State sovereignty. Without this, it is evident that the Union could not have been constituted. The dislike of the Nationals to the rule of suffrage in the Senate would have been overcome by no slighter consideration; they acceded to a settlement of the working of which they entertained the gravest suspicions, solely because it was the only settlement which circumstances rendered possible. The subsequent action of the State Convention showed how truly they had judged the popular temper. If the Virginia plan in its original form had been adopted at Philadelphia, it is certain that the Constitution would not have obtained the assent of the nine States whose ratification was necessary to call it into existence; it is doubtful whether it would have obtained the assent of any. The equality of representation in the Senate was the element which made it generally acceptable, and enabled its defenders to repudiate the charge that they aimed at creating a consolidated government. Nor is there any reason to doubt that in disclaiming such a design the Nationals were perfectly sincere. Their speeches against the compromise, made while they still had hopes of its rejection, bear conclusive testimony to this fact. They thought that in making over to the States, as such, the control of a co-ordinate branch of the legislature, they might be giving up all chance of founding a genuinely National government; and they did not attempt to disguise the extent of the sacrifice. The United States Constitution started into life with a full recognition of State sovereignty in the Senate, and of National sovereignty in the House of Representatives; and the problem how to harmonize the two was the legacy of the Federal Convention to the American people.

#### ART. IV.—AUTOBIOGRAPHIES.

THERE is nearly as much difference between the motives which men have alleged for writing histories of their own lives as there is between the tenor and literary merit of the works themselves. The undertaking is at one time vindicated as a concession to the affectionate curiosity of friends or descendants; at another by a reference to the importance of the events concerned. Some-

times the writer boldly announces a claim to public admiration, or apologizes for listening to the dictates of private partiality, or professes a wish to elucidate his published works, or to recommend his principles by example. More rarely he proposes to rebut current calumnies; most often, perhaps, to satisfy an ambition which has found no other direction for its hopes. The action of this last motive, the influence of which may be suspected in every classical autobiography, is best analysed by Cardan in language which seems prophetic of Comte. Men, he says, have a twofold existence, a single private personality, and a share in the common life of the world or humanity. The appetite for immortality (subjective immortality that is, though he does not formulate the distinction) is irrational, irreducible, inexplicable, and indestructible, but admitting two kinds of satisfaction. The founder, the conqueror, the destroyer of empires and cities—a Cæsar, Alexander, or Eratostratus,—has placed his immortality beyond the reach of vain report; and the history of his deeds adds nothing to his greatness. The world is the monument of such men, whether their names are inscribed on it or no. But the ambition of Cæsar is folly; for the lapse of years left the Roman empire but a ridiculous and unheard-of shade in Germany. If the mind is eternal, renown profits it nothing; if it is mortal, the noisiest fame is empty. And yet men whom a thousand obstacles shut out from failing with Cæsar seek fresh ways of fixing upon the world's memory the fact that they have been. This too is vanity, and stupidity even more extreme than the former. For what these men write will not be read; or if it is read, they can count the years after which it will be forgotten, contemned, and neglected. Let go the shadow and seize the reality, *carpe diem*, live while you live, follows as the substance and the sum of practical philosophy. But if the reality is not to be attained—if, after all, the present is unsatisfying or worse—then any future that can be looked forward to is a gain; and it is well to despise actual evils in view of an immortality that shall be free from them. A man's qualities are himself in a closer sense than his actions; and to build a monument in the memories of men to come, without laying its foundation in the physical fortunes of their ancestors,—to interest ages in a story of wishes, failures, feelings, and tendencies that stop short of action,—is a hope which may tempt even a more exacting egotism than the hollow glory of unbounded power.

The man who has courage and patience to write a history of his life does not go



unrewarded. As a hero, he need not fear detraction; as an author, there is no risk of his materials failing; his own theme and his own critic, he can suppress in the second character whatever seems unworthy of himself in the first. On the other hand, to go over again the whole of a life which has already begun to decline, to dissect the still palpitating corpse of decaying consciousness, is a laborious, and, as it proceeds, increasingly thankless task. It can only be undertaken, not to say completed, under the pressure either of a strong conviction on the part of the writer's friends that his life is full of interest to his contemporaries, or else of a still firmer persuasion on his own part that the revelations he has to make are such as will tend to gratify the unappeasable curiosity of the human race touching all that bears upon the standing difficulties of the anatomy of the human mind. In the former case the work is likely to be disappointing in itself, however indispensable the light may be which it throws upon the private history of the author. In the latter case, a sort of instinct seems to guide and correct the motions of simple self-love; and unconscious tact saves from an attempt, which must have failed, the vast majority of those whose outward circumstances have been commonplace, who have no mental history to speak of, or whose consciousness of what takes place in and around them is too confused and fugitive to be revived after the lapse of years in a literary framework.

The temptation to attain what, at first sight, seems so easy an immortality, is of universal application; and if the class which succumbs to it is small, it is natural to suppose some common qualities in its members, underlying their obvious differences. The point of union, even if it could be determined, would not, it is true, offer much basis for generalizations; and a division of mankind into those who have and those who have not written autobiographies might be unfruitful as well as arbitrary. But since, apart from questions of style, every autobiography depends for its value and interest upon the measure of common human passion and experience concentrated in its pages, or on the degree of vividness with which they depict common human situations and sentiments, every autobiographer is a representative man, and one not of a representative class, but of a class of representative men. In point of fact, existing autobiographies may be arranged in three principal groups, corresponding roughly to Comte's three historic periods, though the chronological order is different, and subject to individual aberrations. These

groups may be distinguished critically as the Monumental or Elementary, the Positive, and the Analytic, or, to keep up the analogy, the Metaphysical. The first of these schools is epic in style and heroic in substance; each of its works is that of an imaginative autocrat—a story of action told with primitive energy, unmixed self-approval, and spontaneous art. The second school contains artists of a sort, but no heroes. It is literal, realistic, and in form dramatic. The writers depict themselves only as a means or accessory to the representation of the age in and for which they live. They write with unsurpassed depth of conviction what every one knows and believes; they give expression to a sublimated common sense; and, as their observations are authentic and their judgments unimpeachable, the universal reason of mankind admires and applauds. The last variety of autobiographical writing is more complicated. To the autobiographer, at any rate, humanity consists of the ego and the non ego. It is possible to him to view the world as subordinate to himself, or to treat himself in subordination to the world; but a third alternative is not easy to find. Decaying originality may take refuge in a sort of criticism: but criticism of the outer world does not naturally take the form of autobiography, criticism of the writer's self paralyses the course of a narrative, and criticisms of the relations between the two are not naturally suggested by the events of an ordinary life. The only remaining possibility is to chronicle thought instead of action, changes of opinion instead of succeeding experience, or else to represent the influence of imaginary circumstances upon a real mind. To surround a fictitious hero with incidents founded upon fact can scarcely be said to constitute autobiography at all.

One of the earliest, and, in some ways, the most admirable of autobiographies, that of Darius Hystaspes, whether composed by himself or a confidential secretary or clerk of the works, speaks a moral unity, a command of memory, and a confidence in the facts to be stated, which is scarcely approached even by Benvenuto Cellini, and looks for its response to a reverential and uncritical nation. The simple loquacity of the best memoir-writers disappears in busy, learned, or earnestly controversial ages that might question its purpose and its use. Confessions, real or fictitious, designed to express a romantic opposition to the existing order of creation, or a speculative disapproval of any possible order, indicate a transitional period of moral exhaustion and intellectual despondency, trained to tolerate



a want of faith and courage, if not of candour, in its representatives. But whether the work be in the form of an autobiography, a journal, or a philosophical romance, literary success depends upon the distinctness of the outline, the freshness of the colours in which the hero's person appears before us, the completeness of our sympathy with him, and the frankness with which he seems to rely on it. What we really value most in the author who admits us behind the scenes of his career, is the revelation of something—however commonplace, however obviously probable—which we could not have known as certain and actual without his assistance. The virtues and achievements of an eminent man do not come into this category; and hence the impatience with which we hear from themselves how Cicero saved Rome, or how Napoleon wished to save Europe. Information which newspapers might give, gains little in purely literary interest by coming at first hand; and direct statements of fact by historical characters may easily have less authority than incidental, so to speak, inanimate evidence. To the critic, the fact that a thing has been said is very far indeed from being a sufficient reason for believing it; and when the publication of a volume of memoirs is only one act, if perhaps the last, of a complex political activity, it has often little more than the weight of a diplomatic note addressed to posterity.

The memoirs of men who have taken a prominent part in public affairs are not, of course, without value, but their price to the historian or the antiquarian is not in direct proportion to their psychological interest. The Commentaries of Cæsar, for instance, reappear in every History of Rome, and have inspired libraries full of archaeological lore; but when the object is to advance further into the penetralia of Cæsar's mind than into the thoughts of Alexander or Charlemagne, we are balked of the expected revelations, and can only draw inferences from our disappointment. A character where energy leaves no space for reflection, a will that leaves itself no leisure for self-questioning, a personality squandered upon the subjects of its influence—if this is all that one of the three or four accepted giants of history can show us of himself over and above his actions and motives, there is compensation for men of smaller stature, Cæsars of private life, who contrive to pose as heroes to themselves, and have the art of concentrating on their persons the attention which their achievements could scarcely command. The attraction in this case is not exclusively either in

narrative or narrator; but when a person of marked or singular character has met with or sought out adventures equally uncommon, his own account of the sensations he experienced meanwhile has a twofold, irresistible interest. Works that completely satisfy this condition are few: and if we attempt to include in the first rank of autobiography the Lives of Benvenuto Cellini and Alfieri, the Confessions of S. Augustine, Dr. Newman's *Apologia*, the acts of Giraldus Cambrensis and the Chevalier de Grammont, and the early part of Stilling's *Lebensgeschichte*, it is difficult to give a satisfactory reason for consigning Goldoni, Marmontel, Hume, Gibbon, Lilly, or the prince of journalists, Pepys, to a lower literary level. The difference—if, as may be suspected, there is a difference—is in the more powerful imagination possessed by the first class; not that in any sense unfavourable to their accuracy or sincerity they embellish their characters and magnify their exploits, but that their recollections have a clearness resembling that of direct poetic intuition, so that at the moment of writing, the picture of their past lives appears to themselves as a complete artistic whole, with what faults or beauties the spectator may judge, but at least an unbroken block of nature, chiselled by the force of a single human will into the form we see. In the best writers of diaries, it is perception rather than memory that rises to the dignity of inspiration. The creative finger of poetry fixes the surrounding circumstances and occurrences of the life; but the author is only one figure in the scene which he observes intensely and acutely, whilst, apart from the act of attention, his own mind is either passive or bent on minor affairs of practical interest. And this, which is true of Pepys, is still more true of politicians and men of letters, who write when the original vividness of sensation has worn off, instead of seizing the humour or experience of the moment.

Historical memoirs by men who had witnessed or taken part in the events they commemorated, were as common in ancient as they are in modern literature. But the introduction of a personal element was a later step; and before the habit had been formed, the decay of national and private energy had left nothing to tempt the skill of qualified pens. The dissolution of the old world might, it is true, have bequeathed to us the corrupt protests, the unavailing complaints, of a provincial Rousseau or Werther; but such fragments may not have been written, and they were certain not to be preserved. The last remonstrances of Paganism looked outwards in appeal to an



objective past rather than to a new inward standard; and the confidences of M. Aurelius or the Emperor Julian are neither circumstantial nor sentimental enough to supply the want. S. Augustine's *Confessions*, indeed, are connected by one side with the analytic or subjective school of autobiography, which will have to be treated later on as a note of moral and literary decadence; but by another they belong to the primitive, epic, or heroic class, and may as easily be reckoned first of the modern, as last of the ancient order of thought.

The earliest formal autobiography of any importance is that of Giraldus Cambrensis in the twelfth century. It is the first that begins at the beginning with the parentage, birthplace, favourite games, and earliest school triumphs of the hero; and it is one of the chosen few in which the hero's character is neither obscured by the history of his deeds, nor made the subject of minute and tedious description. Unfortunately, out of the two hundred and seventy-three chapters of the original work, *De rebus a se gestis*, only the first fifty-three have been preserved to posterity; but these bring the author down to the age of fifty or thereabouts (for the chronology of his life is not absolutely certain); and the loss of the remainder is compensated by the abundant details of his career afforded in the *Invectionum Libellus*, or his later work, *De jure et statu Menevensis Ecclesiæ*. Of course these details owe great part of their value to their early date and the light they throw upon contemporary history; but on his own merits, the Welshman takes a creditable place between literary autobiographers and authors of political memoirs; and he is particularly happy in avoiding the standing difficulty of egotists of his class,—the danger lest the interest should flag and the story lose its freshness as age overtakes the narrator.

The main features of the history of Giraldus are well known:—how he defended the rights and dignity of S. David's see against his Welsh neighbours, against the Metropolitan Canterbury, against kings and nobles, and before the Pope; how he laboured to restore ecclesiastical discipline amongst his barbarous countrymen; how he traversed Ireland, chronicled its conquest, and described its people; how Paris hung upon his expositions of the canon-law; how he refused English, Irish, and even Welsh bishoprics; how his Latinity was praised by the Pope; how he outwitted his perjured adversaries; how his courage never failed in the direst extremities; and how, when the hopelessness of his efforts was apparent, he scorned to harass his opponent with merely captious

resistance, and startled friends and enemies alike by resigning the contest with a good grace. All this is set forth in his published works, with a minute candour that takes the place of humility. When we are told so much about a man, we are likely to be told more than he knows himself; and we can see that the vivacious archdeacon was marked out for failure in his cherished ambition by other causes than his affinity to the royal family of Wales. An ecclesiastical "enfant terrible," his first victory would have given him an importance which, as the controversy between Church and State then stood, could only have been embarrassing to himself. The king and the archbishop knew better than to provide themselves with a third in the dispute, as inflexible as either, and with interests separate from both. The would-be Metropolitan of Wales was too great a patriot for Hubert, too good a churchman for John, too conscientious or too thoughtless to play them off against each other. His nationality was his real misfortune, in a wider sense than he suspected. As an Englishman or Italian, he would have represented a popular and important principle; even as a Scot, he might have deserved well of his country; but as a Welshman, he could only act as a drag upon the wheels of imperial progress. His principal distinction is to have fought a losing battle with singular grace and dignity; and his example certainly tends to verify Cardan's theory of the alternatives of ambition.

If Giraldus's public life had been more fortunate, if a more propitious set of circumstances had provided him with material scope for his activity, if he had exercised a perceptible influence on the fate of Wales or her church, the constantly vanishing traces of his work would have been his memorial; he would have had no leisure to struggle with impending oblivion; and he would not have felt the need to register his protest against the injustice of fate. His best efforts must have failed—they were scarcely even directed—to attain material immortality; but any ordinary vanity might be satisfied with the fame he has secured to his person, and his adventures. In himself, Giraldus rather recalls the temperament of another itinerant philosopher of later date, with the same knack of fluent invective, the same talent of falling out of one quarrel into another, the same good-humoured arrogance, and the same apparent unsuccess. But Giordano Bruno's extravagances are covered by his tragical end. He was a missionary of the rising astronomical system; his tenets are of the sort that admit of perennial rediscovery; the autobiographical notices in his



works are lively; and his uncomplimentary account of the Oxford of Queen Elizabeth yields to none of the descriptions of Giralduſ Cambrenſis in piquancy. But the Italian relied upon the intrinsic value of his theories, their absolute truth, and their unchanging importance; he claimed respect for himself, because he believed the earth to go round the ſun, not for his imaginative pantheiſm, becauſe it was preached by a verſatile and witty traveller. A divided allegiance weakened his chance of reward; he thought too much of himſelf to be identified and immortalized with his cauſe, too much of his beliefs to treat them as mere accessories to his hiſtory. Copernicus and Cellini have a ſtronger hold upon poſterity.

It is poſſible to define genius as the exaggeration of a few ordinary faculties; but the intensification of any common taſte or tendency is enough to make the ſubject of a good autobiography. The eſſential point is to preſent the maximum of life and motion compatible with the calm of ſelf-analysis and the compoſure of unalterable ſelf-reſpect; the reſt is only an affair of ſkill in ſtyle or compoſition. The ſubtle genius which delineates character is midway between the art of the portrait-painter and the hiſtorian; but the illuſion produced by representations of this claſs muſt be perfect. We muſt ſee the individual with all the indeſcribable ſhades and mixtures of his temperament, not merely infer his qualities from his conduct, ſtill leſs accept uncritically his own deſcription of them. We require a confidence ſo ſpecial that it will enable us to predict what the hero would do under any given circumſtances, ſo minute that at any freſh trait we may ſpontaneouſly recogniſe to whom it belongs. We wiſh to ſee his impuſes in his actions, his principles in his account of them; and we expect both to be original, neither eccentric. An Admirable Crichton, a model author, artiſt, or eccleſiaſtic, would have to be deſcribed with too many and too congruous ſuperlatives, in terms too ſuggestive of an epitaph, for the picture of his life to ſtimulate curioſity. The tints of language are not fine enough to diſtinguiſh one ſuch phoenix from another. There might be fifty Evelyns, but there is only one Pepys. In exiſting ſpecimens of autobiography, the difficulty is to obtain the neceſſary variety of form without introducing too many and too black ſhadows. Men who have the courage to ſhow us their worſt ſide are ſeldom afraid of allowing that ſide to be ſufficiently bad. Characters of concentrated wilfulneſs are tempted to obey their leaſt laudable impuſes by the very eaſe with

which they can override oppoſition: men of this type do not care enough of the warrant of laws, human or divine, to tamper with thoſe that condemn them. They ſeek to modify them in their own intereſt. They only endanger the cauſe of morality by the reproach they bring on originality and by confounding for a moment an attempt to try them by the ſtandard of common right and wrong.

In everything except date Benvenuto Cellini's life belongs to a ruder and more primitive age than that of Giralduſ: his moral ideal differs more from that of the preſent time, and his intellectual culture more individual, leſs coloured by the traditions of a ſtill remembered antiquity. At bottom a healthy and intelligent ſavage, he had learned drawing from Leonardo and Michel Angelo, letters from Boccaccio and Petrarch; and this appearance of irrepreheſible barbariſm, adorned with all the ſplendour of the Renaiſſance, produces the moſt paradoxical reſults. No other autobiography ſhows ſo plainly how far it is poſſible to diverge from common types without overſtepping the recognised limits of nature. A talented artiſt, a truculent ſoldier, a diligent tradesman, a courteous gentleman, an unprincipled bravo—one character is more proper to him than another. He is, firſt of all, himſelf; next, the ſixteenth century in perſon, only without the ſcepticism that might have diſarranged his life or diſturbed his narrative. The union of precocious maturity with indeſtructible youthfulness is indiſpenſable to the writer of memoirs; for the thought of follies, pronounced irrational on reflection, would be fatal to retrospective ſelf-reſpect, whiſt any concessions to the laſſitude of old age would interfere with the labour of compoſition. At ſixteen, Cellini was already maſter of a trade which would make him welcome in any town in Italy. He could get his own living, aſſiſt his father, dreſs handsomely, wear a ſword, draw it at every provocation, and all the while labour devotedly to improve in the higher branches of his art. Perhaps the only feature in his career on which it is poſſible to dwell with unalloyed ſatisfaction is his championſhip of men of genius againſt their employers. It may be that his trade helped to make him (like Blake) more independent in his art; he is, perhaps, the only artiſt to whom diſcouragement and diſappointment were unknown. Even in that munificent age, patrons were often found more ready to promiſe than to perform, to praiſe than to recompenſe; and painters and ſculptors ſuffered without remedy. But not ſo Cellini. King, pope, and emperor,



prince, cardinal, and duke, whoever had the misfortune to offend the irascible goldsmith, might get their medals struck, or their jewels mounted as they could: he would only work on his own terms; and they were lucky to get him on those. Now Michel Angelo was old, not another man living could have cast his Perseus. It was—strictly speaking—priceless; but if he condescended to take ten thousand crowns for it, what mad blindness to chaffer with him! Change the circumstances; throw him into prison with a broken leg, and he will write verses, see visions, and almost repent of his many murders. But in every situation he remains master of himself; and it is impossible to doubt his substantial good faith. At the same time, it must be admitted that his reasonable estimate of the dignity of art is apt to take the form of personal insolence, and that the truth of his narrative is occasionally what has been called regulative rather than absolute. A little imagination in recounting his exploits was necessary to give a complete idea of the boundlessness of his aspirations. The explanation, for instance, of his most flagrant myth—his defence of Rome, and single-handed slaughter of the Constable de Bourbon—is really this: The Constable was slain by an arquebus; who so likely to have fired it as the man who felt within himself power and inclination to shoot not only one but a dozen Constables, as occasion might serve?

As we advance into more sophisticated ages it becomes less easy to draw the line between harmless and communicative self-deception and interested misrepresentation. No autobiographies are intentional impostures throughout, if for no other reason, from the impossibility of making a forgery consistent; but there are varieties of falsehood and degrees of truth. Facts and intentions admit equally of mis-statement; real actions may be explained erroneously, and imaginary conduct accounted for by real motives. Such writers, for instance, as William Lilly, "student in astrology," and Jung Stilling, do not, like Rousseau, make an art of insincerity, or we should be less indulgent to the solemn quackery of the one, and the lucrative unworldliness of the other; but what they say, and still more what they leave unsaid, makes it plain that they had to choose, in the last resort, between deceiving themselves and deceiving the public. The compromise by which we are enabled to trace the mental processes of pseudo-scientific imposture, and to estimate the degree of unconsciousness compatible with religious hypocrisy, disarms the severity with which we might otherwise visit the self-betrayal

of our authorities. In the case of Lilly, it is difficult, *prima facie*, to believe that a respected professor of a still esteemed art should *consciously* divide mankind into the two sections of accomplices and dupes; and this difficulty is increased by the sincere contempt which he evidently feels for the small practitioners who decide cases of loss, restore stolen goods, and cast flattering horoscopes for money. Lilly was a power in the State; and it is in checking his political prophecies that we can best estimate the qualified faith with which they inspired their author. The civil war simplified his task amazingly; for the weal or woe vaguely announced to befall the country was certain to overtake one side or the other; and at the critical moment the prophet could verify his own prediction by identifying himself with the winners. Cardan is said to have starved himself at the age of seventy-five in obedience to his horoscope, after several times surviving the fated day of his calculations. But when, in June, 1645, Lilly had proclaimed, "If now we fight, a victory stealeth upon us," and fortune declared for the Parliament at Naseby, he had only to begin to write himself Roundhead instead of Cavalier, and the credit of his prognostications was saved. Astrology in its palmy days was not a mere system of arbitrary imposture: it had fixed principles and methods; and of course the greatest master of these was able to make the most numerous and the most various predictions. The quackery was in the ambiguous expression of the oracles, and in their interpretation *après coup*. Lilly's prophetic style is a mixture of Emerson, Mr. Home, and the pamphlets of his time. It was enough for many to find current events or their own projects alluded to by name in the inspired hieroglyphics; and there was a general understanding that the exact meaning and application might wait till fate revealed it to all the world at once. If the stars spoke too plainly—and in a certain conventional language they did speak—their interpreter could generalize and confound their utterances, so that it was scarcely possible for them to be ever wrong, and certain by the law of chances that they would sometimes be right. Thus Lilly's *Monarchy or no Monarchy*, published in 1651, contained representations of a great fire and a great mortality; but fifteen years was long enough for the non-fulfilment of any prediction to be forgotten, as well as for the strangeness of its accomplishment to be abated. And that this was felt by Lilly's friends and enemies, is proved by the little molestation he suffered in the popular excitement of 1666.



Heinrich Jung belongs in every way to a later period than Lilly; and it is a relief to turn from the embarrassing questions of mental casuistry which they raise to the thoroughly safe triviality of Michel de Marolles. His only distinction is that of having written, in cumbrous French, an uninteresting account of an uninteresting life, which, nevertheless, such is the charm of autobiography, was held by his contemporaries to atone for other still duller works. Born just a century after Cellini, he transports us at once from a state of nature to one of convention, from an age of action to one of reflection. He is the first, as well as the most obscure, representative of the positive school of autobiography—a school which, in a sense, includes all genuine memoirs, diaries, or journals, all merely descriptive narratives of a life that anybody might have lived, that is only interesting because some one did live it. Their value is not in clear representations of the author's character, for he need not have much, and what he has we are content to infer from the part he plays in the scenes it is his pretension to recall. But he must have lived in a time of which we know enough to wish to know more; he must not have forgotten himself in his career; and his personal life must have had at least variety enough to supply a thread of connection to the narrative. If, in addition to this, he observes acutely, judges impartially, and writes without regard to either present or future, there is some hope of his name outlasting that of greater men. Marolles's share of these qualities is sufficiently modest; yet even his volumes are not quite without interest. The son of a country gentleman of moderate means, his earliest recollections of hay-time and harvest, of genuine rustic merry-makings, and of a contentment common to the village and the château, are valuable illustrations of the "good old times" of Henry the Fourth, and help us to believe in a real, though brief, interval between the wars of the League and the Fronde, in which the provinces were preparing an advance in civilisation and prosperity which would have saved France from most of her troubles. Of Paris and the Court our notions are not so scanty as to make Marolles an important authority; but his extravagant admiration for the courage and spirit of his pupil, the Duke de Rethelois, in daring to jest superciliously with the favourite, Luynes, is significant in its way. He was present when Louis XIV. repeated inaudibly the lesson which was to make his mother sole regent; he was intimate with the most eminent of his contemporaries; and when he retires

from the scene with the dignity of Abbe Villeloin, in acknowledgment of his far services, it is pleasant to find the officer yet a sinecure, and its holder as much devoted to decorating his church and his after his monks, as to collecting presentation copies.

As memoirs multiply, we find ourselves embarrassed with an increasing supply of works of this sort, whose interest is in a sense personal, though their contribution to social, literary, or political history can be ignored. French literature is inundated with such; and from Saint Simon and St. Evremond the descent is so gradual to commonplace compilations of any minor secretary, that it is difficult to say where autobiography ends and book-making begins. In the Chevalier de Grammont we get glimpses of the higher art; and perhaps nothing in literature exhibits more than the classic episode of the waiver that placid faith in himself and his which is the peculiar property of the hero. Every one knows how the Count was to appear at a fancy ball in a suit brought from Paris, and how the night arrived, the valet, but not the costume. The Count presented himself well dressed as usual, not in the anticipated splendour; but when he begins to relate, before all the Court, one grave man there, how, Heaven be praised! Termes had arrived, though the valise was lost in the depths of a quicksand at Calais, of which quicksand he came in duty bound, to give the earliest intelligence to the King, there is an end of everything except amusement, and we do not care to hear the rest of the veracious history.

It is easier to see why so many lives of mediocre interest are written, than why a few men of the duly qualified heroic class who have done or felt, as well as witnessed, what we are eager to hear about, care to transmit direct and circumstantial confidences to posterity. The motives for the effort are stronger, but less various than those against it; and the inclination must be very strong to override the certain difficulties of execution. Men whose whole lives have been public property, who have had their actions criticised, their motives canvassed, and their tastes discussed without ceasing, may be excused if they themselves are bewildered by the murmur of opinion, and do not set their own hesitating self-judgments against the confident affirmations of partisan biographers. The primitive merits of Cellini's work demand an untried, an unhackneyed subject; in Garibaldi's life, arranged by Dumas, they are conspicuous by their absence. Besides those autobio-



ographies which we lose through the impatience of contemporaries who take the words out of the mouth of the proper orator, we are disappointed of others by the scepticism, and of many by the enthusiasm, of the heroes. Some are too critical, too cynically uncertain of the value of their life's work, to confront their real self, and ask for a judgment upon its absolute merit; others are too disinterested, or perhaps too narrow-minded, to find room at the same time for devotion to a cause and the most legitimate self-assertion. But these difficulties apply principally to men of action. Enthusiasm in men of letters will lead them to wish to record and preserve their contributions to knowledge, or the feats of their imagination; nor is it distrust of themselves or their methods that deters the greatest thinkers from minute self-examination, and causes the greatest poets to dwell on anything rather than the details of their personality. Every grace of style, and almost every mental attribute of value, may find a place in memoirs, with one exception, one deficiency, not to be supplied, disguised, nor easily forgotten, and which of itself explains why we should be aghast at an autobiography of Shakespeare. The ideas of autobiography and humour exclude each other.

Humour is not much easier to define than genius; but if we call it an intuitive sense of proportion, an instinctive appreciation of the fit and the incongruous, bringing with it an incurable sensibility to bathos, it will at once be seen that a humourist can indeed show us traits of his character, or introduce us to episodes or aspects of his life, but never adventure on the task of reconciling dignity and candour through a complete set of confessions. The autobiographer lives in a glass house; and it is the humourist's profession to throw stones at every transparent fabric, and to see through apparently solid ones. Swift and Sterne and Richter and Lamb, knew better than to make themselves the first victims of their skill; but Voltaire was not willing to be less brilliant than Swift, and wrote too much to be able always to avoid writing of himself. In the fragmentary memoirs, which contain an account of his intercourse with the King of Prussia, we see the pressure of a devouring fear lest something in his past conduct, or in his present estimate of his past conduct, should, somehow or other, give a handle to the satirists. He is equally afraid of apologetic gravity and naïve self-surrender; but in his endeavour to forestall the laughers by laughing at himself, he descends not less surely from the pinnacle of heroic dignity accessible to those with whom truth is a

primary motive, and the equal importance of all self-regarding truths a fundamental axiom. The spell of reality, by which Pepys and his fellows fix our sympathy, even when our curiosity flags, would be broken by a touch of irony. Here and there, of course, they allow us a hearty laugh at a situation, a comfortable smile at a neighbour; but the writer is in too business-like earnest often to give us the opportunity of laughing with him, and if we do not like him too well to wish to laugh at him how can he expect us to care about what he has for dinner? If a man is absurd, why write his life? but a life in which the humourist can see no absurdities must be a series of negatives, impossible to write. The incongruities are there, an essential part of humanity; and we resign ourselves as we can to the author's unconsciousness of them. When Pepys has just raised a laugh by answering the King that he is on his way to "our masters at Westminster," it is irritating to find him recording a solemn resolution never to do so again, though we do not mind his being "sorely troubled for fear some Parliament-man should have been there." But if he had been of the number of those whose gravity is always exactly proportioned to the occasion, he might have had the humourist's dread of a truism. As it is, he is not afraid to comment naturally on the short-lived grief of a jointured widow; and he can moralize on the cost of an evening party without interspersing general reflections on the vanity and misery of life. All his observations have a particular occasion; and that is why so many of them appear always new. His widow is received in the reader's mind as the immortal type of consolable widowhood. It is a division of labour. The humourist sees the world motley on a black ground; the autobiographer sees one figure in relief, lighted up with a searching, inextinguishable consciousness. We instinctively put ourselves in the writer's attitudes; and we are confronted with a moral looking-glass. The diary is a mouse-trap, like Hamlet's play, to catch consciences.

If truth of character, precocious maturity, and realistic vividness, give Pepys's nine years' journal a right to rank with complete autobiographies, Montaigne's *Essays* ought not to be excluded by the disconnected form of his confidences. But though the minds of the two men have much, their writings have little, in common. Montaigne himself explains that he was unobservant to stupidity of what took place around him; and this is the more credible, since, with all his descriptions of his house, his habits, and his circumstances, we have at the end a clear idea



of nothing but his tastes and his principles of morality. He and Pepys would have formed the same opinions from the same materials; but Montaigne would not have observed the facts, nor Pepys formulated the judgment. Montaigne's imagination is too sluggish for his century: he describes his intellect instead of dramatizing his character; and he tells us either too little or too much. There is more egotism in partial than in complete confidences. It would be rash to maintain against a consensus of critics that Pepys was neither vain nor an egotist; but there is a confusion in the notion of egotism which may be cleared up to his profit. To keep a diary may be a proof of regard and respect for the personality to which such a monument is erected; but that is nothing to the point so long as partiality is avoided. Ambition is not vanity; and whatever Pepys's failings may be, his defence is that he makes none. Of all autobiographers he would be the least capable of a vaunt like Rousseau's, though he is the only voluminous one in whose mouth it would have any plausibility. Egotism, in the unfavourable sense of unfounded self-admiration, only begins to disfigure autobiography as the lives written become emptier, the characters less pronounced, and the social machinery so intricate that mere perception requires as much native energy as might once have sufficed for original creation. To revive an old distinction, the autobiographer is essentially and radically *glorious*; he is satisfied with himself and his actions as a whole; to misrepresent them in any particular would be an act of high treason against his conscience and his self-esteem, which are nearly related to each other. We call the man who is afraid of unembellished truth, and proud of forged credentials, *vain-glorious*. But the vanity which tampers with *fact*, and embroiders states of mind, implies a doubt whether the absolute and unadorned truth is the most creditable possible to the narrator; and that which can co-exist with candour is scarcely a vice in an autobiographer.

The popularity of works like Pepys's Diary proves that their individualism is not excessive; but this individualism itself depends for appreciation upon some tendencies, and for expression upon some development of the social instincts. Without this, autobiographies could have no representative value; they would throw no light upon questions of moral progress, and could only serve to amuse a gossiping curiosity. In virtue of this they enable us to follow the history of the last three centuries in a sort of miniature reflector of the outer world,

in a parallel current of action, thought, and criticism, leading—it is true with interruptions and irregularities, but in the main continuously,—from the age of Cellini, Luther, and Macchiavelli, past Madame de Sévigné, Voltaire, and Gibbon, to Faust, and the many recent illustrations of the phases of waning and waxing faith.

The memoirs of the seventeenth century interest, as we have said, the matter of fact element in man; and no popularity is wider, less ephemeral, or more just. For the worst that can be said of this kind of social positivism is that it formulates the commonplace of commonplace minds, and reveals the ubiquity of their influence. Since Louis xiv. and the Stuarts, there have been no changes in the moral habits of Europe radical enough to make a stranger of Pepys; and it is human nature, both that more people should take an exclusive, and that more should take a passing interest in the doings of courtiers and actresses, than in literature or the history of letters.

The eighteenth century was pre-eminently the age of authors. A single writer might give an impetus to popular thought, gather a party round his name, and create a demand for information as to the history of his opinions, the occasion of his principal works, the character of his conversation, of his private relations, his personal habits, and, generally speaking, the connection between his inner and his outer man. Of course this curiosity is in part frivolous—too much so for the greatest men to stoop to gratify it; and where it is most serious—relating to the secret history of important works—its gratification implies least literary merit. The lives of Marmontel and Goldoni are more amusing than those of Gibbon and Hume, though the studied simplicity of the last is a model in its kind. Indeed, if the absence of tragic interest allowed us to call it heroic, its candid brevity might almost entitle it to rank with the epic variety of narrative. When the writer has told us that all his books began by failing, and he did not mind it; that they ended by succeeding, and he did not mind that either; that he was poor and contented when he was young, and rich and not less contented when he was old; and that it was his intention to die in perfect and philosophic charity, with a world which had never done him any harm, we know all that can be said about a happy temperament exactly suited to its circumstances. But Hume's account of his life is not circumstantial enough to command the popularity proper to autobiographies; and it is possible to suspect both him and Gibbon of being influenced by an ostentation akin



to Addison's. In their compositions, and in their friends' anxiety to give an account of their last moments, the motive is a little too plainly to call on the orthodox world to observe and admire how deists can live and die. Gibbon's style is too cumbrous to enliven the account of an uneventful career; he seems to know no more about his character, and to tell no more about his life, than any qualified biographer might do. An independent man of letters, his life is the life of a class; that is to say, he existed, and he wrote books, and before writing a book he meditated on the Roman Empire and the Swiss Republics. The author is lost, his personality sunk, not in his thoughts, which are a part of himself, as we may take to be the case with Bruno or Campanella, but in his writings, of which the interest is altogether external, like a measure of Richelieu's or Sully's. The extreme of civilisation begins already to meet the extreme of rudeness. Mere intellect is as little capable of dramatic self-consciousness as mere animalism; and by the time the mind has become aware of this, we shall probably find ourselves in a period of romantic or pietistic revival, full of zeal and enthusiasm, but without the confident simplicity of a first literary dawn.

Goldoni's Memoirs are transitional. The indispensable conditions of variety and originality are supplied partly by his adventures, which in the earlier half of his life succeed each other with *Gil-Blas*-like rapidity, and partly by the observant nonchalance proper to him as a dramatist. The professional element in him is as strongly marked and prominent as that in Gibbon; but it is narrowed so as to produce more of the effect of individuality. He is the typical comedian, not only in his literary tastes and aptitudes, but in the education which seemed forced on him by a kind of fatality; and, so long as the scene of his career is laid amongst the towns and provinces of Italy, the abundance of material for his sketches conceals the essentially passive character of his attitude and disposition. As in the case of Goethe, a grandfather and a puppet-show are amongst his earliest reminiscences. He wrote a play when he was eight years old, on the strength of which he was sent to school, where he distinguished himself by a scrambling precocity in composition. While still a boy he was placed with a family at Rimini, to study philosophy, with a view to embracing his father's profession, that of medicine. From thence he eloped, on the invitation of a troop of comedians, with no motive but that of visiting his mother, and making a short voyage in the company of his dramatic

friends. His escapade was forgiven; and, as he found the introductory study of scholastic philosophy unattractive, his father undertook to introduce him at once into the mysteries of medical practice. The boy of fifteen soon became restless again, and was sent to Venice to read law. Then the offer of a sort of scholarship at the University brought him to Pavia, where he received the tonsure; and, since the conditions of the foundation required him to be in his nineteenth year, he found himself next morning more discreet by two years than when he went to bed. In the vacation he again visited Chioggia, this time more in the style of the *Decameron* than of *Wilhelm Meister's* vagabondage: youths and ladies sailed down the Po, stopping by night to dance and enjoy the entertainments everywhere offered them, by day bringing all the country people down to the river's brink by their songs and music. Goldoni was the laureate of the party, and on his return home won golden opinions by composing edifying orations for a convent of nuns patronized by his mother. But this new facility had its dangers, as the author found when he began to try his hand at satire. Feuds between town and gown had long raged at Pavia; and the wives and daughters of the citizens were accused of unbecoming partiality to the stranger youths. At last the marriageable townsmen bound themselves by a covenant not to solicit the hand of the daughters of any house in which students were received. Goldoni, after paying a series of afternoon calls, and finding every door closed to him, was urged by his friends to revenge, and the result was an *Atellan* comedy, describing the construction of a colossal statue of Beauty; to this statue each of the eligible young ladies of Pavia was supposed to contribute a feature, which immediately became the subject of criticism by artists and dilettanti. The ingenious author was promptly expelled the University. But his parents received the prodigal with indulgence; and the problem of his destiny in life was as far from solution as ever.

It was not till 1746, when he was thirty-nine, that he began to write for the stage as a profession, and conceived the reform of Italian comedy as the object of his life. The interval is filled up with many changes of place and occupation, secretaryships, doctor's degrees, practice in civil and criminal law, marriage, amateur authorship, and the vicissitudes of an adventurer's life; but in all the accidents which befall him, each misfortune is tempered by a shade of the ridiculous, and never quite reaches tragic proportions. His rôle is that of an easy-tem-



pered victim, amused by his wrongs, and consoled by the jests he passes on their perpetrators. He woos the waiting-maid by mistake for the mistress, wins the affections of the aunt instead of the niece, is despoiled by card-sharpers, deceived by swindlers, and has his first opera refused by a committee of actors. At this last blow indeed he began to despair. He returned to his hotel, ordered a fire instead of a meal, and grimly committed the history of *Amalasunta* to the flames. But this was the turning point in his fortunes. The comedian element in him re-asserted itself. He reflected that neither in love nor war had he ever lost his appetite before: he ordered supper, "ate well, drank better, and slept profoundly and with relish." After this he met with only ordinary troubles at the hands of actors and critics, for which he used to take a harmless revenge. The actors were punished by having to represent their own delinquencies on the stage; and the critics either had the worst of it in a humorous prologue, or were silenced and crushed by the success of sixteen new comedies a season. But the analysis of these sixteen comedies is less amusing than the account of the varied experience of Italian life and character which went to supply plots for them. Goldoni's Memoirs, as they proceed, take increasingly the form of mere materials for a history of the Italian stage. This might perhaps have been no disadvantage, if he had really heralded a new era in Italian comedy; but he was not more successful than Alfieri in founding a school; and his own importance as a dramatist was not such as to give lasting value to the detail in which he describes his compositions and their reception. It throws some light on the society for which he wrote, to find that he might rally the institution of Cicisbeatura, but on no account attack it, that the native Harlequin and Pantaloon still had energetic defenders against his Gallicizing reforms, and that he was obliged to transform his *Pamela* into the unknown heiress of a Jacobite noble before his audience would consent to the reward of her lowly virtues by the hand of a Milordo. But this is not autobiography; or, if so, it is a confession that the autobiographer has outlived his moral energy, and has become either the subject of his circumstances instead of their ruler, or else an original and independent rebel—the only characters in which he has a right to disregard grace of style and the comparative unimportance of his personal history.

Marmontel's Life stands to the history of the Republic of Letters in France, in the same relation as the political memoirs of the

preceding age to the history of the French monarchy. The brilliant assemblage of literary celebrities gathered together in Paris in the middle of the eighteenth century deserved to find a Boswell; and Marmontel's share of cultivation and common sense exactly fitted him for the task of portraying the society to which he belonged. The cynicism and self-distrust which disfigures Voltaire's amusing Memoirs takes the form in a less eminent man of gentle irony, which is more than sufficient to guard his evidence against the distrust excited in literary matters by too simple second-hand enthusiasm. Marmontel mixed letters and philosophy as to be on good terms with both, and the devotee of neither. But the age and the country were too frivolous, too critical, too doctrinaire for a great autobiography to be produced, except by rare accident; and Marmontel's *mémoires pour servir* the history of society and contemporary thought can give a sketchy and unsatisfactory picture of their author. The work is homogeneous though it is difficult to see how the ostensible purpose of edifying and instructing the writer's young family should be served by the account of his relations with M<sup>lle</sup>. Clairon, and the more or less celebrated ladies in whose affections he succeeded or supplanted Marshal Saxe. The Life, which ends with serious reflections on the course of the French Revolution, begins with a scene of school life in Auvergne; and it is a curious coincidence that the author, when time was to turn into a reluctant conservative, expends eloquence enough to overturn a monarchy in exhorting his companions to resist the tyranny of the head-master, who for some supposed offence, had dared to threaten a member of the rhetoric class with the barbarous and humiliating rod. Fifty years before Camille Desmoulins, Greeks and Romans were invoked pell-mell to attest the wrongs of enslaved humanity; a solemn oath of fraternity and solidarity was sworn upon an altar which was at hand; and—not least bewildering to the preceptors—a noisy *Te Deum* was chanted in honour of the successful revolt. The passion for reform might have found milder expression in the Gironde and the Mountain, if the leaders of those parties had been inoculated, so to speak, with the principles of revolution in this harmless manner in their youth. Marmontel's combination of peasant breeding, literary culture, and aristocratic connections, gave him a moderation which the separation of classes had made dangerously rare. His *Contes Moraux* bridge the distance from *Paul et Virginie* to *Harry and Lucy*. His master prophesied



that he would grow up a dangerous and turbulent character, which might very possibly have been the case if political significance had been attributed to his unruly vivacity at Mauriac; but the provinces were more philosophical than Paris. Already in Marolles we find the neutralization of school-boys as far from acceptance under Richelieu as under the Republic; and the neglect of one educational axiom brings others with it.

Of Marmontel's other works, *Bélisaire* has shared the common fate of books which owe their popularity to a censorship; his *Incas* scarcely continues to furnish reading-books with extracts; and his *Contes*, though not perceptibly duller than their modern counterparts, naturally find little favour in a society which is not content with plots that end in happy marriages, domestic reconciliations, and the conversion of giddy matrons or undutiful children. But his *Memoirs* are not only still amusing in themselves: they form a link in the chain of social and personal history, which the devotees of autobiographical art would wish to see unbroken in its parallel illustrations of the known course of public events. Not the least interesting part of the *Histoire de ma vie* of George Sand is that which is devoted more particularly to the history of her grandmother, the *Aurore de Saxe* for whom Marmontel procured a Parliamentary decree confirming her claim to an illegitimate descent from Marshal Saxe. Except in this curious proceeding, *Aurore* appears to great advantage in her granddaughter's pages, and the letters preserved in them. One of the few ladies of the old Court whose reputation had never been approached by scandal, she devoted herself on the death of her second husband, M. Dupin de Francueil, frequently mentioned by Marmontel and Rousseau, to the education of her son, Maurice, the father of the novelist. Mme. Dupin remained all her life a consistent Voltairian, forgave the Revolution its inroads on her property, distrusted the Empire, and held aloof at the Restoration from the faubourg Saint Germain. The admirable practice of preserving family papers, observed in France, enables us to follow her sentiments as a liberal aristocrat in the prisons of the Terror, to watch the conflict of prejudice and principle when her son enlisted in the armies of the Republic, and to trace the growing discontent with which representatives of the old school of enlightenment submitted to the parvenu airs of the Napoleonic dynasty.

The period in which these reminiscences are supplemented by Marmontel's narrative is the date—so far as the rise of a tendency

can be dated—of the third and latest development of autobiography. Rousseau is the herald of this development, though not its representative. His works are the product of an unhealthy social and political atmosphere: but his genius was anomalous; and it would be unjust to any age to hold it responsible for the diseased working of his imagination. Merely vicious sophisms, like those by which the author of *Emile* professed to convince himself that it was for the good of his children to be brought up at a Foundling hospital, could not make disciples; the *Contrat social* and *Julie* might attract those who were tired of scepticism, or who wished for new passions to enliven a new organization of the State; but even the inspiration of Oliver Goldsmith, "who wrote like an angel, and talked like poor Poll," was equable and consistent compared with Rousseau's, who did not talk at all, and invented a complete system of social ethics to dispense himself from the necessity of making a bow or accepting an invitation to dinner. None of the merits of the writer extended to the man; and except in the *Confessions*, the defects of the two were kept equally distinct. Rousseau was not mad enough to be treated as an interesting case; and he was too powerful to be ignored as a vicious nuisance. But though a madman's diagnosis of his symptoms would have one value, as Cellini's barefaced avowals of crime have another, the accident, so to speak, of identity between an imaginative philosopher and a vain, querulous, and unprincipled musician does not lend importance to the life of the latter.

It is however true, that with Rousseau sincerity ceases to be a matter of course in the composer of his own Life or *Memoirs*. The stereotyped preface to such works, to the effect that the narrator has no ambition or desire but to be known as he really is, either ceases to have any meaning, or becomes far more individually significant than before. The earliest autobiographers believed simply and firmly that posterity would be glad to inherit an authentic likeness of the man who had done such and such deeds amidst such and such surroundings. His first business was to live; and this he did so completely to his own satisfaction, that he had no doubt of imparting the feeling to his readers. But this was at most a secondary object. We see signs of the coming change in Goldoni, who was thankful for having lived so as to have no need for concealment, as if there was a recognised standard, divergence from which had to be concealed. Even Alfieri seems to think that his own veracity needs accounting for, and suggests that it



may be due to the horrible torments which he suffered when a child, from being taken to church in his nightcap as a punishment for story-telling. The cause seems inadequate to so admirable an effect; but Italian character, versatile and exuberant, long after other countries had contentedly sacrificed individuality to systems, was not to be swamped in the level current of modern progress without a last remonstrance. The interval between Alfieri and Goethe may, at first sight, seem less wide than that which separates Rousseau from Goldoni; but it is profounder and more final. The hereditary self-confidence which lingers longest in the castles of a rustic nobility carried the young aristocrat, without loss of dignity, through the crass ignorance of his boyhood and the romantic extravagance of his youth, harmonizes with the writings of his maturity, and emboldens him, at the age of forty-eight, to encounter the difficulties of the Greek grammar and alphabet. Where Goethe breaks hearts with idyllic tearfulness, Alfieri crosses swords, a pure hero of melodrama. Whilst the German accepts gratefully the favour and honours of a petty Court, the Italian reconciles his habits and the rights of man by allowing his servants to return his cuffs, and by making it a principle not to cane them as a superior, but only to throw chairs and boots at their heads as an angry fellow-mortal. The story of Count Mirabeau and his lacquey shows that such a piece of self-conquest is not to be despised; but the fact is nothing to the manner in which it is related. Alfieri is not a poet of the first rank; and the interest of his adventures may be matched by many; but in the confidence with which he tells his story, his indifference whether his narration may invite amusement or condemnation, above all, his assumption that whatever he has done needs no explanation, and scarcely any justification beyond the fact that he did it—in all this there is a degenerate heroism, a rudimentary positivism, which, whatever the defects of both material and style, are removed *toto cœlo* from the depressing irresolution of the metaphysical period in the history of egotism.

The *Lebensgeschichte* of Heinrich Jung is a connecting link between the religious memoir, which is always the same, and the sentimental autobiography of which Werther was soon to set the fashion. Written by Goethe's advice, the story of his woes and religious faith had a brilliant success; but it takes all the power of Goethe's name to make us believe in the sincerity of the tailor-schoolmaster turned oculist, who wept tears of pity when young ladies went out of their

minds in compliment to his mind and person, who with tears of gratitude invoked everlasting happiness to reward his employer's gift of a Sunday suit, and half-a-dozen pairs of beautiful stockings, and who drew cheques upon Providence and the religious world which were sometimes rather too near being dishonoured. Perhaps the key to his character lies in a trait of his youth, when he used to tell lies to avoid the correction of a severe father, and then pray that they might not be found out. In later life he ran into debt, and prayed for money to discharge his liabilities; and in each case his prayers were so often heard that he forgot to repent of the preceding offence against secular canons of morality. But without this peculiarity his Autobiography might have been tedious, as indeed it becomes as his years and income increase. In the early and more poetical chapters, the mild and apparently modest youth has really more in common with the placid arrogance of the Chevalier de Grammont than with the slightly fatiguing good faith of ordinary religious diaries.

Autobiographies written for the sake of edification differ amongst each other less in substance and tenor than in the success with which the writer expresses real and genuine feelings as if they were original as well as real. Baxter gives us a reason for reticence touching the "heart occurrences" of his later years, that "God's dealings with his servants are the same in the main," and thinks it "unsavoury" to dwell too much on intimately personal matters; and his instinct is justified by the monotony of those religious memoirs which neither stop short with the crisis of the writer's spiritual history, nor yet have anything important to relate of his subsequent influence in the religious world. From the "Friends of God," in the fourteenth century, the Germans have always been fond of this class of autobiography. The difficulty of keeping up an active, conscious, religious life, without mysticism and without practical fields of labour, led that famous confraternity into dangerous reliance upon mysterious machinery and secret agencies for political or other proselytism; and with Francke and the later pietists its effect is simply to lower the standard of spiritual exaltation. The Covenanters of the seventeenth century have far more to say about their armed risings and the sins of their rulers than about their personal trials and temptations; and Veitch, Brysson, and Blackader throw more light on the history of their times than on their own characters, and less on either than a thoroughly original writer and politician



like Knox. But Knox had never leisure, nor perhaps repose of mind enough, to add an autobiography to his history; and the age of Pepys is not represented amiss in the field of religious autobiography by Richard Baxter and George Fox. They are the two extremes of the movement which finds a faint and degenerate echo in the missionary journals of the first Methodists. Fox's Journal is perhaps the more able, certainly the more imaginative, of the two; and the touch of fanatic extravagance, which might be a drawback anywhere else, only serves here to give an air of genuineness to the story of the writer's conversion and persecutions. It was a saying of his school-fellows, "If George says 'Verily,' there is no moving him;" and in the most important qualification of self-confidence he yields neither to Stilling nor Cellini. It is imagination vivid to the point of disease that led him to see a material resemblance between the congregation of the "steeple-house" at Nottingham and a "field of fallow-ground," with the priest "like a great lump of earth" standing in his pulpit above. The forms taken by his horror of steeple-houses were sometimes quaint in the extreme, the spires of Lichfield, in particular, moving him to a bona fide cross-country chase, which he describes with great gusto: but it cannot be denied that episodes of this sort do a good deal to enliven the spread of Quakerism. Baxter is more dignified, and, for the reason above quoted, restricts himself to the history of his labours and their success and hindrances, only resuming at intervals the changes which he traces in his character. Of these the most notable was a steady increase in tolerance, or, as his enemies said, indifferentism—a slowness to proselytize, arising partly from a respect for his neighbour's personality and conscience, and partly from a belief in the impossibility of assisting a soul in distress, except indirectly and at the appointed time.

To class together Byron, Shelley, and Sénancour, Goethe, Newman, George Sand and the Guérins, may seem the *reductio ad absurdum* of the chronological theory which connects them. But the step from Machiavelli to Montesquieu is exactly that from practice to theory, as the step from Alfieri to Gibbon is that from action to thought; and if we have already outlived the men who record dispassionately the arbitrary course of their lives, and those who represent with truth and complacency the life of a period or a class, nothing remains but to misrepresent one or the other, or to represent a relation or compromise between the two. A similar intensity of character, or an iden-

tical method and habit of mind, connect S. Augustine and Cellini, Marmontel and Pepys: and the heterogeneous list, which should include all authors of the present century whose works contain autobiographical details, avowed or easily recognisable, is held together by a common absorption in certain problems, by the use of similar methods for their solution, and by the arrival at kindred conclusions, or at least by two out of the three possible points of contact. The egotism of introspective autobiography takes several forms, but rarely one which can be satisfied with the indiscriminating historical candour of professed memoirs. For a man to describe his own character is to confess a doubt whether his actions and his declared opinions represent it fully and worthily; but to disclaim the description is in addition to admit a doubt, not merely whether the author's real character, but whether his favourite idealized rendering of it, has the artistic propriety without which it should not have been made the subject of disquisitions in prose or verse. Shelley's *Alastor* and *Laon* are a mixture of Shelley's notion of himself and his notion of perfection; and if the presence of the Shelleyan element is objected to as marring the abstract truth of the poems, the poet is compelled to answer that the choice of an ideal implies a tendency to approximate to it. But Shelley's imagination would have outlived his theories; and even before his intellect had rejected these, his taste warned him off from the morbid portraiture of a mere exaggerated second self in *Prince Athanase*. Byron, on the other hand, is a complete example of that curious development of vanity which allows its victims to wish to be admired not for what they are but for what they are not. The uniform character of his heroes, and the taste for magnanimous mysterious misery which is common to him and them, make it impossible to take his word for their being altogether independent creations. When the poet, therefore, speaks in terms of condemnation of his favourite characters, the artifice is as transparent as when he appeals to the mere difference of scenery as distinguishing himself from the Corsair or the Giaour. But this tergiversation is the least part of his sins as an autobiographer. When Rousseau wished to pass for an example of antique virtue and primitive simplicity, he bought a scratch-wig, sold his watch, and wore coloured stockings, that he might be the more readily mistaken for a high-minded philosopher; Schiller's Karl Moor really made converts to highway robbery; and Werther provoked and prevented an appreciable number of suicides. But Byron's ideal was not



definite enough for even its author to think seriously of approaching it in practice. Without being inconsistent, it was incomplete. It asked too much from the imagination, whilst withholding all tangible food from that much-enduring faculty; and with the best intentions, his imitators could not find out exactly what it was they had had to do to their wives, their friends, or the laws of the land, before they would be entitled to look down with Manfred, Lara, and Childe Harold, upon the duties, pleasures, and concrete misfortunes of humanity. The only object held in view by the school was to reach a non-natural frame of mind, unmotivated, objectless, and morally unfruitful. Werther, René, and Obermann are true by comparison. When Byron wrote, the days of piracy and lordly debauch were over. They had been weighed in the balance, and had been found wanting in beauty, use, and intrinsic propriety; to rehabilitate them as subjects of high art was an anachronism of which a poet with deeper imaginative insight would not have been guilty. Obermann, on the other hand still—still more René,—were, at the time of their appearance, new and genuine, even where weak and fantastical. With them ennui was more than a personal, half-formed sentiment of discontent; it was a positive and resentful protest against the action and the thought, the failures and the successes, of preceding generations. These young apostles of incurable melancholy passed in review nations, empires, and religions, life, death, and the unalterable conditions of existence; and in their summary condemnation of all and everything they were guided, not by principles which might be controverted, nor by experience which might be enlarged, but by a moral taste above discussion and above reason, as well as above sub-lunary satisfaction. The first step was taken when the private griefs of a Werther were set forth to be shared or compassionated by thousands of readers. But it was the sentiment, not its provocation, that enlisted sympathizers; and when René and Obermann ultimately failed to find relief, even in the indulgence of their melancholy, those who were conscious of having no specific to suggest for an abstract infinitude of unprovoked suffering accepted cynically all that could be urged against the natural order which includes diseases without remedy.

The new and peculiar feature of these sentimental pseudo-autobiographies is that the supposed author not merely despairs of finding consolation himself, but denies *a priori* the possibility of its being found by any one. He has no conviction, no ambition, and no desire but that for personal

contentment; but, as the causes of his discontent are internal, the new philosopher-stone, the idea of happiness, has to be developed out of the subjective moral consciousness of the seeker; and the morose and lachrymose of pessimists hardly differs from Sir Walter Scott in estimating the success of the search. But this failure does not, like a mere political or controversial defeat, leave its subject disposed to claim his revenge at the bar of posterity. Neither personal nor literary amour propre is satisfied by proving a problem to be unanswerable, of which the first comer may dispute the premisses. The real Werthers have not energy to commit their sorrows to paper; and the few whom constitutional despondency really sends to a premature grave leave little mark upon their age, and at most have their memory preserved by a friendly and more favoured contemporary. If, like Chateaubriand and Goethe, the author outgrows the tendencies of his youthful representative, and writes an autobiography in form, there will still be reason why it should not come up with the highest examples of the past. It is only another form of the fundamental scepticism of the youth which makes the man content to throw one section of his life after another behind him, not in search of a final resting-place, but because moral progress is the highest end he can discern. The choice is substantially that of Lessing; only Lessing's resignation to the infinite duration of the pursuit of infinite and absolute truth was natural and spontaneous, and left his life as full as ever of objects and interests. But if the progress is the end, and the only object of art and philosophy is to enable the student to interpolate as many stages as possible between his natural self and an indifferent goal, then material events are only important in so far as they further or retard this endeavour, and historical accuracy of narration becomes a secondary matter. But the internal and external lives of individuals do not run in parallel lines, nor advance at an equal pace; and the attempt to make their crises synchronize only distorts the real succession of events and opinions. The immortality of Lotte and Frederika is perfectly legitimate, and consoles us for the easy passage from Werther to the *Wahlverwandschaften*, and thence to such *Confessions* as Alfred de Musset's. But the ready abuse of which this sentimental style admits makes it doubtful whether any loss results from its necessarily fragmentary character.

In the parallel variety of analytic autobiography, Goethe does not, like Byron or



Shelley, Lamartine, Rousseau, or Sénancour, attempt to connect his solution of the difficulties of modern life with his individual character and temperament. In *Faust* it is the history of the intellectual, in *Wilhelm Meister* the consciousness of the emotional and materialistic sides of human nature that he generalizes and abstracts: but he far more often disguises his own adventures to bring them into harmony with his ideal existence than modifies the latter to adapt it to his own preferences. The doctrine of the new Ecclesiastes is less complicated in its substance than in the preparatory steps of initiation. Enjoy, renounce, and—if you can—understand, is the formula which resumes the conviction that to enjoy is a necessary, commendable, and unsatisfying weakness, that to renounce is a necessary, attractive, and unfruitful discipline, and that, for what concerns comprehension, it is a happy thing that there are some wise enough not to wish to fathom the depths of their own wisdom. As Goethe's apprentice draws near his emancipation, mentor after mentor brings out the moral—"Words are good, but they are not the best; the best cannot be explained by words"—to the exaltation of the "magnificent moment" in which the commonness and stupidity of the comprehensible is first revealed. The state of mind of a wise man, which is too good to be expressed by words, may be better than an act or a thought, worthy and capable of distinct remembrance; but, ex hypothesi, volumes of written words can throw no light upon its nature; and this is exactly the point of uncertain certainty and credulous doubt at which voluntary ignorance has the advantage of unsuccessful science. A generation predisposed to condemn in the mass what it is not qualified to judge in detail, to resent the limitations of the knowable without having attained the limits of the known, to reject all possible enjoyments because there are, or rather are not, impossible ones—such a generation will be glad of an elaborately obscure excuse for reverting, by a circuitous route, to what is after all only a new name for the old practical wisdom of making the best of things. The first part of *Faust* is complete as a poem; and, if art had been all with Goethe, he would have been content to leave it so. But we have seen that his capital principle, the finality of progress, is adverse to the repose of classical art, as well as to the confidence of positive science; and, this being so, it seems almost in spite of the author that the second part of *Meister* and the second part of *Faust* meet in the same final and inevitable result. This result is of

course disappointing to those who have not followed the poet through the preliminary steps in his pursuit of an object to pursue. That Wilhelm Meister, at the close of his *Wanderjahre*, should take to surgery, his son to horse-breaking, Jarno to mining, and Philina to dressmaking on enlarged principles, may seem a lame and impotent conclusion to the most elaborate Pilgrim's Progress devised by the natural reason; but at any rate the inventor of such a climax is not disqualified for autobiographical success by an unduly keen sense of humour, and if Goethe was serious about anything it was probably in this very quaint provision for the mature age of his renuntians. It is not quite a platitude to recommend, as conducing to peace of mind in the individual, what is not, in itself, an adequate end for his desires; and the rehabilitation of primitive tastes and motives is completed in *Faust*. The moral—in any case rather trite—that magic is apt to turn out badly for the wizard, may be read against the wish for superhuman faculties, as well as against their unlawful possession; but the elaborate machinery for satiating Faust with power, love, and wealth, is really subordinated to the crowning moment, in which he rejects their most perfect appearances for the mere thought of some philanthropic improvements to be carried out on his estate. On their completion—

"Zum Augenblicke dürft' ich sagen:  
Verweile doch! du bist so schön!  
*Es kann die Spur von meinen Erdentagen  
Nicht in Aeonen untergehn*"—

an undisguised return, to the most simple, and, so to speak, disinterested phase of positive ambition. The same incompleteness marks all successive writings of the school of introspective sentiment. Obermann, after a vain search for the complement of his being, subsides into a surly quietism, which at any time might make way for the ordinary machinery of unideal life; and more original writers only find a fresh poison for every antidote suggested in their velleities of hopefulness. The complement of *Meister* is an age of imaginative industrialism; the complement of *Lelia* is an age of imaginative immorality; but since neither immorality nor industrialism was ever less imaginative than in the nineteenth century, the conclusion is inevitable, either that Goethe and George Sand have misunderstood their age, or that their age has an aversion to being understood, which is peculiarly trying to those who take their humanitarianism from Goethe instead of Cardan, and value the individual life in pro-



portion to its harmony with the general mass.

The tendency of contemporary autobiography is to become a record either of sentiments or opinions; but in either case, Scylla and Charybdis, the extravagant and the commonplace, are separated by an ominously narrow passage. The popularity of Silvio Pellico and Mademoiselle de Guérin shows that it is possible to escape, however narrowly, the two dangers in journals of sentiment; but in a history of thought there is less license allowed. Philosophic or theological Retractations may take one of two roads to significance. They may trace the original course of an individual mind, or they may resume the inevitable results of certain tendencies in kindred minds. In the one case they exhibit a chain of opinions which depend from each other naturally, if not necessarily: in the other, a series of thoughts which follow necessarily, if not by a plainly natural process, from the mental organization of the thinker. In the first case, our sympathy is claimed for a man: in the other, for a group of propositions. In *Phases of Faith*, a fair example of the latter class of narrative, the views of which the author gives an account, are always such as might be held by a party. The connection and interdependence of his arguments is objective; and it did not require much penetration on the part of his evangelical friends to predict in advance the steps by which he would abandon their fellowship. Where the controversial element so far outweighs the historical, the work is always in danger of ceasing to be individual, without becoming really representative. Such narratives may command the active assent of a small body of sympathizers; but, here as elsewhere, material success, the triumph of the favourite doctrine, demands some moral self-abnegation in the advocate whose personality is merged more and more in the narrow or extreme symbol of a sect. Every believer in a peculiar doctrine feels as if he had discovered or invented it himself, and pays less respect to the spokesman of his party than even the member of a dominant majority, who sees in *his* organ simply a mouthpiece of the universal reason. But a mere Pepys of rationalism would find his materials too scanty. The axioms of sense and the fallacies of common sense are soon exhausted or detected; and the history of their acceptance or rejection is concluded in the moment in which their drift is apprehended. Less originality is displayed in thinking everybody's thoughts than in living everybody's life; for people who have intellectual convictions think it a duty to formulate them for themselves, whilst to retain a clear

and vivid conception of the experience social life is plainly optional. At any rate it is impossible to treat the first person historically.

The opposite extreme of individualism offers one of the knottiest problems of autobiography—that of reconciling common received principles of thought with new original methods of development and inference. The writer has to tell both what he believes and how he came to believe it, with a clearness and imaginative cogency which shall seem to prove that what was must have been, and convince those who finally differ from him most that it was in their common human nature to have agreed. The task has not perhaps been accomplished more than once; certainly it has never been accomplished with the same brilliant success as by the author of *Apologia pro vita sua*; for that instance would alone be sufficient to cast doubt on a desponding conclusion that autobiography was one of the arts lost by over-civilisation. The mindful accuracy which we miss in Goethe—that leaves every period its real temper, the precision of feeling for want of which *Obermann* and *Lila* are unreal and inconclusive, a recognition that doctrines are made for man, not man for the truest opinion,—the simple eloquence of S. Augustine, the candour of Pepys, the self-respect of Benvenuto Cellini, combined in an unhackneyed style, make Dr. Newman's history of his religious opinions a literary masterpiece. It is the true history of a real mind; and so far it is truly representative of an age in which men of original character are thrown back upon solitary thought, or comparatively selfish sentiment. But the form of which the *Apologia* is an ideally perfect specimen is less permanent and universal in interest than some others. The tendency to distinguish between action and thought as alternative fields of energy leaves the former contentedly monotonous, mechanical, and unfruitful, and causes the latter, properly a method or instrument, to be mistaken for an end in itself—the chart, that is, for the voyage, the compass for the desired land. When the particular circumstances are forgotten which gave occasion to trains of reasoning only connected together by their affinity to the same mind, it is hardly possible to revive a sense of their significance; and Pepys may be read with unflagging amusement when Dr. Newman's equally lifelike narrative will only serve as a contribution to history, and to delight at long intervals a curious and sympathetic reader.

But nothing bears its date so plainly and so fatally as works of fiction. When per-



sages of mental autobiography are thrown into the form of a story, such as *Yeast*, *The Nemesis of Faith*, or the French romances so often alluded to, the authors are even more at the mercy of changes of literary fashion than they would be in narrating commonplace or too exceptional experiences. A truth is at worst trivial: a trivial invention is absurd and impertinent. Autobiography has duties as well as rights; and the authors who have neither the courage of their opinions, nor what may be called the courage of their characters, are not entitled to entertain society with a garbled version of their mental history. A novelist cannot, of course, be charged with a lack of moral courage for drawing upon his own experience to the extent found in *Pendennis* or *The Professor*, and no further. But a master of realistic fiction like Thackeray has as little temptation as a poet to identify himself exclusively with any one of the characters he creates; and though Charlotte Brontë's heroines are all of one type, it by no means follows from this that all or any of them were successful representations of herself. Yet perhaps even these writers are as near to genuine autobiography as the Journals or Recollections published from time to time by statesmen, travellers, detectives, missionaries, and self-made men, or the crowd of inferior littérateurs who, wishing to write a book, take the first worthless subject that comes to hand.

#### ART. V.—DECENTRALIZATION IN FRANCE AND PRUSSIA.

THE Chamber of Deputies in Prussia and the Council of State in France have each under discussion at the present moment a project to advance decentralization. In both countries the Governments are yielding to the pressure of public opinion; but their concessions are not of equal value, and are not offered with any good grace. These facts, compared with others analogous to them taking place in Saxony, in Austria, in Italy, and even in Spain, show plainly that the tendencies or aspirations of continental nations are steadily setting in for the extension of municipal liberties.

Decentralization is, in fact, the enfranchisement of localities from the abuses of tutelar government; its end is self-government. On the Continent, self-government is becoming the criterion, or even, in the eyes of many political writers, the very foundation of political liberty. Local franchises, it is

said, accustom the people to public life: the administration of the commune is the best preparation for the administration of the province, and this, in its turn, for the government of the country; men who cannot resist with firmness and propriety the encroachments of local authority, can never effectually oppose those of the central government; they cannot preserve their liberty unless they know how to defend their rights. As the Continent, however, is very poorly provided with local franchises, other theories have been devised to help forward the claim. One of them, much discussed in France, and developed by Henrion de Pansay in his *Pouvoir Municipal*, maintains that the commune is the primordial element, the monad, of the State, so that the commune has an indefeasible right of autonomy, prior to all law. This theory has not yet been able to make good its position; for no country has acted upon it. Everywhere the commune has been considered and treated simply as an administrative division, to which the public good requires more or less independence to be left, but where the authorities ought only to exercise those powers which the law expressly confers upon them. The law-makers have in no case troubled themselves to refute the theory of Municipal Monads; but a political writer has argued that States could never have grown up out of an aggregation of communes, because the independent communes were already true States; and he cites the fact that it was not the town but the State of Frankfort which Prussia annexed in 1866. The State is not distinguished from the commune by the one being great and the other small, but by the one being entirely independent and the other only a dependency. The microscopic republic of San Marino, or the miniature principalities of Monaco and Liechtenstein, are States: Paris and New York are but communes.

The idea that the commune is the fundamental element of the State was introduced by the French legitimists; and, if the Prussian conservatives have not adopted it in their turn, it is because they did not want it. In fact, their estates were left entirely unconnected with the villages; these properties had preserved a municipal independence, and were themselves monads. The Prussian project secures this privilege to them, although Prussia has long felt the need of embodying with the communes the extra-parochial places, which were formerly very numerous. But these small extra-parochial places, without rights or duties, must not be confounded with those large estates which perform, in their own name, all the duties of



the commune. In France these distinctions are not admitted; and the law prescribes that every house, and every particle of land without exception, must necessarily form part of a commune. This law, which dates from the Republic, so far from considering the commune as a primordial element, treats it as a part of the State "one and indivisible." The theory of the legitimists was therefore a reactionary one. Still, at the present day, the ultra-radicals in France seem to have adopted it, and according to their custom, to have deduced from it all its possible consequences. They have become "federalists," that is to say, they desire that each commune and each province should have its own autonomy, and that their union should be secured only by a weak tie. They have entirely adopted, on this point, the opinion of the legitimists, who seem, in their turn, to be leaning toward centralization.

Nevertheless, there is only an inconsiderable minority who would push matters to an extreme; the mass of citizens nowhere demands more than a moderate progress. The actual demands in France are notoriously very moderate. They are confined to these two points: (1.) that the Councils General\* should elect their presidents, instead of leaving them to be nominated by the Government; and (2.) that the mayors should (as some ask) be chosen by the Government from among the members of the municipal council, or (as others demand) be elected by the inhabitants of the communes, or by the members of the Municipal Council. It will be seen that the question concerns the persons by whom the local authority is to be exercised; and, indeed, in all countries the people are not simply asking for an extension of the powers of local centres, but also for liberty to choose the persons charged with its exercise. The municipal powers have lately been extended in France; the question now is about the municipal functionaries. This is reasonable, for the effects of laws depend upon the manner of their execution. Moreover, the French Government has always shown itself more disposed to yield in respect of things than in respect of persons, as is evident from the history of the organization of the local authority of France.

Before 1789 there was the same distinction in France as there is now in England and in Germany between boroughs and parishes. This difference could not last in a country where equality is placed above liberty. But as it was impossible to establish a real equality by destroying part of

the houses in the towns, or by adding to the villages, a decree of December 1790 ordered that "all municipalities, whether urban or rural, being of the same rank and on the same level in the order of constitution, shall have the common constitution of a municipality." The rash legislation of this stormy period must soon have perceived that changing words was not changing things; but he was too full of energy to yield: He therefore proposed to change the name of the communes. The law of 5 Fructidor year III. (22 August 1795) decreed that in the future there should be no communes of less than 5000 inhabitants; and, as there were only some hundreds of towns with a large population, whilst there were more than 37,000 smaller parishes, many of which (sometimes 10 or 12) were joined together to form one municipality. These were the true natural and ancient agglomeration was suppressed, and a new one was created in law.

These collective municipalities choose their own officers, and enjoy a certain amount of independence. The law of 18 Brumaire suppressed this system. But the individual commune was not actually re-established. It revived of its own accord, and by the force of circumstances. It may be said to have glided almost surreptitiously into the new legislation. The constitution drawn up by Sieyès and Bonaparte, dated 22 Frimaire of the year VIII. (13 December 1799), speaks only of departments and arrondissements, the arrondissements corresponding in some degree with the English county, and with the Prussian Kreis, or circle. Of communes or parishes there is no mention. Next came the law of 28 Pluviôse of the year VIII. (17 February 1800). Here again there is a lengthy mention of the department and the arrondissement, and incidental mention only is made of "villes, bourgs, et autres lieux," which were thereafter to have a mayor, assistants, and a municipal council named by the Government. This municipal council, however, which ought, in the administrative language of France, "to offer all guarantees to the Government, is invested with but slender powers of administering the communal property. To show by a simple fact how little the commune was regarded under Napoleon I., it may be mentioned that the budget of the 20th of March 1813 confiscated the communal property by a stroke of the pen, for the simple reason that the State was in want of money.

Under the Restoration the laws of the Empire remained in force, but they were applied with discretion. Villele in 1821,

\* The Council General is for the department, and the Municipal Council for the communes.



and Martignac in 1829, introduced liberal municipal bills; but they met with such opposition in the Chambers that they were not passed. It was not till the 21st of March 1831 that a new law upon municipal organization came out. It regulated the election of the members of the municipal council, and charged the Government with the nomination of the mayor from among the members of the municipal council, who were thus both nominated and elected. This law did not go beyond the regulation of persons; and that of 1837 only affected the powers intrusted to them. After the revolution of 1848, a fresh step was taken. The law of the 3d of July ordered that communes with less than 6000 inhabitants should elect their own mayors, and that these functionaries should be appointed by the Government in the larger communes; but they were selected from among the members of the municipal council. After the coup d'état, the law of the 7th of July 1852, confirmed by the law of the 5th of May 1855, gave to the Government the appointment of all the mayors, without limiting the choice of the municipal councillors. And finally, at this moment, the Government is prepared to limit its choice to the members of the councils, and to select the mayors from those who are already indicated by election. A more liberal proposal, to allow the municipal council to elect their mayor, has not been accepted. The concession of the Imperial Government only replaces France where she was in 1831. It is evidently determined to remain master of the personnel. But it is more generous with regard to the powers. The law of the 18th of July 1837 extends them considerably beyond the law of 1800; and the law of the 24th of July 1867 makes another step in advance. The history of these changes is not to the present point. But it was necessary to show that the legislation relating to persons, and that relating to things, have not remained parallel. One of the reasons for the difference is, that in France the administrative functionary has a certain tendency to set himself above the laws, so that it was more serious for a personal government to change the persons than to change the laws.

In France the commune is included in the canton, the canton in the arrondissement, the arrondissement in the department. Between the department and the State some would again place the province, and so still further complicate this complex hierarchy. In reality the canton has hitherto had but little importance. There is a justice of the peace for each canton; the cantons elect the

members of the council general, and of the council of the arrondissement; and the conscription is levied on the canton. Some republican writers would re-establish the cantonal commune created by the law of 1795, and suppress the small parochial communes; and the council of State is studying the question, in order to ascertain whether there is room for cantonal councils to be consulted upon the common interests of the district. But, till some new order is established, this machinery would be superfluous in France, where, instead of being an active instrument, as it might be in England and Germany, it would only be a fresh cause of delay. If the canton has not in France, for the present at least, any administrative importance, the arrondissement has no more. As the laws of 1799 and 1800 speak of an "arrondissement communal," it was thought obligatory to assist the sub-prefect (who may be considered as occupying the place of mayor) with a council of the arrondissement. The business of this council is to distribute the taxation among the communes, and to give advice, which it is optional to ask, and equally optional to accept. It may also express wishes. France has nearly 400 arrondissements. If they have all been expressing wishes for the last seventy years, at the rate of a single wish a year for each, we have a total of 28,000 wishes, not one of which has ever been attended to. Many persons, therefore, would suppress the arrondissements; their most strenuous opponents are the friends of the cantons, for the one must be destroyed to build up the other. As the arrondissement is met with in every State of Europe, and in all the American States with which we are acquainted, there would seem to be some reason for its existence; and it should rather be reformed than suppressed.

It is in the department that the local administration culminates. The department alone is a true commune. It constitutes a civil personage or corporation. It can possess, acquire, and alienate property; it has a budget, a mayor who has the title of Prefect, and a municipal council which is called a Council General. Since the year VIII. there has never been any doubt as to the necessity of the prefects being appointed by the Government. As regards the councils general, at first the members were nominated; then they were elected; then their powers were considerably increased. There are some persons who are not satisfied with this, but would like to see the prefect elected; they do not remember that the attempt was made in 1789, and failed. Of the province we need not speak, for it does



not in fact exist; and the idea is a suspicious one, for it has never been put forward without some ulterior purpose.

After having thus examined the French administrative organization, let us cross the Rhine and examine briefly that of Prussia. Here we no longer find that radical uniformity, that symmetry, at the same time convenient and wearisome, which characterizes France. Prussia has numerous *Gemeindeordnungen*, communal laws or organizations. The six old provinces, a part of Pomerania, Westphalia, the Rhenish provinces, Schleswig-Holstein, Hanover, Hesse, Nassau, have each at least one, often two *Gemeindeordnungen*—one for the towns, the other for the rural districts. Besides this, each town can give itself a statute of general regulation distinct from its bye-laws or special rules upon determinate objects. The law even permits these statutes to contain provisions unforeseen by, or actually contrary to, the law itself. But notwithstanding this great variety, there is a certain family resemblance between all these organizations; and to avoid the confusion of a multiplicity of details, we will only here speak of the municipal legislation of the old provinces.

Contrary to the principle established in France, a broad distinction, as we have said, is made in Germany between the towns and the rural districts. This distinction is founded to a certain extent on the nature of things;\* but its actual cause is historical. It stands in close relation with the Germanic *Hanse* on the one hand, and with the division of the population into orders (*Stände*) on the other. The national representation was by the *Landstände*; and the fact that the town was a *Stand*, and so had the right of representation, made it necessary that it should have, at least in appearance, an organization and independence. This independence became merely nominal at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century. The town was no longer regarded as a corporation, but as an administrative district. The Sovereign often appointed the city officers; and the least act, such as repairing an out-house or sinking a well, required a preliminary authorization. Hence the *Städte-ordnung* or law for the organization of towns, of the 19th of November 1808, was a real event, not only for Prussia, which had been just reduced by the battle of Jena, but everywhere through Germany. The enthusiasm

of the Germans in favour of this law of 1808 has sprung from two excellent reasons. The first is, that the law was, so to say, a moral balm for a material wound. In other countries, probably also in France, the loss of a large portion of territory would have redoubled the zeal of the Government in preserving its powers; and the people would have willingly endured a heavier pressure of despotism on the plea that a strong government was necessary. The Prussians, who had so long stagnated in abject submission to despotism, would scarcely have objected if the old state of things had been kept up. It is therefore the eternal honour of such men as Stein and Hardenberg, that they persuaded King Frederick William III. that the way to recover the lost material power was to increase the moral force, based upon national liberty. The result has proved that their calculation was just. The second reason why the *Städte-ordnung* of 1808 was received with enthusiasm is, that it not only gave to towns a certain autonomy, permitting them to elect their authorities and to manage their property (with some very intelligible restrictions), but that it also suppressed many vexatious distinctions among the burgesses, permitted every one to exercise his trade without entering into a *Zunft* or professional corporation, and attached the right of suffrage and of being elected neither to religion, nor family distinction, nor place of birth, but simply to the possession of an income of from 150 to 200 thalers, according to the size of the towns. This Prussian law was imitated by many other German States; and its effect was enhanced by the fact that, at the same time, the kingdom of Westphalia, and some of the other German allies of France, had introduced the Napoleonic organization, that is to say, had abolished the commune.

The *Städte-ordnung* of 1808 has since been amended several times; but the changes are not very important. Thus the revision of the 17th of March 1831, only arranges the regulations and interpretative provisions issued in the interval between 1808 and 1831, and introduces perhaps some slight variations. In all cases the choice has been left to the town, whether it will keep the law of 1808 or adopt the law of 1831; and many of the towns which belonged to Prussia in 1808 have preserved their ancient organization. The commotion of 1848 also influenced the municipal organization. The revolutionists of that date aped the French, and in the communal law of the 11th of March 1850 effaced, as much as they could, the distinction between town and country, and introduced other changes

\* In France a distinction must be made between the (very) great and the small communes, as we shall see further on in speaking of the Police. There has always been a special legislation for Paris and Lyons.



more or less radical. There is no occasion to dwell on the law of 1850, for it was not introduced everywhere, and it nowhere remained in force more than a year, when it was superseded by the Royal Ordinance of the 19th of June 1852. The reaction re-established the greater part of what had previously existed, so that the Städte-ordnung of the 30th of May 1853,\* which is now in force, does not differ essentially from the corresponding law of 1808. At the head of all towns of more than 2500 inhabitants, there is always a magistracy, that is to say, a collective authority composed of a burgomaster (or, in the great towns, an Oberbürgermeister) or mayor, and a certain number of councillors. The burgomaster is paid; and in the large towns also some of the councillors receive a salary, such as the chamberlain and the syndic. The magistracy or college of magistrates forms a unity; and though each member generally has his own department, decisions of any importance must be submitted to the committee, who come to a decision by vote. The number of the members of the magistracy depends upon the population of the town. The same statement applies to the municipal council, which controls the acts of the magistracy, and has to give assent to a great number of measures. The magistracy and the municipal council are elected—the council by the inhabitants, the magistracy by the council; but the magistracy must besides be confirmed by the King where the population reaches 10,000, and in other cases by the district government (Regierung), which is equivalent to the French prefecture.

The idea of the commune, both in Northern and Southern Germany, was confused with that of the town, because, as has been already said, the towns had their voice in the representation of the country as Landstände: consequently it was quite late before the rural communes received distinct treatment. In France, before 1789, the rural districts took no part at all in public life; the tiers état came solely from the towns. M. Guizot is mistaken in saying, in his *History of Civilisation in France*, that there were communes throughout Europe, but no real tiers état except in France. All he could rightly say is, that the rural districts were not represented except by their lords—*pas de terre sans Seigneur*—as is

\* A special law of 31 May 1853 organizes the towns of the district of Stralsund; a law of 19 March 1856 organizes those of Westphalia; a law of 19 May 1856 those of the Rhenish provinces; and laws of 1867 and 1868 those of the provinces annexed in 1866.

still the case in Mecklenburg. In England, besides the borough representatives, there were also representatives of the counties, who together were a perfect equivalent of the tiers état of France. In Germany, the French principle (*pas de terre sans Seigneur*) did not generally prevail; villages existed, inhabited by free peasants, who preserved their right to representation. In the course of time rural districts became divided into villages without lords, lordships or great properties with more or less of population, and small properties, such as mills, which formed no part of either a village or lordship, and which held a position analogous to extra-parochial places in England before 1858. The first step was to annex these small isolated properties to a parish. This was not completed till 1856. The great properties which we have called lordships, but of which the greater part are only knights' fees, were maintained as independent unities; and generally one and the same law was applied to the village communes and the seignorial communes (*Dorfgemeinde* and *Gutsgemeinde*). It would not be inaccurate to say, that for some time—at least up to March 31, 1833—these points were not directly regulated; for no necessity had arisen for a general treatment of them. The Germans were contented with their traditional customs, which differed in different provinces; they did not give any great importance to communities whose wealth and industrial interests were so small. There still remained, subsequently to 1848, some thousands of villages without any budget; and in these, incidental expenses were provided for by the Schulze, or head of the village, assembling the inhabitants to deliberate, decide, apportion the burdens, and perhaps collect the receipts and direct the expenditure, in a single sitting. Making allowance for the regulations about police, education, and some other matters, and for the law of 1850, the organization, or rather constitution of the rural communes (*Landgemeinde-Verfassung*), dates from the 14th of April 1856. The word "organization" appears to be reserved for the towns. The law or rather laws of 1856 (for Westphalia and the Rhenish province had each a separate law) begin by recognising the local customs as valid, and only lay down rules for cases where these customs are obscure, or where it is desired to change them. The regulations for establishing the right of election are as follows: 1. The elector must be a householder, residing in the commune in his own house; or, 2. He must possess in the commune sufficient land to be cultivated by cattle, and to give him a living, or he



must possess therein a manufactory without necessarily residing in the commune. 3. The possessor of large property may have more votes than one. 4. The inhabitants may be divided into several classes of electors. 5. Similarly, collective votes may be formed by the union of several small proprietors whose properties are not in themselves sufficiently large for each one of them to maintain draught-cattle; the exercise of this collective vote resides in one of the proprietors, elected by the whole body of them. All these electors can, if they will, take part in the deliberation, and form a communal assembly; they can also choose a municipal council. But in that case the commune must give itself a statute or constitution, which must be submitted to the council of the Kreis or circle, must be allowed by the government of the district, and by the superior president of the province, and must be approved by the minister. In all that concerns communal taxes, traditions are to be followed; and it is only in case of doubt or disagreement that the Government intervenes. In Prussia, local traditions are respected almost as much as in England; it is only in France that they are discarded.

The law which we have been analysing does not speak of the manner in which the executive is to be represented in the rural communes. This point is settled in another law of the same date, which recognises the existing state of things as established from time immemorial, and known to all the world, and only amends it in some details. The general conclusion of this second law of the 14th of April 1856, as compared with several others up to the *Allgemeine Landrecht* (§ 18-22, tit. 17, part ii.), the code of Frederick the Great, is that the municipal executive power is attached, in the greater part of the provinces, to the ownership of certain estates, and that elsewhere it is appointed by the Government. Whoever purchases one of these estates purchases at the same time the right of local magistracy; and generally it is he who appoints the Schulze, a functionary who stands between the French mayor and the old English petty constable, who enjoyed a certain consideration, and had a little more power than his modern successor. In the language of the Prussian laws, the Schulze is also called the head of the commune, and the proprietor of a privileged property is called the local magistrate, or *Ortsobrigkeit*. The authority of the local magistrate may be considered as hereditary; his powers extend beyond those of police, and bear a resemblance to those of the English justice of the peace.

It is evident that so far the rural com-

munes were not superabundantly provided with liberty; this fact is easily explained historically. In 1807 when serfdom was abolished in Prussia, and in the following years when the agrarian code was established, the peasants were made, under certain conditions, owners of the lands, or of that part of them which they cultivated; their tenures were transformed, as it were, from copyholds into freeholds. It was thought necessary to leave the police in the hands of the dispossessed proprietors who had previously exercised it as delegates of the King. Public opinion has been long in insurrection against this heritage of feudal times, which continued to influence at once the commune and the Kreis. In Prussia the Kreis has important powers, and in the Kreis assemblies the possessors of knights' fees had the majority of votes. The law upon the Kreis organization (*Kreisordnung*), which is being discussed in the Prussian Chambers, is designed to reduce to the most modest limits the power of these owners, and besides to bring about an effectual decentralization.

The bill upon the Kreis organization is of great importance. It touches upon so many points that it will be difficult to give a complete idea of it in few words. It regulates the organization of the Kreis itself and of the rural communes, suppresses some ancient privileges, and creates within the Kreis divisions or districts, with an *Amtshauptmann*, or bailiff, whose functions are something like those of an English justice of the peace. We must first speak of the Kreis, and compare it with the French *arrondissement*.

The *arrondissement* is always larger than the Kreis, and that for two reasons:—1. The population is more dense in France than in Prussia; and 2. Each of the larger towns is its own Kreis. In the matter of self-government, the *arrondissement* is nowhere; the sub-prefect is appointed by the Government, and the council of the *arrondissement* has only formalities to attend to. The Kreis has three kinds of authorities: the *Landrath*, the *Kreistag*, the *Kreisausschuss*. The *Landrath* is named by the King, upon the proposal of the representatives of the Kreis; and generally he must be a proprietor within the Kreis. He cannot be compared with the sub-prefect, either in the manner of his appointment, or in the extent of his power. He is the president of the *Kreistag*, which consists of the representatives of the Kreis. Formerly the representation of the Kreis was called the *Kreisstände*, and there were three orders:—the owners of knights' fees, who were the



hereditary members, the delegates of the towns, and the delegates of the communes. In the organization which the new law is about to destroy the proprietors had the majority of votes in the assemblies of the Kreis. In the six eastern provinces there are 26,294 communes; and in the assemblies of the Kreis there are 14,006 members, of whom 11,643 are owners of knights' fees, 1805 delegates of rural communes, and 1058 delegates of towns. In future the proprietors will no longer be a majority by themselves. It has been calculated that the new organization may give to the proprietors 3607 votes, to the rural communes 2798 votes, to the towns 1550 votes; but these figures are only approximate. It is not without interest to contrast the radical simplicity of the elections in France, where all the citizens appoint one member for each canton without any other distinction, with the complexity of the Prussian system. In Prussia the number of the members of the Kreistag depends upon the total number of the inhabitants; the minimum is 25. If the population exceeds 25,000, there is one member more for every 5000 up to 100,000; and beyond that number there is one member for every 10,000. Consequently a Kreis of 120,000 inhabitants would have  $25 + 15 + 2 = 42$  representatives. The towns, the communes, and the proprietors, name their proportionate numbers separately. The proprietors are divided into two classes; one comprises those whose properties are rated at a net revenue of 1000 to 6000 thalers, and the other, those whose estates produce 6000 thalers and upwards net. Each of these classes elects its delegates apart, according to a system which gives them at least a quarter, and at most a half, of the members of the Kreistag. In cases where there are only a few of these proprietors, it might happen that there were as many members to elect as there were electors, so that each of them might appoint himself. If the number of proprietors does not reach the minimum, the difference is to be added to the rural communes, which will appoint so many more delegates. The essential point in the new combination is that the privilege of knights' fees is suppressed, and that there are no longer hereditary members. The owners of these properties will possess only the advantages which the extent of their estates confers, without privilege for the feudal character which formerly attached to them. This change in the legislation will have the unexpected effect of facilitating the division of properties. The knights' fee had a minimum of extent prescribed by law or custom; and the advan-

tages which attached to the privilege tended to preserve them intact. Upon the whole, Prussia has just made another step towards democracy. The progressists are doubtless still unsatisfied; but the conservatives have also to be taken into account; and, in point of fact, the intermediate parties consider the transaction to be fair enough.

After the Landrath and the Kreistag comes the Kreis Ausschuss or executive committee of the Kreis. The Ausschuss is composed of the Landrath and of six additional members, of whom three are elected by the members of the Kreistag, and three by the burgomaster and the bailiffs or Amtshauptleute. It is this committee which in reality governs the Kreis. It has extensive powers, and can make important decisions without the necessity of having them approved by a higher authority; in short, it has, in reality, the guardianship of the rural communes. For the Kreis, decentralization has almost become a fact.

With regard to the communes, the law allows all towns of 30,000 souls and upwards to constitute a Kreis by themselves. As to the smaller communes they are either towns or villages. The towns have their municipal legislation, and preserve their organization as ordered by the law of 1853. But the villages, and the great separate properties which have preserved their independence and are considered as communes (the old lordships and knights' fees), have undergone some important changes. The villages or rural communes now themselves elect their own Head and his assessors; but the Landrath must confirm them. The proprietor of an estate which constitutes a commune, exercises by right the powers of Head of the commune, but only when resident. If he does not reside on his property he must have a substitute; but he can appoint the Head of a neighbouring commune to fill his place, provided he indemnifies him for his trouble. The progress due to the new law consists in the fact that the Head of the rural communes is no longer appointed by a person without direct interest in the village, who exercises his rights by inheritance. From the French point of view, those properties which form a commune by themselves are monstrous; and the Prussian progressists who would keep pace with the French *avancés* are also dissatisfied, and desire more radical reforms; but the Prussian Government, and perhaps also the people, are disposed to rely upon tradition, and proceed by successive reforms. They have therefore confined themselves for the present to depriving the owners of knights' fees of the privileges which gave them



power over others, leaving them those which injure no one. Moreover, they have prepared for them a partial compensation; for in a great number of cases they are the men who, by force of circumstances, will be appointed to the function of Amtshauptmann or bailiff.

These functions are something new in Prussia. It is found that the rural communes would be too small, too poor, and, perhaps, too wanting in intelligent inhabitants, to perform all the public services which might be demanded of them; several are therefore amalgamated to form a district. It might with equal propriety be said that the Kreis has been divided into districts, at the head of each of which a bailiff has been placed. The bailiff must live in the district; he is appointed for three years by the King, from a list of fit persons prepared by the Kreistag. He is an unpaid functionary, and a man of consideration in his district; he is charged with the general police, with matters relative to the relief of the poor, with the highways, the water-supply, the regulation of industry, and especially the guardianship of the rural communes. His council is composed of the heads of the communes. In the towns where there is no bailiff, the magistracy fulfils the same functions, so that the bailiff is really the district burgo-master or mayor. The rural communes on the Continent, like the parishes in the English counties, are considered too weak to support municipal organizations; and hence they are everywhere being formed, or on the point of being formed, into groups or unions in order to give them the necessary force. These unions are of different kinds in different countries. In France, the canton has, or will have, only a council without executive power. In Prussia the district or bailiwick has a strong executive (the bailiff) with a sufficiently feeble council; neither the canton nor the bailiwick has any revenue. It may be remarked by the way that the German (like the English) legislation has a provision which is not to be found in that of France. It provides a punishment for those who will not accept the municipal functions to which they are elected. In France there is no lack of amateurs.

Having thus reviewed some of the most recent measures taken or proposed on the Continent in favour of decentralization, let us see what has been done for self-government. It is indispensable to make this distinction. The first inconvenience experienced on the Continent from the concentration of powers in the hands of the ruler

of a great country was that all affairs, very insignificant ones, were referred to capital for decision. The construction of the smallest bridge over the smallest river of the Alps or the Pyrenees was decided in Paris, equally with that of a bridge tributary of the Moselle or the Oise; before the decision could be given, it was necessary that the affair should pass through the communal council, the council of arrondissement, the council general, the council of bridges and ways, the council of State, etc. It was complained that three years had to elapse before the trifling business could be settled; and decentralization was accordingly demanded. In Prussia the demand was less urgent in France, because the instructions of the 23d of October, 1817, and the 31st of December, 1825, forbade the *Regierung*, which correspond to the French prefect, to consult the minister upon matters within their own competence. Such questions were to be decided on the spot. It was a very wise measure; for, not to mention economy of time, the members of the *Regierung* are more competent to decide local questions than the minister who knows neither the men nor the things. In *Regierungen* appear to have generally naturally followed these instructions. Composed of a certain number of councillors discussing together affairs of any importance, not only were their decisions more enlightened, but the special councillor of whom that his responsibility was shared, and consequently lighter. Moreover, the *Regierungsräthe*, or councillors of the *Regierung*, are not political persons; and they can be easily removed. It is different with the French prefect. He is a politician; he has to decide on the most various affairs. He can be very easily recalled. Consequently he often hesitates, and on the slightest occasion consults the minister. The minister's offices, besides, favour this tendency; and the instructions often recommend the prefect to consult him in case of doubt. Thus it is that business is so protracted in France.

One of the first acts of the present Emperor was to publish, on the 25th of March, 1852, a decree of decentralization. A certain number of cases were removed from the decision of the minister, and reserved for that of the prefect. The list of these matters was long, but the matters themselves were of small importance; and the prefect has consulted the minister as much since the decree as before it. In 1861, the decree of the 13th of April decentralized a little more, according to M. de Persigny.



who was then Minister of the Interior, and who said, that though the strong unity of powers was one of the glories of the Empire, yet the grand principle must not be forgotten that, though government can be carried on at a distance, administration must be conducted on the spot. The prefect then was authorized to decide upon other matters which had been reserved to the minister. It may be as well to mention some of the important decisions which the minister reserved to himself in 1852, and which in 1861 he sacrificed on the altar of decentralization. The following are selected because they will be understood without explanations: No. 5, Assistance to the overseers of the parish highways; No. 6, Gratuities to the same overseers; No. 10, Examination and rectification of the statutes presented by the friendly societies for approval; No. 14, Leave of absence to the commissary of police, not exceeding fifteen days. The other points are of similar importance. The public were not yet satisfied. Suddenly, however, in the official journal appeared a letter, dated Fontainebleau, 24 June 1863, addressed by the Emperor to the President of the Council of State, in which he announced the necessity of a reform. The first paragraph of this document has produced some results:—"Notre système de centralization," says the Emperor, "malgré ses avantages, a eu le grave inconvénient d'amener un excès de réglementation. Nous avons déjà cherché, vous le savez, à y remédier; néanmoins, il reste encore beaucoup à faire. Autrefois, le contrôle incessant de l'administration sur une foule de choses avait peut-être sa raison d'être; mais aujourd'hui ce n'est plus qu'une entrave. Comment comprendre, en effet, que telle affaire communale, par exemple, d'une importance secondaire et ne soulevant, d'ailleurs, aucune objection, exige une instruction de deux années au moins, grâce à l'intervention obligée de onze autorités différents? Dans certains cas, les entreprises industrielles éprouvent tout autant de retard. . . ." Accordingly, the Emperor requires that measures should be prepared for suppressing superfluous administrative regulations. Thus the path which ought to lead to the extension of self-government was entered; and it is only just to say that an important step has been taken in that direction.

The maximum of municipal self-government appears to be its absolute liberty, to which ought perhaps to be added the gratuitousness of all functions, these functions being exercised in turns by the inhabitants of the parish or borough. But this is only

the indication of the extreme point in one direction. In order to find the extreme point in the other, it is necessary to take the communal organization placed at its lowest level; for example, the Napoleonic commune of the year 1800, where the Government appoints the mayor and the municipal council, and reserves to itself the approval of all the deliberations; or again, the Prussian rural commune, where almost the whole of the municipal authority was the hereditary appanage of a given property. Between the two extreme points, absolute liberty and absolute servitude, all the communes in civilized countries are actually to be found; and in order to determine whether an organization is nearer to the lower boundary or to the higher one, some persons content themselves with ascertaining whether the officers of the commune are appointed by the Government, or whether they are elected by the citizens; others again would ascertain the extent of the gratuitous functions; others would ask whether the municipal decisions have or have not need of confirmation by the Government. Absolute liberty, however, exists nowhere, not even in England. The very varied and sufficiently extensive powers exercised by the vestries, the justices of the peace, the mayors and common councils, and the union boards, are all founded on the law, and on the statute more than on the common law. It is precisely because in England legislation has foreseen all these cases, has fixed their forms and established their rules, that the municipal acts, with some exceptions, have no need to be confirmed. But the Continental laws enter less into detail than the English; and the principal reason why they so abstain is that they wish to leave a certain play to the discretionary power of the administration. Consequently, the requisite reform consists in regulating things as much as possible by general laws, and in leaving to the municipalities power to move freely within the circle thus traced. Let us now select a few examples of matters of municipal administration, in order to see how they are treated by the two different legislatures.

To begin with the law of taxation. In France there are two such laws: that of the 18th of July 1837, and that of the 24th of July 1867, besides many paragraphs of other laws. Considerable improvement was effected in the thirty years which elapsed after the law of 1837, which itself was a notable improvement upon the former legislation. In 1837, the municipal council voted its budget; but the budget had to be approved either by the prefect, if the receipts did not



exceed 100,000 francs, or by the Sovereign, if they did. A similar approbation was necessary for every municipal decision relative to such matters as the management of productive property, or the tariff; and the prefect, or the King in the large communes, had power (*ex officio*) not only to tax the communes which did not provide in their budget for expenditure declared by the law to be obligatory, but also to reduce or reject the optional expenditure voted by the council. He could not however (*ex officio*) increase optional expenditure, nor order an expenditure which was not obligatory. The law of 1867 takes away from the prefect or the Government the right to reduce or reject an optional expenditure defrayed out of the ordinary resources of the commune. The municipal councils can now without restraint fix the tariff for stalls in the market, and the like. They can also vote without authorization a communal tax of five centimes additional to the direct taxes of the State, for extraordinary expenses for the good of the commune, besides three centimes extraordinary for parochial highways, five centimes for repayment of loans, and several centimes for elementary education. Taxes to a larger amount must be approved, according to the case, by the prefect, by the Emperor, or by special law. We cannot review all the clauses and conditions; it is enough to state that at present the communes can move freely within a limit fixed in a general manner, either annually through the council general, or once for all through the law. It is proper to mention that in France there are none other than the municipal rates, which include all the parish rates and district rates, and a portion of the county rates. The remainder of the county rates is levied under the name of additional departmental centimes; for there are no rates for the *arrondissements*.

In Prussia a distinction must be made between the towns and the rural communes. The law of the 30th of May 1853 (§ 53) says that besides the revenue arising from the property of the town, which it leaves almost unencumbered, the municipal receipts may consist of *Zuschläge*, or fractional additions to the taxes of the State, and of special taxes. The approval of the Government is necessary for the *Zuschläge* on the income-tax, on the indirect taxes, and on special taxes. On the direct taxes, such as the land-tax, the house-tax, the trade-tax, the addition may go as far as 50 per cent., and authorization is not necessary except for that which exceeds this limit. For the rural communes, the new *Kreisordnung* confines itself to saying that the committee of the *Kreis* may authorize the communes to modify their

mode of taxation, and to decide the difficulties which may present themselves. The law is short on this point, because it leaves very few expenses to the direct charge of the parishes; everything is made an affair of the *Kreis*—the police, the militia, the highways, the functionaries and the like. The *Kreis* then imposes rates, and must collect them in the form of *Zuschläge* on the direct taxes; but there is no restriction on the amount of the fractional percentage. The districts or divisions of a *Kreis* do not collect taxes; for the treasury of the *Kreis* covers all their expenses.

With regard to the rights of the communes over their property, their power of buying and selling, it will be found everywhere—on both sides of the Channel and on both sides of the Rhine—the limits the power of municipalities in the interest of future generations. That the communes should be considered as incapable of abusing for their own profit property destined for the benefit of their descendants, may be admitted; but to suppose that their minority or their intellectual incapacity would lead them to impose more taxes than are strictly necessary seems an exaggerated view. Taxes are not so popular that any corporation is likely to overtax itself. But the State is so afraid of the killing the goose that lays the golden egg that it does not permit them to approach her.

The administration of the police is a matter which, in France at least, touches closely on politics. It is in France especially that the distinction between political police, judicial police (which two are often combined as the *police de sûreté*), and administrative police, has been pushed to the furthest point, and it is especially on account of the *police de sûreté* in France, and the corresponding *Sicherheits-polizei* in Prussia, that both Governments insist so strongly on keeping the nomination of the mayors. In France the Government also appoints the justice of the peace. He has no right of initiative: he must wait till he is appealed to; and then he acts either as a conciliator or as a judge in equity. Strictly speaking, it is not necessary that he should have studied law. The mayor, on the other hand, has an initiative. It is he who, in case of need, arrests the criminal; it is he also who promulgates the necessary regulations of the police in the commune in matters of property, health, weights and measures, public tranquillity, and the highways. There are, however, many regulations which limit practically, if not legally, the powers of the mayor over the police. First, there is the prefect, who



has for the whole department the same powers as the mayor for his commune. But he has them in a higher degree, since he can annul the municipal regulations. Moreover, the prefect is a political personage, who possesses in a special way the confidence of the Government. This explains why the municipal law of 1855 took the police from the jurisdiction of the mayor of communes of 40,000 souls and upwards, while the law of 1867 gave it back to them, with this restriction, that the prefect should appoint the commissary of police on the presentation of the mayor. The commissaries of police are a second means of reducing the influence of the mayor, without appearing to do so. The commissary of police is legally the subordinate of the mayor; but he is also the subordinate of the prefect, with whom he is in direct communication. And he is again the subordinate of the Procureur-Général, for whom he commences the judicial inquiry or instruction. Besides, the mayor is not paid; and he is often a man who is not young, who has other occupations, who contents himself with the administrative or even with only the honorary part of his work, and willingly leaves to the commissary, who is paid, the unattractive duties of the police. The functionaries charged with police duties—the prefect, the mayor, and the commissary—cannot inflict any punishment, whether fine or imprisonment. The law fixes all penalties: the justice of the peace or the tribunal of police applies them.

In Prussia, the police of large towns is in the hands of the Government. The second section of the law of the 11th of March 1850 reserves it to the State functionaries in towns where there is a Regierung, or where there are tribunals, in fortified towns, and, generally, in towns where there are more than 10,000 inhabitants. In other towns it is the burgomaster who has the charge of it. In towns where the State appoints the officers of police, it also pays them. In the rural communes the police is to be in the hands of the bailiffs; hitherto it has been in the hands of the owners of knights' fees, and has also been exercised in part by the Landrath, by the Head of the Kreis, and by the Schulze, or Head of the rural commune. The authorities charged with the local police have the right to proclaim penalties. As in France, the superior authority (Regierung or Prefect) can annul police regulations published by the burgomaster or commissary of police.

We have seen that in Prussia the complement of decentralization, or rather, the extension of self-government, has consisted both in augmenting the powers of the mu-

nicipalities, and in charging the councils or committees of the Kreis to keep guard over them. In France the process has been the same; but the guardianship comes back to the councils general of the departments. The law of the 18th of July 1866 shows that the prefects have been deprived of numerous decisions, which will in future be given by these councils. At present the great corporation which is called the department can administer its own interests almost without restraint; and if there are restrictions, they chiefly concern the services of the State intrusted to the departmental authority. The last concession that has been seriously demanded is that the councils general should have power to elect their presidents. This concession has been made by the Government; and it may be said that in this way departmental self-government is organized in a manner to satisfy the great majority of Frenchmen. It is not possible here to compare in detail the laws of 1866 and of 1838 upon the councils general; but the circular of the Minister of the Interior, of the 4th of August 1866, makes this comparison in a very clear and intelligible manner.\* Anyhow, the improvement is incontestable, and ought to be recognised as such by the federalists, though of course it cannot completely satisfy them. This is not the place to examine their theory, which moreover differs in the hands of different advocates. It is enough to have exhibited some of the recent facts which indicate a tendency prevailing on the Continent, and to have compared the different ways by which two great nations have arrived at a like result. Their progress in each case bears fresh witness to the immense influence which the former history, and the manners, customs, and aspirations of a people exercise on the development of its laws.

#### ART. VI.—HISTORY OF IRISH LAND TENURES.

THE attempt to impose laws on a people from without, whilst their customs and native legislation are ignored, can rarely be successful. Unexpected results follow from measures so devised; and those who have sown without studying the nature of the soil are made to wonder at the strange fruit of their labours. Especially is this likely to be the case when former errors have to be corrected, and when the nation to be dealt with is one which has held stead-

\* See Dr. Maurice Block's *Annuaire de l'Administration française*, for 1867.



fastly to its own traditions against the adverse legislation of many hundred years. It is essential, therefore, in practically treating such a question as that of the Irish land, not only to collect the wishes of the Irish people, but also to investigate their antecedents. The ancient laws and customs of Ireland are not singularities to be stared at and written down, but active forces which have influenced the nation continuously and deeply to the present hour. There cannot be an intelligent and hopeful Irish policy without a careful study of Irish history. But such a study is far from easy. Until of late years the treasures of the old Celtic lore were almost totally neglected; and though the day of spurious ore has gone by, still the specimens that have been brought to the surface inadequately represent the mine beneath. This puts a difficulty in the way, at the outset, in any endeavour to investigate the social position of the Irish Celts in relation to the land.

From before the introduction of Christianity into Ireland to the arrival of the Anglo-Normans, there were two great classes of inhabitants there—free and base. Prisoners of war and persons who did not perform their contracts might be reduced to servitude. St. Patrick himself was made a bondman, and the Acts of the Council of Armagh in 1171 show that there had been a custom of buying Anglo-Saxons from merchants, robbers, and pirates, and that they were held in servitude even in that year; for it was decreed “ut Angli ubique per insulam servitutis vinculo mancipati in pristinam revocentur libertatem.”\* These were slaves. By an ancient Irish canon the oath of such a slave, unknown to his master, was void;† and by the Celtic laws the contract of a *mog* (translated “labourer”) without his chief was void.‡ There were slave-labourers; but there were also other classes of base or bondmen. Thus it was recorded in the Black Book of Christ Church, Dublin, that certain lands were (A.D. 1042) granted by the Danish King Sitricus of Dublin to that Church, “cum villanis, vaccis, et bladis,” “with the villeins, cattle, and corn.”§ And acts of this kind were not peculiar to the Danish colony: for the Register of the Priory of All Saints, Dublin, contained a charter from Dermot, the Irish king of Leinster, in which

certain lands, “with the men thereof,” were made over to it. The Black Book of Lismore contained a reference to another class, and to their duties: “It is to be noted,” runs the extract given by Ware, “that every Caruc of the Betagii ought every year to plough for the lord (the bishop) one acre at the season of wheat, and one acre at the season of oats, etc., likewise the Betagii ought to draw home the corn of their lord.” This was villein service; and Ware informs us that in that book, since burned, “the Betagii are distinguished from the tenants.” But he does not state in what the distinction consisted. He adds, however, that men of this servile condition were not permitted to have any military employment. Little else appears to have been known in his time. Reference to “lands free and unfree” appears in the Annals of the Four Masters,\* under the year 1585; and the editor explains (wrongly) that free lands meant land held by the chief’s relatives, free of rent, and (rightly) that unfree land was land held by strangers, or natives who had forfeited their privileges by crime or otherwise, at high rents, and for services of an ignoble nature.† The publication of the first volume of the Ancient Laws added incidentally some authentic details; but as it is chiefly concerned with an exposition of the Law of Distress, it gives no satisfactory description of the relations of the inhabitants to the land. There are, however, many striking analogies in it with the common law of England.‡ The Law of Distress itself bears a close resemblance to the English law, even as modified by modern statutes.

The existence of different grades of peo-

\* *Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters*, edited and translated by John O'Donovan, LL.D., M.R.I.A., vol. v. p. 1842. note.

† Ibid.

‡ Compare, for instance, these two passages:—“There is distress of five days' stay for the last fleece,” i.e. “at the end of the year, or at the end of half a year, he (the chief) dies, and if he die before it, the opinion is that nothing is due in that case (i.e., the second food-rent, upon the death, is due from the tenant), if the time for supplying the food-rent had not arrived when the chief died, i.e., the food-rent of the year in which he died, and it is not himself that exacts it.”—*Ancient Laws of Ireland*, vol. i. pp. 185-7. “As a consequence of the determination of the estate of a tenant for life the moment of his death, it was held in old times, that if such a tenant had let the lands reserving rent quarterly or half-yearly, and died between two rent-days, no rent was due from the under-tenant to anybody from the last rent-day till the time of the decease of the tenant for life.”—Williams, *Principles of the Law of Real Property*. The chief had only a life tenure of his chieftainship and mensal lands.

\* Giraldus Cambrensis, *Hibernia Expugnata*, c. xxviii.

† Ware, *Antiquities and History of Ireland*, c. xxx.

‡ *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Ireland*, vol. i. p. 51.

§ Ware, *Antiquities and History of Ireland*, c. xxx.



ple was markedly indicated by the provisions of this Irish law. Thus, no slave-labourer, "fnidir," shepherd, cow-herd, etc., could be distrained for debts due from himself or others, nor for offences against the district laws; but his foot was fettered, a chain was put round his neck, and he was kept on light diet, until his chief or lord settled the matter, and gave bail for him, or until he became forfeit in the ordinary course of poundage law. There was not only immediate distress, but distress with one or more days' stay, or grace, during which time the chattels seized were not taken to pound. The distress on those who paid food-rent had only one day's grace; the distress on those who paid cess or rent had three. Every prince and noble had a right to food-tribute from a limited number of base tenants. This food-tribute, however, was given in return for stock: the petty king gave his base tenants one hundred of each kind of cattle.\* Beyond the statements that there were hired labourers as well as slaves, that there were free tenants as well as base, and that there were three kinds of rents,—rack-rent from a person of a strange tribe, an easy rent from one of the tribe, and a stipulated rent that may be paid by the tribe and strangers,—there is little more to be learned on the subject from this volume of the *Ancient Laws*, or from any published work. The word *ciss*, which is translated "rent," might with at least equal propriety be translated "tax" or "tribute."

In the absence of more detailed information, it is not to be wondered at that the most fanciful views have been expressed about the state of society in Ireland. Generally speaking, writers content themselves with the opinions of Spenser and Sir John Davis, and do not even consult recent publications. Professor W. K. Sullivan, however, has gone to the root of the subject in his very important introduction to the second series of O'Curry's lectures. The work is still in the press; and we are indebted to the author's kindness for the use of it. The ancient customs and laws which he has exhumed afford a perfect solution of many historical difficulties, and supply the reasons and grounds of national land-customs which have perplexed or misled all

\* "Every king has seven base tenants, . . . and the amount of stock which he gives to the seven base tenants is equal to the number of Seds that a Brey cedach should have, and a Brey lethech should have twice as many."—*Ancient Laws of Ireland*, vol. i. p. 61. "The Brey lethech has two hundred of each kind of cattle, except dogs and cats, and two hundred men in the condition of workmen," i. e., slave-labourers.—*Ibid.* p. 47.

who have looked upon them from without. We shall here give only a brief statement of that fraction of his discoveries which it is absolutely necessary to know in order to understand the position of tenants, and the bearing of those laws which we shall have occasion to indicate.

The land of each district was divided into commonage land, office or mensal land, and land held by individual ownership. From such individual ownership, seven classes derived the dignity of their grades of nobility. One of these nobles might (it is known) be elected president or king over the district; another, vice president.\* In such case, the petty king retained his own real property, and had a life possession of the mensal lands, and an official dominion over the common land. There were seven other grades of chiefs who farmed land, but whose dignity was ascertained by the amount of their personal or chattel property, the number of cattle they owned.

The land-noble kept a portion of his land as demesne land. This he had cultivated by labourers or villeins of three kinds, who possessed no political rights, and to whom we shall refer presently. The other portion of his land was distributed amongst two classes of tenants, called *Saer Ceili* and *Daer Ceili*, usually translated "free tenants" and "base tenants." The *Saer Ceili* or free tenants gave him "military service and an annual tribute, helped him to bear the burthen of the tribe, paid his mulcts and fines, ransomed him or any of his family who might be taken as hostages."† This kind of tenure seems to have represented tenure by knight's service, exempt from some of its more grievous burthens, such as maritagium, livery, and wardship. In that respect it resembled the beneficial tenure of free and common socage. The *Daer Ceili* or base tenants held by a tenure which also had some of the marks of common socage;‡ but as they

\* Or *Tanist*, i. e. "Second," hence what is called the law or custom of *Tanistry*, on which Spenser writes, and about which Sir John Davis complains. The *Tanist* succeeded to the kingship when the king died. Sir John Davis confounded their tenure of office with their ownership of property.

† Compare the above extract from Professor Sullivan's work with this: "The tenant" (who held by knight's service) "was at first expected, and afterwards obliged to render to his lord pecuniary aids, to ransom his person if taken prisoner, to help him in the expense of making his eldest son a knight," etc.—Williams, *Principles of Real Property*, p. 97.

‡ The custom of *Gavel-kind*, providing for the equal division of property amongst children on their parents' decease, existed in Ireland as in Kent. The Kentish tenure is defined as socage tenure subject to the custom of *gavel-kind*, in



were ascribed to the glebe (so long as they retained stock and possession only, however), and were charged with frequent contributions, it may probably have been more closely represented by what is sometimes called villein socage. They yielded military service, which mere villeins did not. Their characteristic render, however, was non-military or rural service: "their chief rent consisted of victuals [food-tribute] given at two periods of the year, contributions at certain festivals, *Cai* or 'coahering,' that is, entertainment given on collecting their tribute," and other levies.

With respect to the commons, Professor Sullivan says: "No one had any right, save by permission of the tribe council, to the possession of a special part of the common land except from year to year. A re-division of it took place annually in each township, in many localities, under the directions of a local court." "It was," he adds, "this annual division of the common land" with other things, "that gave rise to the idea that all land was held in common, and divided annually."

The tenants were not subject to ejectment. "All Ceili, whether free or base, had certain definite rights in the territory, such as the right to have a habitation and the usufruct of land." The importance of this fact is self-evident.

Below the *Saer Ceili* and *Daer Ceili* were the three classes mentioned above as cultivating the land-noble's demesne lands, and possessing no political rights. These were the *Bothacha*, the *Senclithe*, and the *Fuidirs*. The *Bothacha*, or *Cottiers*, free and base, had a right of settlement, served the land-noble as hired and farm-labourers, and performed menial services. The *Senclithe*, or old adherents, were the descendants of mercenaries and prisoners "who had acquired the right of settlement." Like the *Bothacha*, they "did not possess the political rights of freemen; but they formed part of the affiliated family or clan, and were thus secure of shelter and relief, and were irremovable from the estate of the lord." The *Fuidirs* were of two kinds, bond and free. The bond *Fuidirs* were convicts, prisoners, and degenerate free *Fuidirs*. The free *Fuidir* was a freeman, but a stranger, an individual of another tribe or district. If he wished to retain the rights and privileges of a freeman, he could only hold from year to year; "if he entered into longer engagements than one year with

another than his own chief, he lost his rights, and became permanently a *Fuidir*." In that case, he became a bond or base *Fuidir*. But if he served then continuously under two lords succeeding one another, he acquired, on the accession of the third lord, free rights. In any case, bondage did not extend to his grand-children. Thus even the *Fuidirs* acquired perpetuity of tenure. Professor Sullivan draws attention to this important fact, as in part explaining the traditional right of fixity claimed in the present day by peasants. He says: "This circumstance explains the expression so often heard among the Irish peasantry, when they complain of being ejected by their landlords: 'My father and grand-father were there before me,' or 'My grand-father was a tenant of his grandfather.'" He shows likewise how the Irish law reveals the cause why rack-rented tenants, as Spenser remarked, would only hold "from year to year" and preserved their "liberty of change." The wars dispossessed many free tenants; and, whilst seeking a livelihood, they yet would not do anything to forfeit their ancient free rights, or bar their claims to their ancient holdings. On the other hand, it was the interest of alien or new lords to reduce all tenants to this rack-rented condition. Yet these *Fuidirs*, whose lot was regarded as one of hardship by the Irish law, had a right to all their improvements; and it has been shown that in the third generation, or at the election of the third lord, they obtained a security of tenure equal to that enjoyed by English copyholders, who, like them, originally emerged out of a state of villenage.

Thus under the ancient laws of Ireland there were compensations for improvements in the case of the temporary yearly tenant, occupancy titles, security of tenure, and certain rents. The questions next arise: How long did these laws continue to govern and influence the population; at what time or times were they replaced by others; and what were the laws and customs set up in their stead? These questions can only be satisfactorily answered by an historical examination of the fortunes and conduct of the colonies that entered Ireland from Britain.

The men who settled among the ancient Celtic colonizers, before the Norman invasion, were not essentially different from them in their land-views. The Norse system resembled the Irish in a marked manner; and, although the Danish settlements were principally confined to a few towns on the sea-coast, Scandinavian families had rooted themselves like ancient



trees\* far inland, and intermarriages between the princely families of the Irish and Norse were of no unfrequent occurrence.† The constant and friendly intercourse that existed between the Anglo-Saxons and Irish Celts, during the seventh and part of the eighth century, combined with the influence of the great Irish schools, tended to modify any differences. At the least, Anglo-Saxon settlers were thus made acquainted with the principles of the Irish law, and could comprehend and adopt them. Professor Sullivan considers that the land-systems were, in many respects, remarkably alike.

The Anglo-Normans introduced the feudal system officially; but how far was this a real and solid introduction? Formally, Henry II. bestowed upon ten of his principal adherents the entire land of Ireland, by charters drawn up in accordance with Norman law; but actually his adherents formed only a small cluster on the eastern coast, replacing and representing the Danish colony. John, though he claimed to be Lord of Ireland, did not assume the title of King of the Irish—a distinction with a difference. The Irish were long called “enemies;” the Anglo-Irish insurgents were always called “rebels.” Dominion was claimed over the soil rather than over the people; it was of more importance to adventurers that the soil should be called under the law than the people. In the reign of John the English territory was divided, on paper, into twelve counties; and the nobles were sworn to obey the laws of England. The “War of Chicane,” which Burke described as following the War of the Sword, began in the Anglo-Norman settlement with John’s arrival; for new adventurers intrigued for the possessions of veteran invaders.‡ On his death, one of the first public acts of the Earl Marshal was the proclamation of a general amnesty in Ireland. The Great Charter was extended to Ireland in 1216, and solemnly confirmed in 1227, when Henry III. directed the Lord Justiciary to call before him the archbishops, bishops, earls, barons, knights, freeholders, and bailiffs of counties, to read it publicly before them, and to swear the magnates of Ireland firmly to hold, observe, and enforce the laws and customs of England. The laws and customs were insisted on in various writs; thus in 1245 a writ was issued confirming former ones, and among other things containing these expressions:—“Rex, etc., quia pro communi utilitate terre Hibernie et unitate

terrarum regis, rex vult et de communi consilio regis provium est, quod omnes leges et consuetudines que in Regno Anglie tenentur in Hibernia teneantur.”\*

The Welshmen who accompanied or followed the first adventurers, and whose language and customs were almost identical with those of the Irish, had already doubtless settled down, finding it easy to conform to Irish habits, though they may have ousted some landholders. In the Great Charter, the liberties and customs of the inhabitants of Wales were acknowledged and confirmed. It would have been well if the same principle had been applied to Ireland. But even if the magnates of Ireland had faithfully followed and enforced the customs and laws of England, compensation would have been allowed to tenants for improvements, and the humbler tenants would have grown up from a state of insecurity to one of security, as the villeins grew to be copyholders, and as customary freeholders were developed. The tendency, however, has been directly the reverse; and it is interesting to note the early indications of what is literally the de-grading system, the enforcement of which has caused innumerable disturbances, and given support to not a few attempts at insurrection in Ireland.

Curiously enough, the first case of collision between landlord and tenant occurred about the time of the extension of Magna Charta to Ireland. Henry de Londres, the landlord concerned, was not only Archbishop of Dublin and Papal Legate, but also Justiciary. He seems to have found some difficulty in distinguishing between his functions; for he had to be prohibited by royal writ from drawing temporal causes into ecclesiastical courts, and his conduct in excommunicating keepers of the King’s Wood for resisting his wood-cutters was one of the causes of his deposition. From his general conduct to his tenants, and on account of the following circumstance in particular, he became popularly known as “Scorch-villein” (perhaps, “Ecorche-vilain”).† When he

\* Betham, *Origin and History of the Constitution of England, and of the Early Parliaments of Ireland*.

† The first case of legal action by landlord against tenant in the Pale appears to have been taken under the Statute of Westminster 2, 13 Edw. I., which took effect in Ireland, as the following extract shows:—“The Statute of Westminster 2, 13 Edw. I. gives the writ of cessavit against the tenant for recovery of lands holden, who for two years ceases doing the services reserved by tenure. This is an introduction and new law, as is observed by Fitz Herbert, and wherein Ireland is not yet named; yet that Statute was there received and put in execution in the same King Edw. I. his time, as we may see

\* *Topographical Poem*, by O’Dugan, Bard of O’Kelly, A.D. 1570.

† *Saga of Burnt Njal*, translated by G. Dasent. *War of the Galls and Gaele*, edited by Dr. Todd.

‡ Gilbert, *Viceroy of Ireland*.



had been installed as Archbishop (A.D. 1213), he summoned all the tenants and farmers of the See to appear personally before him, on a day appointed, and to bring with them such evidences and writings as they enjoyed their holdings by. The tenants, at the stated time, presented themselves, and showed their evidences to their landlord, "mistrusting nothing." But before their faces, on a sudden, he cast them all into a fire secretly made for the purpose. "This fact amazed some that they become silent, moved others to a stirring Choller and Furious Rage, that they regarded neither place nor person, but brake into irreverent speeches: 'Thou an Archbishop!—nay, thou art a Scorch-villain;' another drew his weapon and said, 'As good for me to kill as be killed, for when my Evidences are burned and my Living taken away from me, I am killed.' The Bishop seeing this Tumult and the Imminent Danger went out at a back door: his Chaplains, Registers, and Summoners were well beaten, and some of them left for dead. They threatened to fire the house over the Bishop's Head; some means were taken for the present time to pacify their outrage, with fair promise that all hereafter should be to their own content; upon this they departed."\*

This was the first agrarian outrage, following the first attempt recorded in Irish history to degrade those who held by secure tenures into position of mere villeins, or tenants-at-will. Such attempts were stoutly resisted by the settlers who came from England. But, with the lapse of years and the

by a record in 26 Edw. I., Rot. 2. in the Remembrancer's Office, but belonging to the Common Pleas, entitled: 'Placita apud Dublin, etc.' 'Pleas held at Dublin on the octave of St. Hillary, in the 26th year of King Edw., Robert de Willeby and Alicia his wife, appeared on the fourth day against William Trissel, in a plea that he should restore to them ten acres of land with the appurtenances, in Knight's town, which the said William holds of them by certain services, and which ought to revert to the said Robert and Alice, by form of the Statute of our Lord the King lately enacted: because the said William hath ceased for two years doing the said services, as is alledged, and the said William was summoned and did not appear. Therefore the Sheriff was commanded to seize the said lands into the King's hands, etc. etc.'—Sergeant Mayart's *Answer to a Book entitled a Declaration, setting forth how and by what means the Laws and Statutes of England, etc., came to be in force in Ireland*, by Sir R. Bolton, *Hibernica*, pp. 48-4. The fact that this Statute was required to enable landlords to oust tenants who held by "certain" services, enables us to understand why the Archbishop should have sought to destroy the titles of his tenantry, and reduce them to the position of villeins at pleasure.

\* Ware, *Annals of Ireland*.

frequency of wars, civil and military authority got more into the hands of the lords; and no law could stay their exactions but that of the strong hand. In proportion as they surrounded themselves with armed guards, in the border or marsh territory, the tenants were plundered. Some British freeholders fled to England, as Sir John Davis tells us; and Leland relates that others took refuge among the Irish. In an unsettled territory few would adventure except migratory Fuidirs, who would pay a rack-rent, until better times. There was one check, however, on the lord, namely, the necessity of having "defensible" men as well as provisions. This obliged him to offer good terms and perfect security of tenure to such tenants as would consent to remain; and thus we find freeholders continually mentioned, although we are told they were often plundered and poor. Then, though incursions were made into the country, and strongholds built, the Irish swept all the land that was beyond bowshot of the walls; and it became a necessity for isolated lords to secure their alliance. They soon, also, adopted their customs. Internecine quarrels between the lords of the Pale, fomented by needy adventurers, who, swarming into England from Poitou and Bretagne in the thirteenth century, straggled greedily into Ireland, caused the old Anglo-Norman lords and Irish nobles to make common cause. Dundalk paid tribute to O'Hanlon; Galway, though well fortified, and the residence of the powerful De Burgha, lords of Connaught, paid an annual rent to the O'Briens of Thomond. Intermarriages became frequent. The Irish laws, tenures, and manners prevailed over the land, amongst the Anglo-Normans as amongst the Irish. In fact, a thorough fusion was effected. Then came an attempt of new adventurers and others to make this communion penal. They accomplished their purpose, so far as law went, in the Statute of Kilkenny, A.D. 1367, the words of which witness to the perfect mingling of races: "et ore plusors Engleis de la dit terre gnepissant la lang, gis, monture, leys, usages Engleis vivent et se government as maniers, guise, et lang des Irrois enemies, et auxiant ount fait divers mariages et aliaunces enter eux et les Irrois enemies."\* In this Statute, appended to one mention of the lords, are the words, "et lour subjets appelez Betaghes." It is complained that both lord and "Betaghe" were formerly governed by English law, but now by Irish. By a previous Statute (5 Ed. III.), enacted

\* *Tracts relating to Ireland*, published by the Irish Archaeological Society, 1848.



at Westminster and transmitted to Ireland, it was declared that one and the same law should be as well towards the Irish as the English, except the servitude of the "Betagh-hes" to their lords, which should be as in England with respect to villeins. This prominent mention of the two classes of lords and villeins would appear to prove that these lords had zealously adopted the degrading system, and enlarged the number of villein-occupiers, or servile "erthe-tillers," whose chief privileges were that they had protection and settlement. By the custom of England such villeins would grow into copyholders; but the extension of legal memory to the time of Richard I. may have interfered with their claim in Ireland. If the customs and laws of the two countries were indeed made identical, this interference would be hardly logical.

Duke Lionel's Kilkenny Statute, though renewed in every parliament till the year 1452, did not succeed in dividing the Anglo-Normans and the Irish, or in expelling the Brehon law from among the English, or in arresting the intermarrying, fostering, and the like. It perished, but not till it had exasperated the Irish and Anglo-Irish, and made them believe there was nothing for it but to rise in arms, which they did, with much success.

The period was not an auspicious one for the cultivators. In England, in the first year of Richard II., the villeins assembled riotously in considerable bodies, and endeavoured to withdraw their services, personal and other, from their lords, alleging exemplifications from Domesday Book with relation to their manors and villages, and claiming, on their account, to be held discharged and free. By a royal proclamation, preserved at Rymer, fixity of rents was granted them. This proclamation directed "quod nulla acra terræ quæ in bondagio vel servagio tenetur altius quam ad quatuor denarios haberetur, et si qua ad minus antea tenta fuisset, in posterum non exaltaretur." In Ireland the villeins had no protection. The King was not there: perhaps his Deputy was one of those lords whose villeins thus revolted in vindication of ancient rights transgressed. Adventurers who crossed the channel, the younger sons of such lords, had neither scruple nor check put upon them. The intimate connection that existed between Irish and English in those days may be curiously illustrated. In the year 1451, official despatches went from Ireland to the Earl of Salisbury, complaining that the Irish enemy, MacGeoghegan, "with three or four Irish captains, associated with a great fellowship of English

rebels," had burned the large town of Rathmore.\* In the previous year the insurgents in Kent were encamped at Blackheath under the leadership of an Irishman, Jack Cade, who proclaimed himself Captain of Kent. The word "captain" was used to designate Irish chieftains; and at that time an Irish chieftain would find the leadership of Kentishmen in some respects congenial work.

In Ireland, the territory subject to English laws was, after the Kilkenny act, greatly contracted: "yr is not left in the nethir parties of the counties of Dyvelin [Dublin], Mith [Meath], Loueth, and Kildare, that yoynin to gadyr, oute of the subjection of the saide enemyes and rebels scarisly xxx miles in lengthe, and xx in brede ther, as a man may surely ride other go, to answerre to the Kynge's writtes." The castles of Carlow, "one of the keyes of the saide lande," had been taken or destroyed; there were scarcely liege people enough to victual the seven or eight towns of the south and east, "wherthrough they ben on the poynt to be enfaymed."† In the reign of Henry VIII. the complaint was the same; "ther is no folke dayly subgett to the Kinges lawes but half the countye of Uriell [Louth], half countye of Meath, half the countye of Dublin, half the countye of Kildare."‡ The Irish lords encroached on the English Pale: "the Irishrie suppressed the Englishrie." Scarcely four persons in any parish of four counties of the Pale wore English habits. The Irishry forcibly took from the Earls of Ormond and Kildare divers of their possessions, and became masters of the whole country, except some parts of Leinster.§ The Lord Deputy and Council wrote to the King that "the Inglish blodde of the Inglish Conquest ys in maner worn out of this land," some through attainders, some by departure, some by being slain, "and contrarywise the Irish bloodde, ever more and more without such decays increaseth;" and then "ther is such scarces of the Englyshe blodde in this parties, that of force we [are] dryven, not only to take Iryshe men, our naturall enemyes to our tenaunts and erthe-tillers, but also to our household servants some horsmen and kerne."||

Tenants and cultivators, regarded as natural enemies, had little to expect from the lords, when the latter had power to oppress them.

\* Gilbert, *Viceroy of Ireland*, p. 361.

† Letter of the Privy Council, dated the 14th year of Henry VI., enrolled on the Close Roll of Ireland. Betham, *Origin and History*, etc.

‡ *State Papers*, Part 3, vol. II. p. 9; *State of Ireland*, A.D. 1515.

§ *Tracts relating to Ireland*. Irish Archaeological Society, 1845. Paper in British Museum, Titus B. 12.

|| *State Papers*, Part 3, vol. II. pp. 388-481.



Dispossessed and harassed tenants of the Marches were doubtless among those who sought to be replanted, under the colonial lords. Spenser, looking back, described their condition. To these lords, he says, "repaired divers of the poore distressed people of the Irish, for succour and relief of whom, such as they thought fit for labour and industriously disposed—as the most part of their baser sort are—they received unto them as their vassalls, but scarcely vouchsafed to impart unto them the benefit of those lawes under which they themselves lived, but every one made his will and commandement a lawe unto his owne vassall: thus was not the Law of England ever properly applyed unto the Irish nation, as by a purposed plot of Government, but as they could insinuate and steale themselves under the same, by their humble carriage and submission."\* Such writers as Spenser are only authorities with respect to the Pale and March lands.†

North as well as south, however, they bear unimpeachable testimony to the industry of the Irish cultivators: "for the churle of Ireland is a very simple and toylesome man, desiring nothing but that he may not be eaten out with ceasse, coyne, nor liverie."‡

The Irish nobles appear to have got a recognition of their national laws and customs in a parliament held in the time of Lord Deputy Sir Anthony St. Leger, when they were induced to acknowledge Henry VIII. for their sovereign, "reserving yet (some say) unto themselves all their owne former Priviledges and seigniories inviolate," writes Spenser. His complaint that they were "now tied but with termes," that the King's power was limited and no longer absolute, is sufficient to show that he believed in the pact. "They reserved," he adds again, "their titles, tenures, and seigniories whole and sound unto themselves, and for the prooffe alledge that they have ever sithence remained to them untouched, so as now to alter them would (say they) be a great wrong."§ It appears from this that in the year in which he wrote, 1596, the Irish laws

and customs prevailed, virtually undisturbed, in the territories of the Irish nobles. The Irish annals record that, in 1554, the Anglo-Norman Earl of Kildare received "a great fine in cows, namely, 340 cows, as an eric for his foster brother, who had been slain."\* Still later, in 1565, it appears that the same Earl not only followed Irish customs, but acted as an Irish chief. He "has the captainship [chieftainship] of O'Ferral's country;" and "he appoints Irish Brehons to weigh their offences," and to levy fines on the offenders.† In 1603, Niall O'Donnell, a strenuous ally of the English, convoked the clan according to custom, in order that he might be appointed chieftain in due form; "and he was styled O'Donnell without consulting the King's representative or council."‡ Thus, down to the first year of James I. we have public profession of the Irish laws and customs. There are indications that the practice must have continued much later.

Towards the last third of Elizabeth's reign, however, two important events took place,—the "Composition" of Connaught, and the Confiscation and Plantation of the Earl of Desmond's estates, which formed a large part of Munster.

Desirous that the nobles of Connaught should surrender their titles, and hold them by patents of the Crown, the Lord-Deputy Perrot issued a commission, in July 1585, to the Governor of Connaught and divers of the Anglo-Norman and Irish nobles of the province, empowering them to call together "all the nobilitie, spiritual and temporal, and all the chieftaines and lordes," to devise how their titles and rights should be affirmed, and all "uncertaine ceasse, cuttings, and spendings" compounded for. The commissioners proposed that the Chieftains of Countries, Gentlemen and Freholders, should "passe unto the Queene's Majesty, her Heirs and successours, a graunt of tenne shillings English, or a marke Irish, upon every quarter of land containing 120 acres, manured or to be manured, that beares either horne or corne, in lieu and consideration to be discharged from other ceasse, taxation, or tallage, excepting the rising out of Horse and Foote for the service of the Prince and State, such as should be particularly agreed upon, and some certaine dayes labour for building and fortification for the safety of the people and kingdome." In-

\* *View of the State of Ireland*, Ware's edition, 1683, p. 10.

† In Elizabeth's reign, A.D. 1565, Oliver, a "gentleman of the Pale," made a complaint:—"That the gentlemen of the County of Kildare made to this (Kildare) Earl's grandfather on his petition to serve a present necessity, instead of Coyne and Livery, not as this Earl's grandfather would have it, at his pleasure."—*The Earls of Kildare and their Ancestors*, by the Marquis of Kildare, Addenda, p. 96.

‡ *Journal of the Ulster Archaeological Society*. Captain Smith, A.D. 1572, vol. ix. p. 179.

§ *View of the State of Ireland*, pp. 6, 7.

\* *Annals of Ireland by the Four Masters*.

† *The Earls of Kildare and their Ancestors*, Addenda.

‡ *Annals of the Four Masters*.

§ *A Chorographical Description of West or Iar-Connaught*. Irish Archaeological Society. 1846.



quisitions succeeded; and indentures were drawn between the Lord-Deputy, for the Queen, and certain chieftains for themselves and others. Thus the indentures of composition, A.D. 1585, for "the countrie of the O'Flaherties, called Eyre-Conaght" (West-Connaught), gives the names of a score of chieftains who agree "for and in behalfe of themselves and the rest of the chieftaynes, freeholders, gentlemen farmers, and inhabitants, having land or holdings," to grant the ten shillings on condition of being freed from "all manner of cesses, taxes, chardges, ymposicons, purveying, eatinge, findinge, or bearing of soldiers, and from all other burthens whatsoever, other than the rents, reservations, and chardges hereafter specified, and to be exacted by Parliament," etc. Among the charges reserved they were bound to "beare hostings, roods, and jurneyes." It was further agreed (on parchment) "that the names, stilles, and titles of captaynships, tainistships, and all other Irishe authorities and jurisdictions . . . together with all ellection and customarie division of land" should be abolished; and that their lands should "lynialie descend from the father to the sonn, according to the course and order of the lawes of England." O'Flahertie, "for the better maintenance of the degree of knighthode," was to have castle and land confirmed to him, to hold by knight's service.

The following important paragraph is inserted in several of the indentures:—"And forasmuch as divers of the meane freeholders and the tenants dwelling upon their lands are and shall be greatlie burthened by this composition, if the petty lords and captaynes next above them be allowed to take such rentes and customarie duties as they pretend to belong to them, for remedy whereof it is condescended that" the said chiefs, "and all others of that sort of petty lords or captaynes, shall have, hold, possess, and enjoy all their castles and lands to descend from ech of them to their heirs by course and order of the laws of England, and after the decease of everie of them, now livinge, the aforesaid renta, duties, and all exaceons shall from henceforth be utterlie determyned and extinguished for ever." This elevation of mean freeholders into direct dependence on the Crown is remarkable. But not all that was set forth was carried into effect; and the subsequent disturbances overset all plans. Sir Morrogh O'Flaherty, himself one of the commissioners, bequeathed his lands to all his sons, "to be indifferentlie betwixt them parted;" the eldest, whom he appointed "chiefe of and over my children,

name, kindred, and countrie," was to have the first choice.\* He appointed two friends as a court of arbitration. His death occurred in 1593. He evidently made this will fearing that, if he should die intestate, the operation of the Irish law would be superseded by that of the English law of primogeniture.

Considered from a legal point of view, the Composition of Connaught forms an epoch of importance. The relations of people and chiefs towards each other and towards the land were, in that province, altered. The clan lost its ancient power of electing to the headship the individual of its choice† (a choice generally limited to members of a certain family). The lands held in trust for it by the chief, in virtue of his office, were permanently alienated to his use and that of his heirs. The customary division of the common lands was stayed, so that they could not be let out, but were to remain as commons.‡ The custom of gavel-kind was forbidden, and replaced by "the course and order of the law of England" (Kent being apparently excluded from England). The chief was converted into a feudal lord,§ so far as the mensal land and his own estate were concerned. But for this privilege he had to commute all others; and for the privilege of being confirmed in their own estates, all the other land-nobles (as well as their captain or chief) had to commute all rents and rights likewise. The "meane freeholders and their tenants—who were the Free and Base tenants of the Irish—lost certain political privileges; but their landlords were swept away from over them. On them would devolve, it was seen, the payment of the ten shillings for every quarter of land that bore "corne or horne;" and they were consequently freed from all other rents or services due to their former landlords. But this was deferred till the death of the latter, whose vested interests were thus respected. So remarkable an interference with property

\* *A Chorographical Description*, Appendix, etc.

† In 1553, the brothers of O'Brien, Lord of Thomond, rose against him and drove him into his tower, because he "had obtained from the King the right of succession for his son, who had been styled baron in preference to his seniors." Not the son, but a brother succeeded, at his death soon after. *Annals of the Four Masters*.

‡ The appropriation of such commons in Partry caused, in 1869, much sensation; and the libel suits of *Proudfoot v. Lavelle* and *Lavelle v. Proudfoot* have arisen out of it.

§ By Stat. 11 Eliz. sess. 3, cap. 7, no Earl, Baron, Viscount, Lord, or pretended Captain, was to take the title of Captain or ruler of any country being shire ground, except by letters-patent; nor was such Captain to assemble the people for making war or peace, or granting cesses.



arrangements recalls at once the Statute of Quia emptores (18 Edw. 1.) The greater barons, holding under the Crown, had granted smaller manors to be held of themselves; their inferior lords granted more minute estates; and so on, till the Lords Paramount observed that they were losing many profits, which fell into the hands of the mesne or middle lords, the immediate superiors of the terre-tenants. They accordingly obtained this Statute of Westminster, which directs that "upon all sales or feoffments of land, the feoffee shall hold the same, not of his immediate feoffor, but of the chief lord of the fee of whom the feoffor held it."\* Queen Elizabeth was Lady Paramount in Connaught; and between her and the "meane freeholders" or terre-tenants (the base tenants or villein-socagers being excluded) all mesne lords or middle men were swept off, on the death of those then existing. This was tantamount to the establishment of a peasant proprietary. The paragraph enacting it was inserted in the indentures for the territory of Clanricard, and the counties of Mayo, Sligo, Leitrim, and Roscommon. Perhaps it had something to do with the after quietness of the western province. The previous state of things there had been dangerous, for the Lord Deputy shows himself anxious to entice the natives to "expulse the Scotts,"† of which Mayo was "a verie receptacle," whilst Sligo, "well enhabited and ritche," was more haunted with strangers than he desired, "unless the Queene were better answered of her custome."‡

The Plantation of Munster commenced in the autumn of the year following, 1586, on the attainder of the Earl of Desmond, and the confiscation of his estates. Feoffments which he had made of his lands were annulled in the Parliament of Dublin, though not without remonstrance and opposition. The booty to be divided amongst expectant adventurers was great, if the forfeiture should be declared; and they were not balked. Over half a million of acres (574,628) were declared escheated to the Crown, and were parcelled out into seigniories of 12,000, 8000, 6000, and 4000 acres each. The undertakers, that is those who should undertake the plantation or peopling of the territory, were to have estates in fee-farm,

at a rent of £33, 6s. 8d. for estates of 12,000 acres, during three years, and double that sum thenceforth.\* The seigniories were to be peopled in seven years upon the following plan or "plot," as it was called:—Every undertaker of 12,000 acres was bound to plant eighty-six families: his own family was to have 1600 acres, one chief farmer 400, two good farmers 600, two other farmers 400, fourteen freeholders (each 300) 4200, forty copyholders (each 100) 4000, twenty-six cottagers and labourers 800.† Other undertakers were bound proportionately. Edmund Spenser was one of the undertakers; he got 3028 acres in Waterford county.‡ Sir Walter Raleigh fared exceptionally well: he obtained 42,000 in Cork and Waterford.

We are able to obtain a fair glimpse of the interior of the country, from the careful description of one of the new undertakers. Those who confine their reading to Spenser get simply the opinions of one who from his sea-side castle saw but little of the land. That little was exceptional march land; and his book was composed when he had grown embittered—for he was not a successful colonist. Robert Paine, the undertaker whom we quote,§ commences by warning his English countrymen against heeding the evil reports of some disappointed men. They speak of the dangers of Ireland, he says, "Yet are they freed from three of the greatest dangers: first, they cannot meete in all that land any worse than themselves; secondly, they neede not feare robbing, for that they have not any thing to loose; lastly, they are not like to runne in debte, for that there is none will truste them. The greatest matter which troubleth them is, they cannot get anything there but by honest tranell [work] which they are altogether ignorant of." He describes the Irish as of three sorts:—Kerns, or warlike men, who were few, on account of the late wars; wanderers; and the better sort. These last, he says, "are very civill and honestly given; the most of them greatly inclined to husbandrie, although as yet unskilful, notwithstanding, through their great tranell, many of them are rich in cattell. Some one man there milketh one hundred kine, and two or three hundred yearre or goates, and reareth yeerely most of their

\* Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, Book II. c. 6.

† There appear to have been "swarmes" of Scots, as allies, in Ireland, especially after the selection of Edward Bruce, A.D. 1315, as King of Ireland. The Anglo-Irish and Irish united under his standard; and he and his brother, Robert Bruce, advanced almost within sight of Dublin.

‡ *A Chorographical Description of West or Iar-Connaught*—Despatches, etc., Appendix.

\* Smith, *History of Cork*.

† Cox, *History of Ireland*, fol. 1689, Part I. pp. 392-5.

‡ His *View of the State of Ireland* was written ten years after, two years before his death.

§ *Tracts relating to Ireland*—Irish Archaeological Society. A Brief Description of Ireland made in this year 1589, by Robert Paine, unto xxv of his Partners, for whom he is undertaker there.



breed." They give you a "welcome and plentiful" entertainment; "for although they did never see you before, they will make you the best cheare their country affords for two or three days, and take not anything therefore." "Most of them," he continues, "speake good English, and bring up their children to learning." The children in the towns are taught to "conster the Latin into English." "They keepe their promise faithfully," he adds, "and are more desirous of peace than our English men, for that in time of warres they are more chardged." "They are quick-witted, and of good constitution of bodie." "They have a common saying, which I am persuaded they speake unfeinedly, which is *Defend me, and spend me*; meaning from the worsser sort of our countrymen." This phrase has been often misrepresented, but Paine gives its meaning from the lips of the speakers. He adds: "They are obedient to the laws, so you may trauell through all the land, without any danger or injurie offered of the very worst Irish, and be greatly releved of [by] the best." The new landlords or undertakers he divides into two classes: bad and good. The "worsser sorte" had done much hurt, and discouraged many from coming, "for they have enticed many honest men over, promising them much, but performing nothing, no, not so much as to pay their servants or workmen wages; they will not let any term above xxi yeeres or three lives, and they demand for rent xiid. an acre; this is so far from the meaning of her Majestie as appeareth by her highnes graunt that (as I think) they have, or shortly will make al their estates voyd." How this conduct was reproduced by the planters in Ulster we shall see. Paine adds, "They find such profite from their Irish tenants who give them the fourth sheafe of all their corne, and xvid. yearly for a beastes grasse, besides divers other Irish accustomed duties. So they care not although they never place an Englishman there."

The surge of war and confiscation, by which the Pale was extended, loosened the old form of society; and those who gave up most got most favour. To this fate many Irish yielded until they should be able to re-establish their rights. It must be borne in mind that in the wars the humble class of cultivators generally escaped the change and destruction that fell on their superiors in station. The honey was too welcome not to secure the toleration of the working bees. The English and Irish combatants looked down on them as hinds and churls,\* unfit

for fighting, but apt to produce rent and cattle. Disinclined for war and revolts, if not pressed into them by intolerable oppression, they remained, even through Cromwell's transplantations, the one comparatively fixed element in Irish social history—a settled substratum.

The extension of the border of the Pale over them was marked chiefly as extending border-practice—the practice of plundering them, of levying uncertain rents and keeping them in uncertain tenure. Their land-laws, rents, and security were preserved from destruction exactly so far as they were able to enforce them. They had the strength of definite aims against desultory oppression, of numbers against isolated undertakers, of armed allies in the outlawed Kerns, Tories, Rapparees, to whom they gave aid and comfort, for good reasons. For these men were the guards and executive of the proscribed laws and Brehons; they were employed to enforce the ancient land-code, and not only against undertakers, but against tenants—to check the competition of base tenants and wandering Fuidirs, to protect security of tenure, and to keep down rack-rents. Revolutions in England always threw a backwash of strange undertakers or landlords upon Ireland, who usually at first regarded the native tenantry as "natural enemies," and frequently strove to treat them as such. But those wars also threw on the country the armed remnants of defeated armies, who in their lurking-places received aid and comfort from the earth-tillers, and who did them secret service in return. Whether they were called Wood-Kern, Tories, Rapparees, or Ribbonmen, in successive ages, the part they played was the same—the enforcement of the ancient system and immemorial customs.\*

their rascall people, whom they thinke unserviceable, as old men, women, children, and hyndes, which they call churles, which would onely waste their victuals, and yielde them no ayde, but their cattle they will surely keepe away. . . . This sort of base people doth not for the most part rebell of themselves, having no heart there unto."—Spenser, *View of the State of Ireland*, p. 74.

\* The Statute 7 Gul. iii. sess. 1, c. 21, shows that Protestants or reputed Protestants, as well as Papists and reputed Papists, were concerned as "Robbers, Rapparees, and Tories," just as in the middle of last century there were Protestant "Hearts of Steel" and "Hearts of Oak" in the North in arms against "cesses" and "rack-rents," as well as "White Boys" and "Rockites" warring in the South against "rack-rents" and "tythes." In Donegal county, until a few years ago, the Ribbon society was wont in its Courts or Lodges to issue a decree, popularly known as a "Donegal decree" or "Glenswilly decree," under which the cattle of debtors were

\* "The rebels themselves will turn away all



These were some of the checks opposed to the practice of degrading the Irish tenants into mere rack-rented Fuidirs, and degrading into villenage the English tenants, to whom Queen and landlord had promised the security of copyhold tenure at the least. The tenants, in both cases, made open resistance whenever they could.

But Paine saw a better class of undertakers also. They gave land in fee-farm, and leases for 100 years, at sixpence an acre. These advantages were, when he wrote, limited to English tenants. The conditions of the Plantation prescribed that no English planter should convey to any "meer Irish;" that the head of each plantation should be English; that the heirs-female should marry none but of English birth; and that none of the "meer Irish" should be maintained in any family there.\* Nevertheless these tenants quickly accepted Irish customs. Quite unconsciously, Paine lauds Sir Richard Greenfield for what was really an adaptation of the method in which the Irish chief dealt with his tenant. He stocked his farm and got tribute in return: Greenfield, we are told, "taketh a very good order for artificers and labourers; he will let any poore man of honest behaviour a house, xl acres of land, and vi milche kine for xl s. the yeere, for the terme of three lives; and if any breede off sufficient stock and restore the rest, xx s. rent." The importance of this acceptance of Irish customs lies in the fact that with them came the practice of security and settlement.† "Master Phane Beecher," near Kinsale, one of the largest undertakers, conducted his plantation so honourably that tenants flocked to him: "but he hath covenanted with every of his said tennauntes to place others under them, by which meanes there are many small percelles of 50, 60, or some 100 acres, to be had as good, cheape, and under as goode conditions as the best, for his speciall care is that every inhabbiter there should have as much libertie as a freeholder in England."‡

distraigned in accordance with Brehon law. The distress was hidden away in the mountains until a settlement was made. The cattle of landlords who imposed what were believed to be overcharges, have thus been taken, and, on forfeiture, sold for the benefit of the tenants. The ancient custom of land division co-existed, and in (part) still exists, in Donegal and the West.—See Coulter, *Tour in the West of Ireland*.

\* Smith, *History of Cork*,—extract from an MS. of Lismore.

† Leland says regretfully, "Leases and conveniences were made to many of the Irishry."—Vol. ii. p. 302.

‡ It is observable that though Paine regrets seeing the Irish allowed as tenants, he always speaks favourably of them, "although the name of the Irish among the ignorant is odious." Many traitors in Desmond's war were driven to

It may be supposed that there were others as careful. Those who were not so, and grasped at too much, found soon that they had to relax their grasp, or lose permanent advantages. The class of tenants they could obtain were too independent to subject themselves to rack-rented bondage, when they could help it. So they gave no hostages. They neither built nor improved; they sat loose; they made sure that they could proceed to fresh fields and new pastures at their own pleasure.\* Landlords must have

revolt: "As well die as traitors as be harried to death, spoiled by the worser sort of soldiera." "But as touching their government in their corporations where they beare rule, it is doone, with such wisdom, equity, and justice, as demerits worthy commendations. For I myself diverse times have seene in severall places within their iurisdiction wel nearly twenty causes decided at one sitting, with such indifferencie, that for the most parte both plaintiffe and defendant hath departed contented; yet manye that make shew of peace and desireth to live by bloode doe utterly mislike this or any goode thing that the poore Irishman doth."

\* "The soile is generally fertill, but litle and badly manured, by reason of the great exactions of the lordes upon their tenants. For the tenant dothe not holde his lands by any assurance for tearme of yeares or lyfe, but only *ad voluntatem domini*, so that he never buildeth, repaireth, or encloseth the grounde, but whensoever the lord listeth is turned out or departeth at his most advantage."—*Tracts relating to Ireland*. Irish Archaeological Society, 1842: A Treatise on Ireland by John Dymmok [probably an attendant on Essex], 1600. So also Spenser: "*Irenæus*. The Lords of the land and freeholders doe not theruse to set out their Land in farme or for tearme of yeares to their tennants, but onely from yeare to yeare, and some during pleasure, neither indeed will the Irish tenant or husbandman otherwise take his Land than so long as he list himselfe. The reason hereof in the tennant is, for that the Land-lords there use most shamefully to racke their tennants, laying upon them Coyne and Livery at pleasure, and exacting of them (beside his Covenants) what he pleaseth. So that the poore husbandman either dare not binde himselfe for longer tearme, or thinketh by his continuall liberty of change to keepe his Land-lord the rather in awe from wronging of him" [tenants were scarce then]. "*Eudorus*. But what evill cometh hereby to the Common-wealth, or what reason is it that the Landlord should be set, nor any tennant take his land, as himselfe list?" "*Irenæus*. Marry, the evill which cometh hereby is great, for by this meanes, both the Landlord thinketh that he hath the Tennant more at command, to follow him into what action soever he shall enter, and also the tennant being left at his liberty is fit for every occasion of change that shall be offered by time: and as much also the more ready and willing that he hath no such state in any his houlding, no such building upon any farme, no such coste imployed in fencing and husbanding the same, as might with-holde him [i.e., provided he had a secure estate in them] from any such wilfull course. All which hee hath forborne and spared so much expence for that he hath no firme estate in his



been quickly taught that such tenants-at-will, and at rack-rent, only cared to remain until they had obtained all they could from the natural or pre-added fertility of the soil. Having impoverished it and the short-sighted over-greedy lord, they knocked down their sheds of interwoven branches, and drove off their stock to better quarters. The undertaker, in order to save his estate, had to secure permanent tenants; and these could only be had by giving security of tenure. Once compelled to relax his grasp, nothing prevented his compliance with the tenure-customs of the country; for in the majority of cases he was ignorant of land-customs and of agriculture, and had to deal with men whose business it was to know both, whose help he needed, and whose minds were tenacious of ancient habits. They knew the country too, its soil and climate, and could resort to its markets and fairs.\* And thus it happened that, after the lapse of ten years from the commencement of the plantation, a disappointed undertaker, Edmund Spenser, had to record of his fellows that "instead of keeping out the Irish, they do not onely make the Irish their Tennants in those lands, and thrust out the English, but also some of them become meere Irish."† And such tenures had they, and such knowledge of their rights, that it was difficult to pack a jury; for jurors had to be freeholders, and "most of the Freeholders of that Realme are Irish," who have "stepped into the very roomes of your English."‡

By the Act 12 Eliz. cap. 4, such Irishry or Degenerate men of English name holding their lands by Irish custom in the several provinces (some counties excepted), as should offer to surrender and take them to hold of the Crown, were to receive them under Let-

Tenement, but was onely a Tennant-at-will, or little more, and so at will may leave it. And this inconvenience may be reason enough to ground any ordinance for the good of the common-wealth, against the private behoofe or will of any Land-lord that shall refuse to graunt any such tearme or estate unto his Tennant as may tende to the goode of the whole Realme."—*View of the State of Ireland*, pp. 57, 58.

\* It was not till the Stat. 11 and 12 and 13 Jac. I. c. 4, that the Acts of Henry VI. were repealed, which, among other things, forbade the taking of merchandise among the Irish at their fairs.

† *View of the State of Ireland*, p. 105.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 16. His advice that they should be "heedfull and provident in Iuries," appears to have been taken. Questions of Titles and Rights submitted to Juries heedfully provided by encroaching undertakers or adventurers did not result satisfactorily to the land-owners, though pleasantly to the land-hunters. Another Desmond Rebellion was in part thus caused.—*Vide Pacata Hibernia*: 1683.

ters-Patent, or have and to hold them for years or life in tail, or in fee-simple, or with remainders to other persons. The Irish expected much from a Scottish king. But in 1605, the customs of Tanistry and Gavel-kind were abolished by judgment in the King's Bench; and in 1608, the patrimony of the Ulster Earls, 511,465 acres, was forfeited to the Crown. Most authorities believe that the plot for which the Earls suffered was only a sham one, concocted by land-hunters. Scruples were rare among adventurer officials. Letters exist showing that they suborned a man,\* in Elizabeth's reign, to assassinate the predecessor of one of these two Earls. The formal disgavelling of the country, immediately previous, gives colour to this disbelief in a plot on the part of the Earls, whilst it suggests a predetermination to have their lands confiscated, nominally to the Crown, actually for the benefit of their judges. The advantage of previous disgavelling† was this: under English law, lands held in gavel-kind were greatly privileged against escheats, the custom of Kent being expressed in its maxim, "The father to the bough, the son to the plough." The point has been overlooked; yet it accounts for much of the eloquence employed against gavel-kind by Sir John Davis, who, Attorney-General and Commissioner of Confiscation though he was, managed to obtain, in the precincts allotted to English undertakers, servitors, and natives, three grants of 2000 acres, 1500 acres, and 500 acres respectively. He did not fulfil the conditions of the Plantation scheme. It is necessary to understand this, because it enables us better to appreciate the protests of the tenantry against the unscrupulous frauds of the planters.

The essential points of the Plantation scheme were as follows:‡—There were three classes of undertakers: (1.) English and Scottish, servitors or not, who were bound to plant English or inland Scottish tenants; (2.) Servitors (officials) in Ireland who might plant with Irish as well; (3.) Natives of Ireland, to be made freeholders. The three classes were to have estates in fee-farm—the first class (after two years' grace) to yield rent at the rate of £5, 6s. 8d. per 1000 acres; the second class the same, but £8 per 1000 acres of lands planted with Irish; the third class (after one year's grace)

\* *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, State Papers, vol. ii. p. 218.

† No such necessity, of course, existed in the case of the Anglo-Norman Earl of Desmond.

‡ "Orders and Conditions to be observed by the Undertakers upon the Distribution and Plantation of the Escheated Lands in Ulster," printed 1608.—Harris, *Hibernica*, p. 123.



to pay at the rate of £10, 13s. 4d. for every 1000 acres. Undertakers (of the first two classes) of 2000 acres were to hold by knight's service in capite; of 1500 by knight's service as of the castle of Dublin; of 1000 in common soccage: the first to build a castle and strong court or bawn; the second a stone or brick house, with the same; the third a strong court or bawn, at least—all within two years. The tenants were to be induced to build. Timber for all was given for nothing from the King's woods. They were forbidden to aliene to the Irish, or (in the case of servitors) to any who would not take the oath of supremacy. For five years, unless excused by license, they were to be resident, and only aliene one-third part in fee-farm, and another third for 40 years or under.\* They were to reserve the rest. On the expiration of five years, they were free to aliene, except to the Irish, etc. They received power to erect manors, to hold Courts Baron twice a year, to create tenures to hold of themselves upon alienation. "The said undertakers shall not demise any part of their lands at will only, but shall make certain estates for years, for life, in tail or in fee-simple."† No uncertain rents were to be reserved. Their patents were to have provisos against cuttings, cosheries, and other exactions. For five years they could import anything, not by way of merchandise, duty free; for seven years they could transport their produce free of custom or imposition. The Irish natives were, like the rest, bound to make certain estates for lives or years to their under-tenants, and to take no Irish exactions.

There is an aspect of such elaborate care about this Plantation scheme, and Sir John Davis has so praised its superiority over the Queen's plot for Munster, that observers have been and are deceived. Their attention is concentrated on the flagrant breach of its studied provisions by the undertakers; and they omit to notice the one great flaw which it has in common with the Munster scheme, and by which the destruction of both was necessarily insured. There was no arrangement whatever made as to the amount of rent to be paid by the under-tenants. Their rents were not fixed like those of the larger tenants, commonly called landlords;‡ there

\* "Nor set them at uncertain rents, or for a less term than for twenty-one years, or three lives."—Carte, *Life of Ormond*, vol. i. p. 73.

† Compare this with the commutation offered for Irish tenures by Stat. 12 Eliz. cap. 4, already quoted.

‡ The name of "landlord" misleads many of such upper tenants in Ireland, and makes them suppose that they have some special, absolute, or allodial ownership in the soil, which others have

was no sliding scale dependent on produce price proposed; no arbitration courts were appointed. It was a mockery to provide for certain estates to be made at certain rents, whilst the greater tenants (whose rents were fixed) were left free to name the rent of the under-tenants. There was, indeed, no fear of over-competition; and if the Irish native tenantry had been impartially recognised and estated, there would have been no temptation to evade and make void the plantation-clauses.

The undertakers were very human; they not only yielded to temptation, but sought it. As in Munster, they invited over tenants from Britain, and when they had them in their power betrayed them. A few got leases; a few had "mynnyts" [minutes]; a large number held only by promise; and some who could went away.\* The Irish, in fact, ousted them again largely, as in Munster. British tenants, who had no estates, declined to improve the land or stock it. Some sublet to the Irish, who, with cattle in hand, kept to "greasing." While exorbitant rents could be had of the Irish, most landlords and agents competed for them, and finally, as in Munster, had to come to their terms, more especially when the wars of 1641 placed them at their mercy. Whilst it could be said, as in several places in Pynnar's Survey it is said, "All this land is inhabited with Irish," tried veterans who, with the "wickedest" of septa, the Clandonnell Scots, repulsed Elizabeth's armies, it is evident that the Irish land-customs would be maintained. The British settlers were dependent

not. This led them to resent Drummond's observation that "Property has its duties as well as its rights." In the same way it leads them to resent the movement by the under or terre-tenants for security of tenure and settled rents. They forget, or do not know, that their own predecessors had to foment more than one agitation against the uncertain render of knight's service—*aids*, relief, wardship, livery, *maritagium*, and (for King's tenants in capite) *primer seisin*, alienation fines—before they obtained or could obtain that secure tenure at certain rents which they now enjoy. It was only at the Restoration, by the Stat. 12 Car. II. c. 24, that they obtained what they sought. A class of tenants which has suffered should have consideration for another class which suffers; nor should the special champions of English land-law forget its root principles—"The first thing, then, a student has to do is to get rid of the idea of absolute ownership. Set an idea is quite unknown to the English law. No man is in law the absolute owner of lands. He can only hold an estate in them."—William, *Principles of the Law of Real Property*, p. 17.

\* See Report of the "Survey in 1618-9, by virtue of his Majesty's Commission, under the great seal of Ireland, to Nicholas Pynnar and others." "Letter of Sir Thomas Phillips, Knt. of Lymyvady."—Harris, *Hibernica*.



on these Irish; for we are told that, if the Irish had been put away with their cattle, the British would have had either to forsake their dwellings, or to endure great distress "on a suddain." The dispersed tenants were contributors to the wood-kern. The land-customs of the Scottish and Welsh settlers were, like their languages, very similar to the Irish. Those customs went to the formation of what is now known as the Ulster custom, though it existed then, so far as security is concerned, all over Ireland, except where Border-practice could rule unchecked.

Did English settlers contribute anything to the formation of this custom? We believe they contributed to shape it, by moulding the congenial native elements after their own copyhold custom, and so helped, by virtue of their ascendancy, to obtain its recognition. The Gaelic-speaking natives bought and sold among themselves; the landlord or agent was doubtless content to receive the rent from any comer. The English-speaking tenants, except those dispersed at a distance from the undertaker's residence, were brought into such close contact with him that he could supervise their dealings. Yet he became so dependent on them, in days of civil strife, when not only his estate but his life was at stake, that such supervision must have been nominal. He knew that he had committed such breaches of his patent that he held it, as it were, by sufferance, and that if he did not at least compound with his tenants by submitting to their customs they might complain so urgently as to cause forfeiture of his estate. King's commissioners were going about. Sir Josias Bodley had examined and reported severely in 1613; and King James had thereupon written earnestly to the Lord Deputy,\* ordering a general survey of the plantation on which he personally prided himself. Nicholas Pynnar had then (1619) reported severely. It was known amongst them all that, for delinquencies of which each was more or less guilty, the Londoners' "Irish Society" had incurred the sequestration of its Irish property (1624). In consequence of accusations which might have been brought against any of them, it had its patent annulled by the Star-Chamber in 1636.† Ucalegon's house was aflame. Thus it was necessary for the landlord to

keep his tenants in good humour, to respect their customs at least, and allow them security of tenure, that his own might not be disturbed. They were to be virtually and practically "estated tenants," whether a lease was executed or not. They had been shown their farms and told to enter and take possession. Livery of seisin was made to them; and in those days the maxim, *seisina facit stipitem* ruled, and possession was rather more than nine points of the law. Parole holdings were then not necessarily invalid.

Now what land-customs would the English tenantry carry to Ireland with them? Not those of mere villeins, for the lowest class could not go; and if villeins could have gone, they would have been at once elevated above pure villenage by the articles of plantation requiring estates to be made them in fee, for life, or years. But in England, villeins had been universally rising into secure copyholders, "strengthening their tenure of their estates to that degree that they came to have in them an interest in many places full as good, in others better than their lords." The common law, of which custom is the life, gave them title to prescribe against their lords, and "on performance of the same services to hold their lands in spite of any determination of the lord's will. For although in general they are said to hold their estates at the will of the lord, yet it is such a will as is agreeable to the customs of the manor; which customs are preserved and evidenced by the rolls of the several courts-baron in which they are entered or kept on foot by the constant immemorial usage of the several manors in which the lands lie. And as such tenants had nothing to show for their estates but these customs, and admissions in pursuance of them entered on these rolls, or the copies of such entries witnessed by the steward, they now began to be called tenants by copy of court-roll, and their tenure itself a copyhold." So that "when tenure in villenage was abolished (though copyholds were preserved) by the Statute of Charles II., there was hardly a pure villain left in the nation."\* Thus the lowest class who could go over were copyholders, either in fact or lawful expectation. It will next be seen that an earnest invitation was published in England, urging cultivators to go over to receive copyholds, and that the customs and methods of surrender are identical in their essential particulars.

The author of the rare tract we quote

\* Letter given in the *Concise View of the Irish Society*, Appendix, pp. 37-8.

† "A.D. 1655. In this year the City and County of Londonderry was restored to the Society, who had been deprived of it by a decree in the Star-Chamber, anno 1636."—Ware, *Annals of Ireland*.

\* Blackstone's *Commentaries*, B. ii. c. 6.



from, Thomas Blenerhassett,\* was "one of the undertakers in Farmanagh;" and his word may be relied on, because we find, by Pynnar's Survey, that he did estate his tenantry.† Two years after the publication of

\* *Direction for the Plantation of Ulster and Exhortation to England, etc.*, imprinted at London by Ed. Alde, for John Budge, dwelling at the Great South doors of S. Pauls Church, 1610.

† Fermanagh. "Thomas Blenerhassett hath one thousand five hundred acres, called Edernagh [built bawne of lime and stone and houn]. He hath begun a church. He hath also a small village consisting of six houses built of cage-work, inhabited with English. I find planted and estated on his land, of Brittish families: freeholders, 4, viz., 1 having 80 acres, 1 having 46, 1 having 23, 1 having 16; leasees for years, 8, viz., 1 having 60, 1 having 26, 1 having 8." But Pynnar did not see them, "for the under-tenants and many of the tenants were absent."

It is instructive to glance at a few more typical reports: Cavan.—"John Taylor, esq., hath fifteen hundred acres, called Aghiduff. . . I find planted upon this land, of Brittish Birth and Descent: freeholders 7, viz., 1 having 288 acres; 1, 264; 1, 96; 2, 48 le piece; 2, 24 le piece; leasees of years, 7, viz., 1 having 192; 2, 48 le piece; 2, 24 le piece; 2, 48 le piece. *Cottagers in fee*, 11, viz., 3 having 60 acres le piece; 3, 31 le piece; 3, 30 le piece; 1, 4 acres; 1, 2 acres."

A Scottish undertaker, "William Hamilton, esq., holdeth 1000 acres called Dromuck. . . I find planted and estated upon this land, of Brittish Birth and Descent: freeholders, 2, viz., 2 having 120 acres le piece; leasees for 3 lives, 2, viz., 1 having 42 acres, 1, 54; leasees for years 4, viz., 1 having 128 acres; 1, 84; 1, 48; 1, 36. *Cottagers that hold for years*, 6, viz., 1 having 30 acres; 1, 20; 1, 15; 1, 12; 1, 11; 1, 10."

In Clancally, a precinct appointed for English undertakers, "Sir Hugh Wirral hath a thousand acres, called Ardmagh. . . He hath no freeholder nor leaseholder, and but three poor men on the Land, which have no Estates; for all the Land at this time is inhabited with Irish."

In Castlerahin, a precinct allotted to servitors and natives, "Sir Thomas Ash, Knt., holdeth 1000 acres, called Mullagh. Upon this proportion there is an old castle new mended, but all the land is now inhabited with Irish."

In the precinct of Omy, appointed for English undertakers, "the Earl of Castlehaven hath 3000 acres, called Faugh and Rarone. Upon this there is no building at all, either of Bawne or Castle, neither Freeholders. I find planted upon this land some few English families, but they have no estates, for since the Earl died, the tenants (as they tell me) cannot have their Leases made good unto them unless they will give treble the Rent which they paid, and yet they must but have half the Land which they enjoyed in the late Earl's time." On another property, "the agent for the Earl showed me the Rent-Roll of all the Tenants, but their Estates are so weakly, that they are leaving the Land."

Londonderry, Haberdashers' Hall property, "Sir Robert McClelland hath taken this of the Company for 61 years. . . "There were nominated unto me six Freeholders, which were in Scotland, and these were set down but for small Quantities, and twenty-one are Leaseholders, but not any one of them could show me anything

the King's Orders and Conditions, this writer addresses Prince Henry, in order that "the never-satisfied desires of a few should not quite disgrace and utterly overthrow the good and exceeding good purposes of many." He and certain of his acquaintances being resolved sincerely to plant, he had crossed the seas, and arrived when Sir Arthur Chichester and others were "surveying near Lyfford," about a dozen miles from Londonderry. Knowing some of the chief knights and captains, he asked them why they were not forward themselves to undertake those "profitable seates and rich grounds." The building of forts and castles, they replied, was costly work, and even should there be a manor erected, with twenty or forty tenants, walls and men would not secure their goods. Castle and fort might preserve their lives in an extremity; but the "cruell Wood-Kerne, the devowring Wolfe, and other suspicious Irish, would so attend on their busines, as their being there should be little profitable unto them." There was Sir Tobye Cawfield, dwelling in Charlemount, a fort of many others the best, well furnished with men and munitions; "yet now (even in this faire calme of quiet) his people are driven every night to lay up all their Cattle as it were in Warde, and doe hee and his what they can, the Wolfe and the Wood-Kerne (within Caliever-shot of his Forte) have oftentimes a share." Indeed, "all men there in all places doe the like." Even within what they had long called the English Pale, it was so. "Sir John King, he dwelleth within halfe a mile of Dublin. Sir Henry Harrington within halfe a mile on the other side thereof, . . . they also doe

in writing for their Estates, neither could the Landlord show me any Counterpains."

Summing up in an appended letter, Pynnar gives his opinion of what he saw in the Survey:—"I may say that the abode or continuance of those inhabitants upon the Lands is not yet made certain, although I have seen the Deeds made unto them. My reason is, that many of the English tenants do not yet plough upon the Lands, neither use Husbandrie, because I conceive they are fearful to stock themselves with Cattle or Servants for those labours. Neither do the Irish use Tillage; for that they are also uncertain of their Stay upon the Lands; so that by this means the Irish ploughing nothing do use, greasing, the English very little, and were it not for the Scottish Tenants [who had more security, or were poorer,] which do plough in many places, those parts may starve; by reason whereof the Brittish, who are forced to take their Lands at great Rates, do lie at the greater Rates paid unto them by the Irish Tenants who do grease their Lands; and if the Irish be put away with their Cattle, the Brittish must either forsake their Dwellings, or endure great Discommodities on the suddain." Thus middlemen came.—*Pynnar's Survey, Hibernica.*



the like, for those forenamed enemies doe every night survey the fields to the very Walls of Dublin." Armagh city could not restrain the violence of the wolf: and there were no inland towns equal to Armagh. Bogs and woods\* were the strongholds of the wood-kern and wolf. Now what was to be done to plant such a country?

In the first place, towns must be built and safety insured, "with the helpe of some Irish"—the agricultural classes. Then "those good fellowes in trowzes, I mean the everywhere dispersed creatures in the creats [i.e., the cattle-owners], seeing this course will no longer hearken after change, nor entertaine the lurking Wood-Kerne as now they doe." But towns are only outposts. Tenants must be induced, by every means, to take and settle on remote lands, "which the undertaker should allot them by Coppy of Court-roll, or otherwise." "So all the lands farre remote" would be occupied. And his reasons are to be observed:—"Oh, this word *Myne* is a strong warriour, every man for his *owne* will adventure farre. The Mercenary Rutter will oftentimes have his charge empty with men, when his purse shall be full with dead payes. This my valiaunt and provident warriour *Myne*, he will rather increase than decrease his number, he doth watch and ward night and day without ceasing. Therefore in this our Undertaking, let all the people be such as shall enjoy every man more or lesse, of his *owne*." "There be twelve of us," he says, "under the assignation of the Right Honourable Gilbert, Earl of Shrewsbury," who intended to purchase and plant, bestowing their best endeavours on the matter, "for discoursing will not doe it." In his *Exhortation to Fayre England*, he explains that men are needed to colonize with. He warns off poor indigent fellows, without faculty or money, who would only starve, and adds: "Art thou an husbandman, whose worth is not past tenne or twenty pounds? goe thither; those new manor-makers will make thee a Coppy-Holder; thou shalt whistle sweetely, and feede thy whole family, if they be six, for sixpence a day."

Upon such an invitation as this, in which twelve undertakers joined, it is reasonable to believe that a fair number of actual or

presumptive copyholders, desirous of a wider field, would go to Ireland, and there establish their custom. Provision was made for copyholders by the Queen's Plot for Munster, so that forty families—nearly half the total number—should be planted on every large estate. Custom rather than writing was the life of their tenure. It was the substantial basis of the colonization. It was widened by the fact of so many holding "by promise," by "*mynnyts*," by writings not handed over or lost. It was supported by the universal Irish custom of prescriptive rights, and compensation for improvements. It was confirmed by terror of the Wood-Kern, and by the resolve of armed men, who had taken over their small capitals, invested them, built houses, and improved wastes, to defend their property against all comers. It was sealed by the acquiescence of the undertakers, who knew that they were themselves but tenants on sufferance. The Wood-Kern, the Royal Commissioners, and the rising of 1641, made them feel this acutely, and allow a custom to which, or to greater concessions, they were pledged, and which was acknowledged by the law in England. Many of them were probably glad to be excused from the necessity of giving greater concessions, and, being used to the custom, thought it nothing strange. Writing materials were not to be had every day; and this was probably the cause why copies were infrequent. The changes of upper tenants or undertakers by means of alienations or sales were not rare. These changes and the wars tended to throw the formal records of the Courts-Baron into confusion, or transform their written acts into verbal law. The dispersed state of the tenantry, the difficulty of intercommunication, the social condition of the country, threw or kept the tenants on their own resources. They bargained and sold together, interchanged chattels and lands; and in doing so, they did what they were authorized to do by customs handed down for generations, and confirmed by law, on the manors from which so many of them had come. The Ulster custom may be called a parole copyhold custom; and we shall see that, in the reign of William III., such a parole tenure was confessed to exist.

The Plantation schemes of both South and North show that it was intended to exclude tenants-at-will. Anciently the lord's manor was divisible into demesne land, worked by labourers for himself; book-land or charter-land, held by deed under certain rents and services, from which arose freehold tenants holding of particular manors, by some suit and service to the same; and folk-land, distributable at pleasure, and re-

\* So rapidly were the woods wasted that it was found necessary to provide, by Stat. 10 Gul. III. sess. 2, c. 12, for the planting of 260,600 trees, some in every county. This was a change for the land which Cynthia delighted in more than all the gods who used to resort there:—

"Whylome, when Ireland flourished in fame  
Of wealth and goodnesse far above the rest  
Of all that beare the Brittish Islands' name."  
—*Faerie Queen*.



sumable at the lord's discretion, being indeed land held in villenage.\* Now it is clear that the plantation properties were granted as demesne and book or charter lands only, with an evident and understood purpose. It is also clear that, with a purpose, evident also, but not exactly understood, the grantees laboured to degrade the properties into folk-land and the tenants into a state resembling villenage. But they began too late. They had to deal with tenants the lowest of whom knew the sweets of a copyholder's liberty.

In Ulster, the tenant alienes sometimes with, sometimes without, his lord's knowledge. Anciently, the feudal bond being reciprocal, neither lord nor tenant could aliene without the consent of the other. The restraint on the lords soon wore off. There were fines upon alienation; but, in England, "these fines seem only to have been exacted from the King's tenants in capite, . . . but as to common persons, they were at liberty, by Magna Charta, and the Statute of Quia emptores, to aliene the whole of their estate, to be holden of the same lord, as they themselves held it of before."† By the Statute of Edward I., every freeman could sell his lands or tenements, or parts thereof, at his own pleasure; and by the Statute 32 H. VIII. c. 1, the power of testamentary alienation was given for estates in fee-simple, and, in later days, by the Statute 29 Car. II. c. 3, sec. 12, for estates held for the life of another. Now, there was a considerable number of freeholders so privileged by written deed, in the plantations; and there was a still more considerable number so privileged by "mynnyts," and by "promise." To the latter class some of the former may have been added, by the loss or destruction of their documents during the subsequent civil wars. Thus, we should have a comparatively large, and ever increasing body, who had a right to buy and sell their small estates or farms, and whose right, being unrecorded, could be trampled on in law, as often in fact it would have been had they not resisted by force. They had no need to consult the lord‡ when they bought

or sold a farm; and they did not consult him. But in later years, the upper tenants or landlords have been labouring to reclaim

to defend the place; and it appears to me that we can trace, from all that I see about the matter, the present indefeasible tenant-right up to that; for those who were settled by the original patentees were in some sort fosterers or kindred, and were then engaged in the defence of the country, and became rather a kind of friendly tenant than a tenant for money; and I think from that time to this, the tenant-right has been continued, and in no way altered by law, but by custom." "18. Do you think it arose from these persons, so brought in, having in the first instance built those dwellings and houses themselves? Yes, I think so, and being connected with the patentees in a closer way than the mere connection of a tenant with a landlord." "22. Can you give any statement of what you consider the price or value of it, compared to the year's rent or the acre? I do not believe there would be any general rule; but within this fortnight a man in a mountain district that belongs to myself came for some timber to build a house. I had never seen him nor heard of him before; but on inquiring who he was, I learned that he had given £80 for a farm without a lease, that paid £3 a year."—p. 743. James M. Reid, Esq., land agent, co. Tyrone:—"56. Is it usual to allow the tenantry to sell the tenant-right? Yes, it is a part, but usually you must please the agent; and the incoming person, if he happens to be a favourite or pet, can buy it at less than one-half the market-price."—p. 824-5. William Blacker, Esq.:—"67. The property has been brought into cultivation within the memory of man, by the exertions of the occupying tenant, without any assistance from his landlord whatever; for instance, in the case of the allotments on the sch. lands the other day, the poor man builds a house and brings the bog land, which was worth nothing, into a valuable property."—p. 324. C. J. Knox, Esq., agent, Clothworkers' Company:—"32. In the present state of the country, it is not only judicious to allow the sale of the tenant-right, but I think it would be cruelly unjust to prevent it—unjust, because the tenantry and their forefathers have been permitted to make all the permanent improvements at their own expense—and injudicious, because with the poorer classes it is the best security against the dissipation of the premises, the price of the tenant-right always being in proportion to the condition of the farm."—p. 651. Townland Valuation Report of 1844: Evidence of A. Senior, Esq.:—"1091. The Committee should not understand that the tenant-right depends entirely upon an outlay made by an improving tenant, inasmuch as an outgoing tenant on a mountain district would receive tenant-right who had not expended anything upon the land." "1142. The early settlers were stationed in a hostile country, and could only tempt their retainers to come over, or to remain, by granting permanent advantages in return for the protection they afforded the first chief occupiers." "1103. As a question of political economy, it is precisely the same to the incoming tenant, whether he pays a small rent and a large fine as tenant-right, or a larger rent to the proprietor." "1155. Do I understand from you that the landlord does not actually check the incoming tenant, but it is a bargain between the man who is ejected, [case supposed,] and the

\* Blackstone's *Commentaries*, B. ii. c. 6.

† Ibid., B. ii. c. 5.

‡ Land Commissioners' Report: Evidence of James Sinclair, Esq., J.P., Strabane, co. Tyrone:—"In this district, as long as I remember, and for a great time back, as far as the Plantation of Ulster, the tenant-right has been respected, and has been valuable only to the tenant. The notion is, that it originated in the manner in which the settlement of Ulster was made. The tenants *in capite* got a certain portion of land, on condition that they were to sublet to under tenants a portion, for three lives and twenty-one years, upon strictly feudal terms, to be ready with arms



them from such a state of freedom, degrading them to the supervised copyhold surrender.

The custom in Ulster varies in different counties; copyhold customs were not the same on all manors. Numbers of the colonizers went from the north of England to the north of Ireland, and took with them a custom which harmonized well with the freeholders' unwritten rights. They held, indeed, by copy of court-roll; but their tenure hardly originated in villenage, for even the merely formal expression that they held at the will of their lords, inserted in other copies, was excluded from theirs. Their lands, held by such a tenure, were customary freeholds. Lawyers have debated whether this freehold is in the lord or in the tenant; but, though the decision leans in favour of the lord where he has right to mines and timber, etc., where such rights, or most of them, do not exist, the customary freeholds "may with good reason be regarded as the actual freehold estates of the tenant." Such tenant would then "possess the rights of other freeholders in fee-simple, subject only to a customary mode of alienation." \* What connection is there between any such customary mode of alienation and that prevalent in Ulster? An instance is given of a locality in Westmoreland where "the customary mode of conveyance has always been by deed of grant, or *bargain and sale*, without livery of seisin, lease for a year, or enrolment." † The similarity of this to the Ulster usage is obvious. But this is not all. The "cottagers in fee" whom Pynnar mentions as estated in Ulster, and whom he places lowest on his list, even beneath those who had merely the chattel interest of a term of years, appear to have held an estate in fee-simple in copyholds. ‡ Such was the tenure that Thomas Blenerhassett promised. The copyholders' right to alienate is of an-

cient origin. They stood on a footing analogous to that of freeholders. Like them they took the oath of fealty, and did suit at the manor-court. As copyhold tenure originated in villenage, the customary services, varying with different manors, had an agricultural, sometimes a menial character. We find such customary services prevalent in Ulster, and elsewhere in Ireland, at the beginning of the present century, and lingering on in remote localities. Under that head come the "duty-fowl" sent to the landlord or agent, the "duty-days" when the tenant was obliged to supply "duty-men" and horses and do "duty-work" at cutting his landlord's corn and turf, and drawing them home. The character was impressed on leases, where these "and other dues too shameful to mention" were specified.\* The copyholder who alienated by surrender did so by "coming to the steward in court, or, if custom permits, out of court, and there, by delivering up a rod, a glove, or other symbol, as the custom directs, resigning into the hands of the lord, by the hands and acceptance of his said steward, all his interest and title in the estate *in trust*, to be again granted out by the lord to such persons and such uses as are named in the surrender. . . . Immediately upon such surrender in court [baron] or upon presentment of surrender made out of court, the lord, by his steward, grants the same land again to *cestuy que use* (improperly called the surrenderee) to hold by the ancient rents and customary services, and thereupon admits him tenant to the copyhold, according to the form and effect of the surrender." † Now what is this but a description of one of the lowest forms of the Ulster custom, as it is called? The essential part is that one tenant sells his farm to another, to hold of the same lord, at the same rent. ‡ The recognition of the new tenant

man who is coming in? Entirely so; the usual form which appears is an advertisement, headed 'FARM FOR SALE,' issued by the outgoing tenant, who is in want of a purchaser. Under this system, therefore, there are almost no arrears of rent." (The rent being a first charge on sale-proceeds.) "1156. That is called 'Farm for Sale?' Yes. 1157-8. Even though the tenant has no lease? Yes."

\* Williams, *Principles of the Law of Real Property*, pp. 289, 290.

† *Ibid.*, note, p. 290.

‡ Perhaps one reason why undertakers were averse to give written records to freeholders was that freehold lands in fee-simple escheated to the Crown if the tenant were convicted of treason. The times were stormy, landseekers on the lookout (as personally they knew) for discoveries and "concealments," "paper petitions" common in Charles I.'s time. Now copyholders' lands escheated to the lord.

\* *Statistical Survey of Tyrone*, drawn up for the Dublin Society, 1802.

† Blackstone, *Commentaries*, B. ii. c. 22.

‡ The following Acts relating to copyholds have been passed in the present reign:—First, commutation of rents, reliefs, customary services, fines, etc., were facilitated. The landlord's rents and interest are changed, by commutation, into a rent-charge varying or not, as agreed, with the price of corn, and a small fixed fine (Stats. 4 and 5 Vict. c. 85, s. 14; 15 and 16 Vict. c. 51, s. 41). Facilities were given for the enfranchisement or conveyance of the freehold of such lands from lord to tenant—either in consideration of money paid the former, of an annual rent-charge varying with the price of corn, or of the conveyance of other lands (Stats. 4 and 5 Vict. c. 35, ss. 50, 59, 73, 74, 75; 6 and 7 Vict. c. 23; 7 and 8 Vict. c. 55, s. 5). It was provided also that the money paid for the enfranchisement might be charged on the lands by way of mortgage (Stats. 4 and 5 Vict. c. 35, ss. 70, 71, 72; 7 and 8 Vict. c. 55, s. 4).



by the agent was a mere formality; and the attempt to make it more than a formality is a modern encroachment, the enforcement of which would be resented unless the incomer were notoriously unfit. In Ulster, during tumultuous times, both landlords and tenants had to dispense with much paper or parchment work: the entering of the tenant's name on the court-roll or book, and the transfer of the symbol, or one or other, was enough.

There is here surely enough to show the origin of what is known as the Ulster custom. In reality it extended over Ireland; but in Ulster it has remained almost intact, because the political and religious causes that devastated the South, and as far as possible destroyed its ancient rights and customs, did not hurt the North. Generally, the Ulster tenants were Protestants, so that the province was not wasted by the Penal Laws. They retained their arms, rose in defence of their custom more than once, and did not vote against their landlords. Thus they remained almost undisturbed until quite recently, when it was found that in one case the custom was not allowed in a law-court.\*

The compulsory Copyhold Act of 1852 is still more remarkable. Either landlord or tenant can compel enfranchisement (Stat. 15 and 16 Vict. c. 51). If the tenant demands it, he is to make compensation in a lump sum, on its completion; or in certain cases, it may be charged as a mortgage. If the landlord demands it, he is to get the compensation as an annual rent-charge, issuing out of the lands, subject to the right of the parties, with the sanction of the appointed commissioners, to agree that the compensation shall be either a gross sum, or on a yearly rent-charge, or a conveyance of land (sec. 7). The rent-charge may vary with the price of grain, or be fixed, at the option of the parties or the discretion of the commissioner (sec. 41).

\* It was a bad test-case; for the tenant was a priest. It is hard to know on what principle the Ulster custom should be disallowed, whilst other customs are admitted. The limit of legal memory applies to all or none. But in the case of *Grannel v. Hamilton*, before the Lord Chief-Justice and a special jury, certain specified customs are sanctioned for the three other provinces of Leinster, Munster, and Connaught. The Lord Chief-Justice said, referring to examples given of the custom: "The books showed that in Munster and Connaught two-thirds, and in Leinster seven-eighths, of the crop went to the out-going tenant, leaving in the one one-third, and in the other one-eighth, to the landlord or to the incoming tenant. This applied to uncertain tenures, or as a yearly tenancy, or where the lease fell in on the sudden dropping of a life after the crop was sown. If the jury believed the custom as alleged on the part of the plaintiff to exist (that was a matter which they were seriously to consider), he could not yield to the requisitions of the (landlord) defendant's counsel and tell them that such a custom was unreasonable or illegal. It was

Mutual dependence on each other's good offices drew together the British and Irish tenants in the years following the plantations. By offering a high rent, the Irishmen often retained their holdings.\* Inter-marriages became frequent, "gossiped, fosterings, relations of much dearness among the Irish, together with all others of tenancy, neighbourhood, and service interchangeably passed among them." "Nay," it is added, "they had made as it were a kind of mutual transmigration into each other's manners, many English being strangely degenerated into Irish affections and customs, and many Irish, especially of the better sort, having taken up the English language, apparel," etc.† The Catholics privately enjoyed the free exercise of their religion, while the Scottish tenants began to complain of being persecuted by Prelacy. When they had just expected to reap the fruit of their labour, "by the cruell severitie and arbitrarie proceedings of the civill magistrate," and "the unblest way of the Prelacy, our soules," they say, "are starved, our estates undone, our families impoverished, and many lives among us cut off or destroyed."‡ The Irish gained by this hostility between Prelacy and Puritanism; it was complained that their schools began to be universities rather than schools, from the numbers attending them. The Irish were fond of learning:

sufficient in his opinion, also, if the custom was proved to exist in the district to which the plaintiff belonged." After a short deliberation the jury found for the landlord defendant on account, for the tenant plaintiff on another—verdict for the plaintiff on the ground that "the custom he was entitled to his crops, and they assessed the damages at £276." However, "upon the application of defendant's counsel, execution was respited pending the decision of legal point: raising questions as to there being evidence of the custom, and of its being a reasonable or legal custom."—*Freeman's Journal*, Dec. 11, 1869. The Lord Chief-Justice appears to take a view identical with that which we have already mentioned. Quoting Lord Coke on the way-going crop, he said: "Now that was Lord Coke stating the Common Law of England, which centuries ago was introduced into Ireland, and now formed part of the Common Law of Ireland. If the laws and customs ('leges et consuetudines') were made identical as intended, then the non-recognition of prescriptions recognised in England requires to be accounted for.

\* "They, finding the natives willing to overpay rather than remove, and that they could not reaping half the profit by the British that they do in the Irish," etc.—*Hibernica*. A Letter from Thomas Phillips to King Charles.

† *The Irish Rebellion, or an History of the Beginnings and First Progress of the General Rebellion*, 1641.

‡ *The Humble Petition of the Protestant Inhabitants of Antrim, Downe, Tyrone, concerning the Bishops*, 1641.



and it was always easy to empanel a jury to determine boundaries, for it was found that a majority (ten or eleven out of twelve in one case) could speak Latin.\* In 1641 a Royalist and Catholic rebellion broke out. The lower classes were less moved than the upper. Admissions are allowed to drop that much friendship was shown by the natives to their British neighbours; and such avowals appear even in the frenzied tracts † where the apparitions of Protestant ghosts are solemnly appealed to. Landlords cast themselves on the mercy of their tenants. Sir Phelim O'Neale's mother protected the lives of numbers of settlers. Creighton, an Irishman, by his charitable relief, preserved many from perishing. Many, however, were deplanted, and went away to neighbouring towns, till the war was over. Stragglers were killed by stragglers; rumours begot rumours and slaughters; but the exaggeration is excessive. The rebel gentlemen's complaints were about religion, the avoidance of grants by "Quirks and Quiddities of the Law," ‡ and the restraint of purchase in the Irish of lands in the escheated counties, and the taint and blemish of them and their posterities, which "doth more discontent them than that Plantation Rule."§ These wars were ended by Cromwell. Then came the Cromwellian confiscation and "settlement," and succeeding these the Williamite war, confiscation, and planting. The chief effect of them all was to "clear" the country of Catholic landlords. The tenantry were found too profitable to officers and soldiers to be got rid of, though the tale of oppression and suffering was repeated in all cases. || In time the Cromwellian and Williamite soldiers and officers married Irish wives and adopted Irish habits; and often their children could speak only Irish.

Let us now observe the change effected, and the principles established, by the Cromwellian settlement.

The act of Transplantation was simply an act of Eviction, remarkable for the quantity of ground "cleared," and for the class of tenants upon whom notices to quit were served. The evicted were, prominently, the upper-tenants, or landlords; they were

turned out for (alleged) non-payment of their render or service, i.e., for breach of fealty. Two classes of persons were excepted from the eviction: first, those who had regularly paid, that is, who could prove their "constant good affection;" and secondly, "all husbandmen, plowmen, labourers, artificers, and others of the inferior sort," according to the provisions of the Act. To this second class, "mercy and pardon for life and estate" were extended.\* Under-tenants, who were transplantable, were not bound to adhere to their immediate landlords, but might "sit down in Connaught, as tenants under the State." † The object was to degrade the evicted upper-tenants to a lower condition. It was hoped they would be lowered to the rank of cultivators, earth-tillers, peasants, by having to work for themselves. ‡ Those who had previously worked for them would serve to work for a new series of landlords. Thus there was left a population to continue land-customs, which the new lords (ignorant of land culture, and able to obtain no other tenants) would gladly recognise.

How did the evicting landlord—the Parliament—deal with its evicted tenants? What principle did it establish? The answers are most important:—*First*, The evicted got an "equivalent" on eviction. *Secondly*, The "custom of the country" was officially recognised.

1. The evicted person got an estate in Connaught for his estate elsewhere, from which he was ejected. He was compelled, as it were, to sell out and accept payment in kind. The recognition in him of a right to compensation, after he had failed in his render, was a recognition of his occupancy right; and he obtained compensation in proportion to his crops, § etc. From end to

\* Original Declaration given in Prendergast's *Cromwellian Settlement*, pp. 26, 27.

† Prendergast, *Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland*, p. 32. ‡ Ibid. p. 28.

§ "Pierce, Lord Viscount Ikerrin: seventeen persons, sixteen acres of winter-corne, four cows, five garrans [horses], twenty-four sheep, two swine. For each acre of winter-corn, three acres of land were to be assigned, summer corn and fallow being included; for each cow or bullock (of two years old and upwards), three acres: . . . for every three sheep, one acre; and for goats and swine proportionably. These [first] assignments were only conditional; for at a future day other Commissioners were to arrive and sit at Athlone, to determine the claims, i.e., the extent of lands the transplanter had left behind him, and to distinguish the qualifications, i.e., the extent of disaffection [non-payment of render] to the Parliament, by which the proportion to be confiscated was to be regulated, and an equivalent, called a Final Settlement, was to be given in Connaught."—Prendergast, *Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland*, p. 33-4.

\* *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*.

† *The Irish Rebellion, or an History*, etc., 1641.

‡ A copy of a letter directed to the Lord Viceroy Cossilough from the Rebels of the Co. Longford, Nov. 10, 1641, and Appendix v. in Borlase's *History of the Execrable Irish Rebellion*. London, 1653.

§ *The Demands of the Rebels in Ireland unto the State and Council of Dublin*, Feb. 3, 1641. London, 1641.

|| Prendergast, *Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland*, pp. 129-133.



end of Ireland this was so; it would have established what is called the Ulster custom over the whole country, if it had not already found it so established, and simply acted on its principles. But certainly it did not confirm those principles, and tended to make the people hold to them as an ancient, general legalized right, when newer landlords attempted to ignore them.\* The local designation of the custom is only due to the fact that in Ulster it has remained almost

undisturbed. Well-defined traces of its existence are still to be found in all the provinces of Ireland.

2. There was an explicit official recognition of the "custom of the country." Evicted upper-tenants or landlords were allowed to come back or send back, in order to reap and carry off their waygoing crops, charged with a varying percentage to the new landlord, according to the custom of the locality. Thus the Cromwellian officers and soldiers (the new landlords) whose lots had fallen in the district called the Rower, in the county of Killkenny, "were declared entitled to have an allowance for the standing of the corn on the lands fallen to them for their arrears, from the 1st of May last [1654] till December following, according to the custom of the country, not exceeding a fifth sheaf." The evicted landlords of Waterford county, having complained from Connaught that those who tended their crops were interfered with, "the Government ordered that the Commissioners of Revenue of the precinct where the respective crops were, should permit the wives, and such servants of theirs as were permitted to stay, to receive the benefit of the crop, having discharged the contribution due thereon, and allowing the new proprietors an eighth sheaf, or such proportion as is usually made in those parts according to the custom of the country."\*

The caretakers of the evicted were to have "cabbins or other habitacons," and grazing ground for their beasts. Those of the Cromwellian soldiers who became settlers, as many did in Tipperary, were men not likely in after days to allow new comers to wrest their customary rights from them. For example, when, on the Restoration, it was sought to remove some of them, even though they were offered "reprisals" or compensation in other lands, the "Phanatic Plot of 1663" was formed. The King was deceived, said one of them, if he thought: their lands could be taken and given to others, "for we will join our heads together again, and have one knock for it first, my life for it."†

But officers generally bought out the lots of their soldiers for a trifle, and allowed the old tenants to remain. The great privileges offered to Protestants in towns (where artisans were to be exclusively Protestant) attracted and kept there large numbers of the soldiers of Cromwell (and afterwards of William). If they found a vacant place or waste within the walls of certain cities and

\* Townland Valuation Committee Report, 1844: Examination of A. Senior, Esq.:—"1067. The tenant-right does exist in every part of Ulster, but it varies in every county, and in different parts of the same county" (like copyhold customs with manors). Land Commissioners' Report, 1845: Examination of Mr. Griffith, Government Engineer and Valuator:—"70. The counties in which I know it to prevail are Armagh, Down, Fermanagh, Tyrone, (Ulster,) and Sligo" (province of Connaught). "It prevails to a certain extent in the adjoining counties, but not to the same extent as it does in these, as far as I am aware." "71. I believe [the payment has reference] to possession alone; in some instances, it may have regard to improvements, but generally it is for possession alone." "79. In the County Tipperary can you say whether the tenant-right prevails there? The tenants generally hold under leases there; but the tenant-right does prevail to so great an extent that few are bold enough to take the land where a tenant has been dispossessed." "83. In the County Tipperary is there any particular district much subdivided? I think not, beyond the precincts of towns." Examination of Mr. W. Pidgeon, land-agent to the Incorporated Society of Dublin, for promoting English Protestant Schools:—"29. Is the tenant-right or sale of good-will recognised under the Society? It is to a certain extent, particularly in the north of Ireland; they recognise it to the fullest extent there; and, in fact, they do so everywhere. They only require that the name of the incoming tenant should be submitted to them and approved of." "34. Is there any arrangement existing there [in the South] between the incoming and the outgoing tenant, similar to the tenant-right? They have rules among themselves, but it is not a recognised system in the South as it is in the North; there is greater confidence among all the relations in the North than in the South; they have greater confidence in their landlords. They do it in the South, but it does not exist as a system. I think it an admirable principle, and it ought not to be put a stop to." Examination of Richard Byrne, Esq., Crossmakee, Louth parish (province of Leinster):—"96. With respect to the tenant-right or the sale of goodwill, does that extend to this district? Yes; it is generally allowed." Thus its existence is recorded not only for Ulster, but for counties in Connaught, Leinster, and Munster. By report of Cork press (v. *The Times*, Nov. 18, 1869) its existence near Kinsale is mentioned as permitted. The letters and speeches connected with the recent Longford election show that it is recognised in that county also. The fact of the existence of the same custom in localities so diverse and divided indicates that it was previously a general custom common to all.

\* Prendergast, *Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland*, pp. 85-87.

† Ibid. Appendix iii. p. 211.



towns, enclosed it, built upon it, and lived there, the Commissioners were to assign and set it out to them, "without any Fine or other Consideration." \*

After the Restoration (by 17 and 18 Car. II. sess. 5, c. 9) one plantation acre of land "at least" was to be set with every cottage, one-eighth to be sown with hemp or flax; and all who ploughed thirty acres were so to crop half an acre.

Several Acts of importance were passed in the reign of William III. One of them enacted (Stat. 9 Gul. III. c. 1, c. 87) that properties should be enclosed by quickset fences, and apportioned the cost thus: wholly on the tenants for lands in fee-farms, for lives renewable for ever, or for sixty years; equally on landlord and tenant for lands held for three lives, or for years, twenty-one years being unexpired; wholly on the landlord for lands leased for any less term or terms.

"To encourage the building of houses, and making other improvements," etc., an Act (Stat. 10 Gul. III. sess. 3, c. 6) was passed in the year 1698, giving compensation for improvements, and containing a retrospective clause covering eight years. Unfortunately its benefits were strictly limited to church-lands and ecclesiastical persons. All such persons who had improved since 1690, or who should make, build, erect, add to, or repair any house, out-house, garden, orchard, or any other necessary improvement on their demesne, glebe, or mensal land, or in any other lands in their possession, and had it duly certified, were allowed two-thirds of their outlay from their successors, who in turn could exact one-third thereof from their successors.

Another Act was, on the contrary, unlimited in its application. We have had occasion to mention, more than once, the parole rights, the promises, the deliveries of possession, in connection with tenure. When the estates had grown valuable, the heirs of the undertakers and new proprietors thought the time was come to sweep off such claims. It was accordingly enacted (7 Gul. III. c. 12), that from the feast-day of the nativity of St. John the Baptist in 1696, "all leases, estates, interests, freeholds, or terms of years, or any uncertain interest of, into, or out of, any messuages, manors, lands, tenements or hereditaments made or created by livery of seizen† only, or by parole, and not

put in writing, and signed . . . shall have the force and effect of leases and estates at will only, and shall not either in law or equity be deemed or taken to have any other or greater force and effect, any consideration, for making such parole leases or estates or any former law or usage to the contrary notwithstanding, except nevertheless all leases not exceeding the term of three years from the making thereof, whereupon the rent reserved to the landlord, during each term shall amount to two-third parts, at the least, of the thing demised: and moreover that no estates, leases, or interests either of freehold or terms of years, or any uncertain interest, not being copyhold or customary interest of, into, or out of any messuages, lands, tenements, or hereditaments, shall at any time after be assigned, granted, or surrendered, unless it be by deed or note in writing signed," etc. It may be presumed that few tenants were able, within the limited time, to have their parole holdings assured by writing; for those who had procured the act were not likely so to avoid it. In spite of "consideration" given, of tenures taken on the faith of former law or usages,

validly. Thus a relic of such tenure may be detected in the mode of surrender of his farm made by Joe M'Key, a Presbyterian of Armagh, "most obstinate and rebellious" of tenants, who had "planted every stick and raised every stone" on the land, and who died of grief after the surrender. He thus "gave up possession:—"He rose . . . and walking up to the other men in the kitchen, he said, 'Begone out of that till I give up the place . . . Begone, I say!' and he pushed them out of the room. The young woman then came to him—'What is this, Joe?' she asked. 'You must go,' said he kindly; 'don't talk—leave the house.' She went at once. He put out the fire by kicking it about the floor, took 'rod and twig' from the garden, and handed me legal possession of the house and grounds."—Trench's *Realities of Irish Life*. Now this was not the surrender of one who has the mere chattel interest: it was the deliver of the feudal possession or seisin handed down from sire to son, according to the old maxim, *Seisina facit stipitem*. The freehold was in him, not in the landlord as with a tenant-at-will. No one else could be seised until he delivered up seisin. All who had any estate or possession in house or land had to join in or be absent at its delivery; and hence, following a custom, M'Key put the men and girl out. "By delivery of the ring or haspe of the doore, or by a branch or twigge of a tree, or by a turfe of land."—Co. Litt. 271, b.n. (1). and 48 a. And with such words as "the feoffor being at the house doore or within the house, 'Here I deliver you seisin and possession of this house, in the name of seisin and possession of all the lands and tenements contained in this deed.'" There is no mention of M'Key having a deed: his sires may have been among those who had got "livery indeed" or "livery in law," but who could not show Pynnar "any writing."

\* *An Act for the Speedy and Effectual Satisfaction of the Adventurers for Lands, etc.* London: Printed for John Fields, Printer to the Parliament of England, 1653.

† By which, doubtless, a multitude of freeholders held, north and south, and, before this



a mass of the under-tenants were precipitated into the condition of mere tenants-at-will. As such, they retained some of the marks of higher tenure. They were degraded. They went to increase the great underlying class who had "copyhold or customary interest;" and this interest was recognised by the act.

The direct tendency of the penal laws was to crumble away the estates of Catholics by decreeing succession in gavel-kind, unless a Protestant heir should appear, and to impoverish them by leaving them only the third penny profit. One of the ulterior effects, however, was to uproot the Protestant yeomanry. Contact with the earth seems to have given the natives new strength. On the one side, Catholics, excluded from durable and profitable tenures, turned graziers, kept their lands waste to avoid envy, kept to a "fugitive property" in cattle, which they could change about to avoid informers who might seek to prove that they enjoyed more than "a third penny profit." As leases fell in, the rich grazier, money in hand, negotiated privately over the heads of "that most useful body called yeomanry;" and thus "communities of industrious" cultivators were turned out.\* On the other hand, a concurrent change took place throughout the country. Landlords who had divided their estates in farms of from 50 to 150 acres amongst Cromwellian and Williamite settlers, found higher bidders on the expiration of their leases. The native Irish, who had been reduced to the condition of labourers, would club together and establish co-operative societies, or "Knots," of from ten to twenty families. Then one would be put forward to offer a higher rent than the favoured settler would give; he got the farm, and it was divided amongst the knot. "Popish tenants were therefore preferred, and Protestants rejected." Some of the latter went to England, some to America. The Octennial Bill of 1768, however, made landlords prefer and plant Protestants for their votes; but it soon appeared once more that the natives were the most profitable tenants, and they accordingly superseded the comfort-seeking settlers. Next it was discovered, as of old, that without security they would not improve and build. Hence they got security. They had been disabled by certain Acts (2 Anne, c. 6, and 8 Anne, c. 3) from taking leases for more than thirty-one years, or at rents less than two-thirds of the improved yearly value. In 1777 a bill

was brought in to grant them leases for ninety-nine years. It was rejected; but in 1778 they were permitted to take lands for nine hundred and ninety-nine years. In 1782 (21 and 22 Geo. III. c. 24) they were allowed to take and transfer, like the Protestants, for any term; and in 1793 their forfeitures, incapacities, and penalties (with certain exceptions) were removed.

Meanwhile the estates and interests of the under-tenantry were tossed about like shuttlecocks by the upper-tenants or landlords. At one time cultivators were discountenanced, grazing promoted, and pastures freed from tithes. Then tillage was promoted, and bounties given on grain-carriage, inland (1762) and export (1782). Afterwards, in 1815, pasture appeared more profitable; and in 1816 the first Quarter Sessions Act was passed, making it easy to eject the cultivators from their holdings. In those days the personal, pecuniary, and political advantage of having a large body of obedient voters was a powerful check upon the practice of eviction. But in 1829 the forty-shilling freeholders were disfranchised; and in 1831 a fresh Act was passed to facilitate eviction. Others followed. Yearly tenants became common. The privilege of time, allowed by the notices to quit, was taken away by an Act regulating the Civil Bill Courts; and the process of ejectment was made speedy. The Poor-law system, different from that of England, has rendered it possible for a landlord to rid himself of his poor, and to clear off his tenants, who may then become burthens elsewhere. The Encumbered Estates Court has been continuously supplying the old tenantry with strange and changing landlords, who know nothing of their ancient rights and customs, and rack-rent them to expel them. The de-grading system has been so zealously persevered in that a multitude of tenants are now reduced to the position of mere villeins removeable at pleasure. Under that system, and authorized by its "ejectment code," devastations have been committed which exceed the transplantations of Cromwell in magnitude, and in the cruelty of their accompanying circumstances, and far surpass them in the amount and persistence of the hostility they have evoked. To destroy it will be not only to free the State from a danger, but to purify it from a revolutionary taint. For it is a system that will fall to the ground on the recognition of ancient custom, which is the life of the common law.

\* *Observations on the affairs in Ireland from the Settlement in 1691 to the Present Time.* By Viscount Taafe, 1766.



## ART. VII.—THE REPENTANCE OF THE TORY PARTY.

THE suffering sinner, reflecting in the morning on his evening's excess, may ground his remorse on the transgression either of prudence or of morals. The Tory party has had its debauch, and is now shivering on the stool of penance, and being preached at by candid friends who are expounding to it the error of its ways. They tell it, not that it has been acting on wrong principles, but that it has associated with wrong persons, and been habitually found in the same lobby with the profane. They do not exhort it to a resolution like Cassio's, never again to put an enemy into its mouth to steal away its brains. The repentance they preach is only one like Master Slender's: "I'll ne'er be drunk whilst I live again but in honest, civil, godly company. If I be drunk, I'll be drunk with those that have the fear of God, and not with drunken knaves." This is to put the case upon a wrong issue, and to probe the wound too slightly. For the present position of the party cannot be accounted for by a mere consideration of its tactics. Behind the question of their soundness or unsoundness rises the question of the truth, the wisdom, and the reality of the principles they embody. The tactics for the last twenty years may have been a failure; but they have not been an inadvertency or a misunderstanding. And though their intellectual merit may belong exclusively to Mr. Disraeli, the moral responsibility for them is shared by his colleagues and his followers. For twenty years, say these censors, the party has, as a rule, combined, in critical divisions, not with the most conservative section of the Liberal party, with whose opinions it had most sympathy, but with Radicals, to whose views every feeling it cherished was opposed. Well, but this conduct, however disastrous to Conservative interests, is not opposed to Tory principles; and what have those who now proclaim themselves the special champions of Conservative interests been doing through these twenty years but following a leader who has all along denounced Conservatism as an inane and frivolous doctrine, impossible to practise, and certain to make its professors do exactly the opposite of what they profess? If they have shared his principles, they ought to be more than satisfied with his tactics. If they have not shared his principles, then, by the mere fact of allying themselves with him, they have exemplified on their own account the very tactics they censure. They should repent, if they repent at all, not only because of the

tactics they have sanctioned, but also because of the principles they have advanced. They have not advanced them in excusable ignorance, for their leader has habitually proclaimed and expounded them. He had unfolded his whole political philosophy before the party enlisted under his banner. And if it pleads that there was no alternative, that its organization under Mr. Disraeli was an inevitable result of the crisis of 1846, that only carries the inquiry a step further back, and raises the question why it brought about the crisis of 1846 at all. It might have followed to the end a powerful leader, who shared its prepossessions so far as they were in any way compatible with political intelligence and justice; but it fell away from him because it preferred the fancied interest of a class to the well-being of the nation. It has never risen from that fall; and if its repentance is to be the beginning of a new life, it must go back to the starting-point of its transgression, and consider the whole of its subsequent career in the light of its previous history.

The Revolution of 1688, completed by the Hanoverian succession in 1714, was the final defeat of real Toryism. Up to that time the conflict had been between two principles, both of which laid claim to a Divine sanction—the one appealing to a common law of justice and liberty grounded on the attributes of God, the other to a *jus divinum* existing in the hereditary prerogative of the King. After the Revolution, this latter theory, on which Toryism rested, became palpably impossible. It was therefore necessary, if Toryism was to exist as a system at all, that it should shift its basis and found itself on new principles; and it was equally necessary, in order to the preservation of its continuity, that these new principles should be spun out of some of its former episcopal and collateral tenets. Bolingbroke accordingly surrendered the claim of religious sanction altogether, and constructed a new and rationalistic Toryism, in which the absolutism of the ruler and the subjection of the people were maintained on other grounds. He denied the *jus divinum* of the sovereign, or any divinely imposed duty of passive obedience and non-resistance in the subject, and founded his neo-Toryism on the natural and hereditary distinction between the born ruler and the born serf. The system was one of those arbitrary hypotheses which, conscious that history is against them, appeal to what they call logic. Bolingbroke declared it to be a deduction from "true propositions, all of which are obvious, nay, many of them self-evident." Now that the *jus divinum* was gone, the monarch had to



come forward in a new character; and he was accordingly proclaimed as the "Patriot King," and sent forth to be the saviour of society. Bolingbroke's neo-Toryism is founded on the despair of a continued course of good government, and provides in this way an occasional and transitory remedy for the usual corruption. In his notion, the mass of mankind is only born to consume the earth's increase, to tread, at best, an insipid round, and beget others to do the same after them. But from time to time a few men, and only a few, are born with a larger share of the ethereal spirit, who engross almost the whole reason of the species, whose nature it is to instruct, to guide, and to preserve, who are the destined tutors and guardians of humankind. Society, incapable of taking care of itself, is given over to the care of its own eminent children, who are at the same time its fathers and its guides. Thus the new rationalistic Toryism substituted genius for divine choice, a manifest force for a hidden gift, sight for faith. But it had one quality of the old Toryism: it placed the prince outside his people and government, and admitted no community between them, except the one-sided relation where all is taken by one and all is given by the other. Lord Bute tried to realize this antagonism, and to aggrandize the monarch by disgracing and weakening his government, as if the feebleness of the State constituted the force of the Crown. The same policy of aggrandizing the Crown continued to be pursued till Pitt seemed about to steer the party in another course. The opposition in the meantime had been weakened by the intrusion of the opinions which were afterwards known as the principles of 1789; and on the breaking out of the French Revolution the old Whigs formally separated from the new ones. In this confusion of parties Conservatism began. It was a kind of mechanical product of the French Revolution, which not only stirred up the military passions to which Toryism is nearly allied, but excited also in all holders of property an anti-revolutionary terror which peremptorily forbade all change. The institutions of the country, exactly as they existed, came to be looked on as the palladium of our liberties, and were tinged with a kind of lesser *jus divinum*. All privileges held on by the skirts of the Church Establishment, and borrowed a blessing from it. By such means the ascendancy of the privileged classes, the Church, the landed interest, and the close corporations, had by 1830 become as exorbitant as the royal prerogatives had been in 1688; and a new adjustment was necessary.

The Reform Bill of 1832 accomplished this work, and broke up the bases of the Tory-Conservatism of 1790-1830 as effectually as the Revolution of 1688 had broken up those of the original Toryism. After 1832 the leadership of the disorganized and discouraged party remained in the hands of Peel; and it was his task, as it had been Bolingbroke's, to furnish it with a new principle of life. Peel was too honest and too good an economist, too little imaginative and creative, to succeed as Bolingbroke did. He made the best of his materials, not for party but for political ends. He prevailed on his followers to accept the settlement of 1832 on the understanding that it was to be a final settlement. Further organic change was to be resisted; and the practical aim of the party were to be the amelioration of the government in its actual grooves. In opposition, the negative part of this programme was naturally the most prominent. It is the Government, not the Opposition which alone can initiate and carry real administrative reforms. It became then the specious policy of the party simply to negative the proposals of the Government: as Lord Lyndhurst used at the end of each session to review its results, and to reproach the Government with a barrenness which was partly indeed the consequence of their apathy and uncreativity, but still more the effect of the Conservative opposition. The experience of 1834 and 1835 seemed to prove to Peel that policy required him to refrain from substituting for a weak Whig ministry, which was conservative through inability to pass its measures, a weaker Conservative ministry which might have been forced to play into the hands of the Whigs or Radicals who supported it. He therefore waited till he could come into power with an absolute majority before attempting to put in practice the positive side of his programme. It was restricted to administrative reforms. But in office the leaders had to reconcile their attitude of immobility with the fluidity necessary for those who take part in the affairs of a great country. Hence the wide construction they had to give to their idea of administrative reforms. Peel's Police Act, his Tithe Commutation, his endowment of Maynooth, above all his consummate finance, were effectively organic and not merely administrative reforms. But the party did not understand this. It did not see that finance was then the turning-point of politics, the door by which the science of political economy was to force an entrance into our system, and make our legislation and our government scientific, in opposition to the



pulsive type of Tory rule. It was only when the administrative necessity of mitigating the effects of the Irish famine made Peel's free-trade finance culminate in the repeal of the Corn-Laws that the party became finally and irrevocably convinced that it was being imposed upon. Its wrath and its pride exploded; and by throwing off Peel and his followers it blew out its own brains. He had certainly outgrown Conservatism; he had drawn some elements of a new and more scientific policy, not out of Conservative principles, but out of his own—elements which were destined to amalgamate with Whiggism and to bear a chief part in transfiguring it into Liberalism. And there was a man in his party, but not of it, who clearly saw whither things were tending, who perceived the two roads, one of which the Conservatives must take, and who disliked the one into which Peel was leading them. He had already written much political criticism. He had declared that Peel had never been the leader of the Tory party; that in a parliamentary sense that great party had ceased to exist from the moment of his becoming its organizer; that for Toryism he had substituted Conservatism, which was a league not a party, which could gratify its leaders with place, but not its followers with the practice of their opinions, for they had none. What, he asked, was it to conserve?—the prerogatives of the Crown provided they were not exercised, the independence of the House of Lords provided it was not asserted, the Church provided it was governed by a commission of laymen. Conservatism, he wrote, assumes in theory that everything established should be maintained, but declares in practice that everything established is indefensible. It only seeks to attain the best bargain. It is an attempt to carry on affairs by substituting the fulfilment of the duties of office for the performance of the functions of government. It consents to no change till it is clamoured for, and then yields. Its principles are concessionary, not conservative. It discards prescription, shrinks from principle, disavows progress. All its profession only covers political infidelity. A conservative government means Tory men and Whig measures, and is merely an organized hypocrisy.

The man who thus criticised Conservatism was its destined transformer. In his very boyhood, he tells us himself, under a transparent veil of fiction, he had conceived the idea and determination to be a man of mark in the political world. In the case of an author as incapable as Byron of portraying any other hero than himself, it is not

unfair to give his fictions a real meaning, and a personal application. When Mr. Disraeli shows us Vivian Grey walking about his room, and saying to himself that mankind was his game, that there was many a powerful noble who only wanted wit to be a minister, while Vivian Grey only wanted that noble's influence for the same end, that he had the three great instrumental means—the conception, the eloquence, and the audacity—he is evidently writing a chapter of his own autobiography. He must already have examined the conditions of the political world of his day when he published his first instalment of *Vivian Grey* in 1826. But it is also clear that he had not then formulated the theory which he put forth in 1844. In his extreme youth, he must have seen that the conditions of his birth were unfavourable to his prominence in the oligarchical and aristocratic Whig party, and must have been early attracted to the Tories, amongst whom he saw a greater willingness to admit on equal terms the genius of self-made men. Besides, in those early days, the long lease of Tory power gave as yet no immediate signs of collapse; the contest therefore seemed to him to be rather between different powerful nobles than between great parties divided by trenchant principles. His combinations were “founded on the present state of parties, when there are few distinctions between the two sides of the House of Commons.” Hence it was a policy of intrigue which he determined to follow. Vivian Grey was “precociously convinced of the necessity of managing mankind by studying their tempers and humouring their weaknesses.” He also perceived in himself a “miraculous” power of management, and a moral audacity “reckless of all consequences save his own prosperity.” “Nothing is allowed in this life,” he would say, “and everything is done.” He would conciliate all “by allowing all to do something they liked, something characteristic.” It was a rule with him “never to advance any opinion as his own; the opinions of an inferior, however good, stand no chance of being accepted as such by his superiors. It was his system to advance his opinion as that of some eminent and considered personage; and when, under the sanction of this name, the opinion or advice was entertained or listened to, Vivian Grey had no fear of proving its correctness or expediency.” Thus, when he was talking to the Marquis of Carabas of scandal, politics, or gastronomy, it did not seem to be Vivian, but the Marquis himself whose opinions were being uttered. But under this humili-



ty, he claimed the real leadership of the party. He asked the Marquis to give his name and his influence: "I will take upon myself the whole organization of the Carabas party." He insisted too on being dictator: "I saw the feeble fools were wavering, and to save all made a leap in the dark."

The second part of *Vivian Grey*, which was published two years after the first, contains the author's ideal of a minister in the person of Beckendorff. He was a minister, we are told, sprung from the people, and therefore conciliating the aristocracy. Having no family influence of his own, he endeavored to gain the influence of others. But he always refused a title, and took advantage of his want of an escutcheon to exempt himself from the duties of etiquette. He was a great student of men, and believed that their conduct was much more influenced by circumstances than by principles. He was at the same time a humourist, who even in the most critical moment could not altogether restrain the bent of his capricious inclinations. His library, instead of works of political economy and science, "consisted, without an exception, of poetry and romance." Beckendorff imparts to Vivian Grey some of his maxims. Among other things he assures him: "If you have ever entertained my views, have dared to act on them and failed,—sooner or later you will recur to your original wishes and pursuits." Another of his sayings was: "No minister ever yet fell but from his own insufficiency." This maxim alone would be enough to justify the deduction that the minister's only principle should be to keep his place; but Vivian Grey makes no secret of the idea. A minister, in his view, should be unprincipled, both as a thinker and as an actor. "In politics, there positively is no feeling of honour. Every one is conscious that not only himself, but his colleagues and his rivals, are working for their own private purposes; and that however a party may apparently be assisting in bringing about a result of common benefit, in fact each is conscious that he is the tool of another. With such an understanding, treason is an expected affair; and the only point to consider is, who shall be so unfortunate as to be the deserted instead of the deserter." There is not much to show that at this early period Mr. Disraeli had fixed his political ideas; but the following passage is decidedly Tory. "The people," he writes, "who enjoy an impartial administration of equal laws, and flourish under Beckendorff's wise and moderate rule, are not inclined to rise in behalf of constitutional liberty. This apathy astounds the philosophers, who artfully reply to their professions

of contentment, that their happiness depends on the will of a single man. . . . The minister feels that the people would not be happier with a constitution, and looks with a jealous eye on the charlatanism of publicists and economists." Thus as early as 1824 we have the ideal of a contented and happy people, following along the pastures of equal laws the sweet pipings of a minister who reads nothing but poetry and novels, and despises politicians and economists as quacks. But even if his convictions were Tory, he was at this time, and for some ten years afterwards, quite ready to assist in carrying out any other theory. He had zeal for propagating, not his own opinions, but any opinions: he exhibited himself as the predestined teacher without having as yet any doctrines to teach. *Contarini Fleming* says that he passed through this phase, and in the necessity of writing, found, when he came to the point, that he had nothing to write about. Mr. Disraeli on the hustings at High Wycombe, in 1832, declared that statesman was the creature of his age, a child of circumstances, the creation of his time—without opinions of his own to propose, but capable of ascertaining and carrying out whatever might be needful or beneficial. Hence he might be inconsistent. It might be his duty to enforce passions of his own. The opinions of the people must sway him; the prejudices of powerful classes must weigh with him; this it was to be practical.

In *Vivian Grey*, the exaggerated estimate of the author's power is everywhere manifested by an undercurrent which manifests a sore consciousness of failure. And in Mr. Disraeli's Hebrew origin must at the time have appeared to him an almost insurmountable obstacle to his success with that party which, however favourable to genius, held Jews in abomination. He had not then conceived the design of putting his name in the front rank of his merits, and grounding his claims upon his blood. *Vivian Grey* was the native and subjective product of Mr. Disraeli's boyhood. Years afterwards he returned to the theme, and gave the world another picture of his youth, this time studied objectively, and critically reflected upon. In *Contarini Fleming*, after denouncing all tradition, all experience, all custom, all laws, he announces something new, all truth, of which the passion, the action, even style, should spring from his own intellect, observation, and study. Accordingly, in a kind of autobiographical sketch, he introduces us to a youth, a Saxon, half Venetian, exempt from all national prejudices, because without count-



without kindred, and without friends. He takes him to school, where he finds education banished, and instead of "the noblest of sciences the vile art of teaching words." He takes him to the theatre: "at length I perceived human beings conducting themselves as I wished." He takes him into a Catholic chapel, where a picture leads him to change his religion. He makes him join a company of strolling players, achieve a great success at the University, get expelled, become an outlaw and leader of brigands, and then suddenly arise as the confidant and sole counsellor of his father, who is prime minister of a German State. In this capacity, Contarini Fleming, at a meeting of diplomatists, confounds all their politics, by suggesting a "popular appeal" to universal suffrage, in order to put a foundation under the contested title of the king. The success of his suggestion makes him go mad with glory. "In imagination I shook thrones and founded empires. I felt myself a being born to breathe in an atmosphere of revolution. My father said to me, 'My son, you will be prime minister of —, perhaps something greater.'" It is clear that, when Mr. Disraeli looked back upon his teeming and adventurous youth, he considered its great merit to be the invention or the adoption of the principle of democratic monarchy, a crown founding its claim upon universal suffrage. Contarini Fleming, however, renounces politics for literature, and prefers being a poet, even a prose poet, to being a prime minister. But the book ends without solving the riddle of his life, only showing the poetic dreamer roused from his reverie by his father's death, and hurrying home again from his Sybaritic solitude.

Nine years after the publication of *Vivian Grey*, Mr. Disraeli had completed the outlines of his political system, with the notable exception of the determination of the place reserved in it for the Jewish element. In his letter to Lord Lyndhurst in 1835, "in vindication of the English constitution," he expounds how, in spite of the Dutch conquest of 1688, and of the Reform Bill of 1832, Toryism still survives, and has a *locus standi* in the institutions of the kingdom. The Whigs, he explains, are an oligarchical faction, the Tories a national party. The Wigs unsuccessfully attempted to found an oligarchy or "Venetian republic" under William III., and again, with more plausibility, under George I., when they established the Cabinet, and banished the King from his own council. George II. unsuccessfully struggled against the autocrats. But "the strong spirit of his able grandson emancipated the country from the government of

the great families;" and George III. thus put himself at the head of the nation, and realized the Tory ideal of a "democracy under an hereditary chief." For the Tories are the true democrats. The bench of Bishops is a democratic institution. As for the House of Lords, hereditary legislators are not more absurd than hereditary electors. And the attempts to give more power to the House of Commons are directly inimical to democracy. For the Commons are only an estate; and their House represents nothing more than that estate, which is a very limited section of the nation, invested for the common good with great privileges. The House of Commons, is no more the House of the people than the House of Lords; and the Commons, like the Peers, are neither more nor less than a privileged class. The Tory party is really the democratic party, because it maintains this truth. It supports the institutions of the country, because they have been established for the common good, and because they secure the equality of civil rights. Even its advocacy of divine right and passive obedience were evidences of its democratic and popular character. The Whigs, on the contrary, were odious to the nation, because they were inimical to the Crown, the Church, and the Universities, to the Corporations and to the Magistracy, which their centralizing system tended to abolish. Toryism survived the Reform Bill through three happy circumstances. One was the Chandos clause; another was the preservation of free-men; the third was the organization of the Registration. But in order to secure success three points were requisite:—First, the real character and nature of Toryism should be generally and clearly comprehended. Next, Toryism should be divested of all those qualities which were adventitious, and not essential to it, and which had become obsolete, inconvenient, and odious. And lastly, the efficient organization of the party should be secured and maintained. Its special aim should be to set up society upon the basis of equality—not that equality which levels and destroys, by taking away privileges from all, but that which elevates and creates, by giving privileges to every one. The letter explained the ambiguous position which Mr. Disraeli assumed in the general election of 1832, and showed how, without inconsistency, he might present himself to the electors as a political polygamist, interchangeably Radical and Tory. But the most characteristic part of it is the sketch which he gave of the career of Bolingbroke, wherein he foreshadowed his



own:—"Opposed to the Whigs from principle—for an oligarchy is hostile to genius—and recoiling from the Tory tenets which his unprejudiced and vigorous mind taught him at the same time to dread and to condemn, Lord Bolingbroke, at the outset of his career, incurred the commonplace imputation of insincerity and inconsistency, because, in an age of unsettled parties, with professions contradictory of their conduct, he maintained that vigilant and meditative independence which is the privilege of an original and determined spirit. It is probable that in the earlier years of his career he meditated over the formation of a new party, that dream of youthful ambition in a perplexed and discordant age, but destined in English politics to be never more substantial than a vision. More experienced in political life, he became aware that he had only to choose between the Whigs and the Tories; and his sagacious intellect, not satisfied with the superficial character of these celebrated divisions, penetrated their interior and essential qualities, and discovered, in spite of all the affectation of popular sympathy on one side, and of admiration of arbitrary power on the other, that his choice was in fact between oligarchy and democracy. From the moment that Lord Bolingbroke, in becoming a Tory, embraced the national cause, he devoted himself absolutely to his party; all the energies of his Protean mind were lavished in their service, . . . and in a series of writings unequalled in our literature for their spirited patriotism, their just and profound views, and the golden eloquence in which they are expressed, eradicated from Toryism all those absurd and odious doctrines which Toryism had adventitiously adopted, clearly developed its essential and permanent character, discarded *jure divino*, demolished passive obedience, threw to the winds the doctrine of non-resistance, placed the abolition of James and the accession of George on the right basis, and in the complete re-organization of the public mind, laid the foundation for the future accession of the Tory party to power."

That Mr. Disraeli intended this as the programme of his own performances is proved by his subsequent history. He also, in a series of writings in some respects unique, attempted to put a new bottom to the Tory theory, and at the same time, by his combinations in Parliament, to enforce his theory on the Conservative party. His political novels, his assaults upon Peel, and his biography of Lord George Bentinck, belong to this period of his career. As he had already set himself the task of educating the party, he had in Parliament to dispense his lore

with economy, and to cocker babes, not yet fit for the food of the strong, with oratorical milk which was not always sincere. But it is not in his nature to shrink from declaring his opinions; and the revelation which could not be made in Parliament was given in his novels. It is beyond controversy that the novel is the fittest vehicle for his philosophy. As with Mr. Carlyle universal history is at bottom the history of great men, so with Mr. Disraeli politics is at bottom nothing but the career of a great minister: the personal element is supreme. In his politics, as in poetry, the relationship between the ruler and those he governs is painted as that of the dependence of child on parent, of wife on husband, of servant on master, of disciple on teacher. All these relations are sacred within their sphere; but when they are generalized into political principles they become the sources of half the tyranny in the world. A paternal government, the conjugal theories of Plato's republic, the institution of slavery or serfdom, and a pedagogical administration, are each and all groves of tyranny. But Mr. Disraeli's political theories are all generalizations of this kind. Whatever gives a man or woman influence at the dinner-table, in the drawing-room, or in the cottage, is in his system to be menially enlarged and generalized in order to become the secret of the government of a nation. When an ambitious man feels that his chief power is in social coteries, he is apt to wish to make the whole nation a great coterie, or a collection of them—a monarch swayed by the magic of his minister's tongue, and estates—that is, privileged classes represented by their select vestries, all equally at the mercy of the same sugared rhetoric. But he would be disposed, at the same time, to curse scientific methods, all searching tests of the value of work. Statistics, averages, all machinery, all that is automatic in the State, working by rule and law instead of by the personal superintendence of the ruler, would be an abomination to him. There is no element of romance in the dry forms of scientific administration. But Toryism, as Mr. Disraeli conceives it, is not an historical or a scientific, but an historico-romantic policy. It is a policy which has never been realized in England, except in fragments; and to give it consistency and wholeness these fragments must be rounded off with myth. And if it were realized it would be in itself so very low in the scale of political organization that there would be nothing to say about it. Oriental despotism, or, as Mr. Disraeli prefers to call it, "the Asian mystery," is not a scientific policy at all. It has no principles, no laws, no rules, no organisation. How



then is it to be recommended except in the non-scientific form of the novel? It is a mere question of sentiment, of loyalty, of fanaticism. Without being poetical, therefore, Mr. Disraeli's system has the dreaminess and haze of Arab poetry. It has the same indistinctness and dimness of sentiment, without any of the luggage of detail. Again, as being founded on fanaticism, it is also revolutionary. The *jus divinum* of the absolutist tramples on all other right. But the happiness is that fanaticisms lack the principle of cohesion. The man who would find their common measure commits himself to a hopeless task. He has to take refuge in a mysterious vagueness of terms and of argument, which mars the sense of his expositions, though it may materially assist the sentiment. But this is just the style suitable for revolutionary doctrine. Views vast and perplexed, indefinable to one's-self, inexplicable to others, find themselves on all sides imprisoned by any fixed order. But in the fogs of confusion all limits disappear, and the raven can fly free over the chaotic waters.

In *Coningsby*, *Sybil*, and *Tancred*, Mr. Disraeli's chief objects seem to be to exalt the Crown, the Jew, and the Press, and to depreciate Constitutions, Parliamentary Government, the House of Lords and the House of Commons. In *Contarini Fleming* he develops the character of the minister; and in *Venetia* he maintains a theory necessary for the advocate of Bolingbroke, namely, that profligacy is consistent with high character, and that genius excuses deeds which simple honesty would flatly condemn. In *Coningsby* he tells us that "the tendency of advanced civilisation is to pure monarchy. Parliaments are being superseded by the press, and the press by the monarch. For the press is public opinion, and public opinion must act through one who has no class interests. In an enlightened age, the monarch on the throne, free from the vulgar prejudices and the corrupt interests of the subject, becomes again divine." "If the peers have ceased to be magnificoes, may it not happen that the sovereign may cease to be a Doge?" "It is not impossible that the political movements of our time, which seem on the surface to have a tendency to democracy, may have in reality a monarchical bias." In *Sybil* he tells us how Bolingbroke recalled to the English the inherent blessings of their old free monarchy, which was a real monarchy, and not a mere chief magistracy, and congratulates us on the continuance of the old wholesome superstition that the sovereign can exercise power.

But the Crown is a mere symbol; the great distinctive object of these novels is to

exalt the theocracy incarnate in the Jew. Out of the great obstacle which seemed to oppress Mr. Disraeli in 1826, his imagination had by 1844 laboriously constructed the fiery car which was to bear him to power. The true hero of *Coningsby* is Sidonia. But before his orb rises above the horizon, a dawn of Asian principles glimmers in the east, and prognosticates the advent of the luminary. The Church, we are soon made to learn, is a sacred corporation for the promulgation in Europe of certain Asian principles, local in origin, of universal and eternal application. These Asian principles, however, are not exemplified in the Church, but in Sidonia, a man

Composed of many ingredient valours,  
Just like the manhood of nine tailors.

In him we see first the exclusion of the Jew. He is a man fit to rule the world; but his race shuts him out from any ostensible power. But we see also in him the power of the Jewish nature. His untold wealth, and the power he enjoys in consequence, are natural adjuncts to his magical genius. He stretches out one finger to commerce, and the exchanges of the world pour their purses at his feet. His other gifts represent Mr. Disraeli's ideal of the proper nature of the minister. "In an age of change," he says in *Tancred*, "power directed by a clear brain and obdurate spirit cannot fail of its aim." Sidonia's motto was "Adventures are to the adventurous." His nature was one compact of intellect and imagination. He had no heart; and all his enthusiasm and passion was for intelligence. What we call heart, he called a nervous sensation, like shyness, fervent in the nursery, strong at home, tumultuous at school. The affections, he said, are the children of ignorance; as experience expands, love and admiration vanish. He had an utter freedom from prejudice, which was, Mr. Disraeli, suggests, the compensation to a man without country. In his address there was an absence of earnestness. A slight spirit of mockery played over his speech, even when you deemed him most serious; you were startled by his sudden transitions from profound thought to poignant sarcasm. If you pressed him for an opinion, he took refuge in raillery, or threw out some grave paradox with which it was not easy to cope. This character is introduced as the critic and adviser of "the new and better mind in England" then incarnate in *Coningsby* and his clique of young aristocrats, which he moulds and forms from without, assuring them that Jews are essentially Tories, and that Toryism is but copied from the mighty prototype which has fash-



ioned Europe. It is evidently an ideal sketch of the relations then existing between Mr. Disraeli and "young England." When *Sybil* was published, he assumed that the Asian principles had already penetrated the English mind, and he did not think it needful to introduce a Jew to tell us that "Rome is the only Hebræo-Christian Church extant," and as such, the only one with complete claims on our faith, and that "the second Testament is avowedly only a supplement." But it was in *Tancred* that the ascendancy of the Jew was dogmatically determined. First we learn how the Church of England fails "mainly from its deficiency of Oriental knowledge, and from a consequent misconception of the priestly character." The next criticism on English government is to be found in Tancred's saying, "Society was once regulated by God, now it is regulated by man; for my part, I prefer divine to human government." Then we learn how inspiration is not only a divine but a local quality, and radiates from material centres—Horeb, Calvary, and Rome. "Your bishops," says Sidonia, "know nothing about these things—how should they? A few centuries back they were tattooed savages. Here is the advantage of Rome which you never can understand. That Church was founded by a Hebrew, and the magnetic influence lingers." "All is race; there is no other truth, because it includes all others." "The Crusaders looked upon the Saracens as infidels, whereas the children of the desert bore a much nearer affinity to the sacred corpse that consecrated the Holy Sepulchre than any of the European host. The same blood flowed in their veins, and they recognised the divine missions both of Moses and Jesus. In the twelfth century, the mysteries of race were unknown. Jerusalem belongs either to Israel or Ishmael." When at length Mr. Disraeli conducts his new Crusader Tancred to the supreme moment of his pilgrimage on Sinai (not Jerusalem), the words which he makes him hear in his sacred trance are these:—"The thoughts of all lands come from a higher source than man, but the intellect of Arabia comes from the Most High . . . Cease to seek in a vain philosophy the solution of the social problem. Announce the sublime and solacing doctrine of *theocratic equality*." In these two words is contained the whole "Asian mystery" which Tancred, at the bidding of Sidonia, went forth to seek. From the moment he hears them he becomes a beggar, waiting on the liberality of the Jew and the Arab. And the petition he puts up to them is: "Send forth a great thought, as you have done before from Sinai, from Galilee, from Arabia"

(for Mahomet shares the glory with Moses and with Christ), "and you may again remodel all the institutions of Europe, change their principles of action,"—and the rest. "In vain they baptize their tumult by the name of progress—progress from what to what! Except to those who cling to the Arabian creeds, Europe—that quarter of the globe to which God has never spoken—is without consolation." This glorification of the Jew is not confined to the novels. In the biography of Lord George Bentinck, Mr. Disraeli has inserted a well-known chapter pleading against his party for Jewish emancipation, and, though beginning in humility, in the end asserting the Jewish ascendancy. There is nothing revolting to a Jew, he tells us, to learn that a Jewess is Queen of Heaven, or that the flower of the Jewish race are even now sitting on the right hand of God. And he repeats an assertion in *Tancred*: "No one has ever been permitted to write under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit except a Jew."

It is strictly true, that besides the King and the Jew, Mr. Disraeli gives us no reason to suppose that he would preserve any other institution than quarter-sessions, small boroughs, freemen, parish vestries and some other privileged bodies, and the press. In his system, the press is the future substitute for representative government. "If we are forced to revolutions, let us propose the idea of a free monarchy, established on fundamental laws, itself the apex of a vast pile of municipal and local government, ruling an educated people, represented by a free and intellectual press. Before such a royal authority, sectional anomalies would disappear." Representative government, says Tancred, is a "fatal drollery," a feature not to be found in the polity which Omniscience deigned to trace. "The wisdom of the Saxons, Norman valour, the statecraft of the Tudors, the national sympathies of the Stuarts, the spirit of the later Guelphs struggling against their enslaved sovereignty, . . . end in the huckstering rule of some thirty unknown and anonymous jobbers!" Such, in *Sybil*, appears to be the result of representative government. "Such a system may suit the balanced interests and the periodical and alternate command of rival oligarchical connections; but it can subsist only by the subordination of the sovereign and the degradation of the multitude, and cannot accord with an age whose genius will soon confess that power and the people are both divine." Nothing can exceed the scorn with which parliamentary government is spoken of throughout *Sybil*. The political mystification of the last hundred years is laid to its charge,



"during which a people without power or education have been induced to believe themselves the freest and most enlightened nation in the world, and have submitted to lavish their blood and treasure, and see their industry crippled and labour mortgaged to maintain an oligarchy that had neither ancient memories to soften nor present services to justify their unprecedented usurpation." And all this was done by the bewildering phrase of artful orators in a parliament closed against the reporters of the press. In this parliament, he says in another place, "robbery has been practised on the greatest scale known in modern ages; here ten thousand manors belonging to the Templars were forfeited and divided between the king and the nobles. Here the great estate of the Church which belongs to the people was seized. . . . Here was brought forth the monstrous conception—the mortgaging of the industry of the country to enrich and protect property. Here the innocent were impeached, and a virtuous and able monarch martyred because he was of opinion that it was better for the people to be taxed directly by one, than indirectly by many." This indictment against representative government in general, and the English Parliament in special, is still further particularized in accusations against both Houses. "A plague o' both the Houses," says our new Mercutio. As to the Peers, he divides them into two lots—the old Venetian oligarchy, which Pitt consigned to destruction when he said that every man with £10,000 a year should be a peer, and the plebeian pseudo-aristocracy which was his instrument for dethroning the oligarchy. Mr. Disraeli has aristocratic principles; but he owns no aristocracy except that of blood. And ancient blood in the veins is, he says, an accident rather rare with the English nobility. "I never heard of a peer with an ancient lineage. The real old families of this country are to be found amongst the peasantry; the gentry too may lay some claim to old blood." As for the House of Commons, at least between 1832 and 1868, it had lost all claim to Mr. Disraeli's respect. De Maistre said that a nation consisted of the monarchy and aristocracy. Mr. Disraeli added the labouring multitude. But he never would allow that the middle classes made up any notable part of the nation. He said in *Coningsby* that if the House of Commons was treated as the House of the people, as it was by the Bill of 1832, the principle of universal suffrage was virtually conceded. By that Bill, he tells us, the old Constitution was reformed on new and exclusive principles, which made the House of Commons the House of a few—

of the ten-pound electors,—and took the representation from the freemen, who themselves were the representatives of labour. In the House of Commons, thus reformed, only two courses were possible; either to carry out logically the levelling principle, and remove all privileges that were left, or to profess Conservatism, a negative creed more imbecile than the former was wicked. The alternative was between political infidelity and a destructive creed.

Mr. Disraeli has carried out his theories, so far as he has dared to do so. With his great tact in parliamentary management, still, like Lord Bute, he has steadily and systematically compromised parliamentary government. He has looked upon party conflicts as mere questions between gamblers, whom it was lawful to cozen with their own cards. Tadpole's remarks on the Parliament of 1839, in *Sybil*, are rather meant as a sarcasm on an institution which could be so managed by so contemptible a person than as a condemnation of the manœuvres themselves, which Mr. Disraeli adopted in the sessions of 1866 and 1867. "This is a very manageable parliament," says Tadpole; "the malcontent radicals who have turned them [the Whigs] out, are not going to bring them in. That makes us equal. Then we have the Sneaks,—the men who are afraid of a dissolution. I will be bound we make a good working majority of twenty-five out of the Sneaks." He despises that consideration for the honour and dignity of Parliament which was so conspicuous in Peel. For him Parliament is an assembly to be duped, and to be so used as to make its government impossible. His patronage of Chartism should not be forgotten. As he wrote an elaborate apology for it in *Sybil*, so in the House of Commons he voted against all repressive measures on the ground that Chartism had been produced by Parliament's revolutionizing the parochial jurisdiction, attacking the ancient police, tampering with the magistracy, confiscating the patrimony of the people (the Church lands), assaulting trial by jury, and destroying corporations. That is, he required that Parliament should restore the old poor law, the old watchmen, the Church lands confiscated at the Reformation, and the close corporations of boroughs, and should abolish all stipendiary magistrates, before he could conscientiously vote for the measures requisite to stop a temporary excitement and a few local riots. His hostility to parliamentary government includes hostility to government by parliamentary parties. He recognises a "national party," and no other. He considers the two English parliamentary parties to be two rival oligarchies,



each with its own programme, and with its hereditary views and tendencies, seizing alternately the rudder of the State. Such an arrangement logically supposes that one party should voluntarily embrace unpopular views, and thereby resign to the other the monopoly of proposing popular measures. Thus it would be excluded from office for ever. But a party organizes itself in order to govern. The very reason of its existence is not to enforce a theory, but to exhibit its legislative and administrative talents. Its business is, not to risk its existence or its tenure of office for isolated measures, but to enforce the principle that, as the king reigns through the divine right of his blood, so the minister should govern by the divine right of his genius, and by means of his party. Nothing excites his contempt so strongly as a falling minister. Peel twice fell, and twice destroyed his party. Instead of educating his party, his own life was a perpetual education. He tried to give effect to the worn-out ideas of his party, instead of making it carry out his own principles. He only learned through failure. After a great disaster, his mind seemed always to expand. He was only wise for the occasion. Instead of judging from the heaven of his own invention what would be good for the people, he obliged the people to declare what they wanted, and made policy to consist in giving a scientific form to the popular demand. Thus he forced the people out of doors to become statesmen; and this, adds his critic, was a revolution which took the essence out of our institutions. It is clear then that, although Mr. Disraeli recognises both party and people, he gives no real place in the government to either. The party is merely the pedestal or instrument of the minister, and the people merely his raw material. Neither has any real voice in affairs. The monarch and his minister ought to rule all in the interest of all, without sacrificing the minority to the majority, as party government must do. The only power which has no class interest is the sovereign, who, if he tyrannizes, may be checked by the people, as an arbitrary parliament is checked by the constituency. The House of Commons represents only a few; the sovereign is the sovereign of all, and is the proper leader of the people. The personal wins mankind. A cause is an abstraction, fit only for students. Embodied in a party, it stirs men to action; but represented by a leader who can inspire enthusiasm, it commands the world. When Mr. Disraeli approves party, he means only that section of the public which embraces the Tory cause. He does not mean a parliamentary party; for such parties, however

they may differ in the rest, agree in this, that they vindicate to Parliament the supremacy in the State. The only parliamentary party that he can logically justify is a party in Parliament, but not of it, a party sworn to countermine the usurpations of Parliament, to blast its dignity and to checkmate its action, to play off the Crown and people against the Parliament, and one section of the Parliament against another.

With this fundamental objection to parliamentary parties, it is natural that he should condemn all that ever have been or will be. We have seen how, in this view, the unprejudiced and powerful mind of Bolingbroke taught him to dread and to condemn the Tories, such as they were in his day. To the Tory party, with Bolingbroke's traditions and under Pitt's guidance, he necessarily attributes a share in the "political mystification of the last hundred years." And as to the party after Pitt's death he says of it: "Impudently usurping the name of that party of which nationality, and therefore universality, is the essence, these pseudo-Tories made exclusion the principle of their political constitution, and restriction the genius of their commercial code." What he thought of the party as transformed by Peel we have already seen. His opinion of the Whigs is sufficiently notorious: "The Whigs introduced sectarian religion, sectarian religion led to political exclusion, and political exclusion was soon accompanied by commercial restraint." The party he holds to be a mere faction or conspiracy to introduce and maintain a "Venetian oligarchy." If he could have sympathy with any party, it would be with that section of philosophy, the Radicals which would found an Imperial power on universal suffrage, and would to the Church as the means of persuading the masses. With Radicalism he has often shown that he has a certain fundamental agreement; but he has no sympathy with what he calls the Jacobinism of Lancashire. He has accordingly been obliged to look abroad for a political system which he could thoroughly approve. And he found one in France. It is clear that he and Napoleon III. are fellow-students in the school of Bolingbroke. In his youth he attempted to make himself the laureate of Napoleon I. by his *Revolutionary Epic*, in which he sang how the spirit of Feudalism (Toryism) and the spirit of Federalism (Radicalism) found their point of union and indifference in the Emperor, and where he announced himself as the destined poet of the transformation of Europe by the ideas of the French Revolution. It was in complete accordance with the theories of his whole life



that he risked so much of what popularity he had by making himself the parliamentary advocate of Napoleon III. in 1854.

Mr. Disraeli's political opinions are all grouped round one grand centre—himself. We have seen how in his mind the notion of becoming a party leader preceded any notion of the party he was to lead. In general, he holds that the cause exists for the man, not the man for the cause. As God made all things for himself, so in a theocracy all things exist for the governor. The minister has a kind of divinity; and in comparison with him the people are but chaff and bran to stuff his ambition. Ambition is the consciousness of genius. It is "the heroic feeling, which in old days produced demigods; without which no State is safe, . . . and civilisation itself but a fitful and transient dream." The part which the great man plays in his system is immense. He seems to recognise three grades of influence and authority. The first is management, a mere intellectual gift of assigning to every man his part, and bringing them all to act together for an end; but, great as may be the value of this gift, he always exhibits it as ending in failure when unaccompanied by higher qualifications. The next grade is attractiveness, which is symbolized by wealth, rank, wit, adventure, audacity, or any other gift which engages the imagination or the interests of mankind; the attractive man plays the same part in the political field that the coquette plays in society. The third grade is that of genius. The highest genius is that which exhibits itself as inspiration: Mr. Disraeli's most perfect ideals are men and women who see visions and dream dreams. Next in rank to this divine genius comes the poetic genius. "The teeming fertility of the inventive resources of the imagination is as necessary to a great statesman as to a great general or a great poet." Peel was not a statesman, because "he embalmed no great political truth in immortal words." All these three qualities of a great statesman Mr. Disraeli claims for himself in his novels, where there is no character but himself, divided into many masks, exhibiting his full face in the principal personages, and his profile and quarter face in collateral characters of the story. To construct him, as he sets himself before us, we must take the "miraculous management" of Vivian Grey, the magnetic attraction, the poetic genius, the clairvoyant intuition of Contarini Fleming, the aphoristic infallibility of Sidonia, with a spice of the human weaknesses of Fakraddeen (as it were a half-brother of Vivian), and with a hem of feminine fibre borrowed on the one side from Mrs.

Lorraine and Mrs. Coningsby, and on the other from Sybil and Eva. For his preternatural powers are more those of the prophetess than of the prophet, more in the temperament than in the authoritative mission, more allied to mesmerism than to inspiration. Yet he claims the magical power of accomplishing ends without ordinary means, of working by contraries, of propagating a truth by summing it up in an immortal word. He is an adept in that Oriental lore which teaches (according to Ibn Chaldan) that "the word of a believer concludes peace and makes war according as he speaks; for the power of everything created lives in the pure word of a believer, from which states arise, and cities and nations flourish, as the tree grows up from its roots."

It is not difficult to see what was the attraction between the disorganized Conservatives and a man of Mr. Disraeli's opinions and character. Conservative principles had collapsed with the repeal of the corn duties, as entirely as Toryism had collapsed at the Revolution, or Tory-Conservatism with the Reform Bill. The negative side of Peel's programme was unable to stand alone; it was not a policy but a sentiment; and as a sentiment it was destructive of policy, for it would allow nothing to be done. The positive side of Peel's programme had developed into a liberalism towards which the Conservative sentiment was furiously hostile. The party could not exist without some positive creed, however hollow; and Mr. Disraeli was precisely the man to combine its sentiments, its tendencies, and its prejudices, into the semblance of a principle. He was in want of a chaos; and the very demoralization of the party was both a magnet and a whetstone for his organizing genius. He knew the secret of a key which would fit into its intellectual and moral voids, and open for him a way into the inmost recesses of its confidence. He had ex-cogitated a great bribe to offer it, estimated at £120,000,000, as a compensation for its supposed losses by the repeal of the corn laws. He had got a beautiful vision to dangle before its eyes, of the Queen on her throne, crowned and sceptered, with all her prerogatives restored, the centre of a galaxy of lords and bishops, rectors, squires, and churchwardens, surrounded by a tame flock of happy peasantry, while the middle and manufacturing classes were wearing out their doom to "fade like the Tyrian dye, and moulder like the Venetian palaces." It would not matter if the hopes were mockeries, the fears delusions, and the ideal an exploded fallacy. For the programme was only addressed to the imagination. It was to be



the plaything of a party, not the earnest purpose of a statesman. It was a charm by which the genius was to mould the party into a pedestal for his own statue, not the law by which he was to regulate his policy and shape the development of the nation.

The whole life of Conservatism in 1846 was concentrated in the thirst for revenge upon Peel. The party, however "spacious in the possession of dirt," possessed no sufficiently accomplished hurler of mud, and was obliged to go begging for a bravo. Mr. Disraeli bestowed himself upon them, and was welcomed, like the man whom the horse in the fable invited to mount him. The Conservatives had no idea of subjecting themselves to him. They thought to use him; but he intended to use them, to control them, and to educate them—partly for their good, chiefly for his own. A career thus opened required circumspect advance. He had, as the Americans say, to go in at the little end of the horn. He had to take his cue from the party; he could not attempt to dictate to it. It thus became his hard lot to stand forth as the champion of the Protectionists, whose principles he had all his life condemned as one of the stupid imbecilities of pseudo-Toryism. He was able, however, to cloak himself for nearly three years under the skirts of Lord George Bentinck, a leader without a system of his own, but bold and clever, with wit enough to listen to plausible ideas, and dignity enough "to play his great part in a becoming manner," whose "singular and sudden career" exhibited just that triumph of accidental information over artificial training, of impulse over theory, which was a part of Mr. Disraeli's romantic creed. For are we not taught in *Contarini Fleming* that, though the legislator ought to consult the genius of the people, yet it is impossible to draw out this genius with the hook of philosophy, or to make that which is "the occasional consequence of fine observation" into "the certain result of scientific study"? Policy comes by intuition, not by training. System cannot give us knowledge of man. "Moral philosophy is mere words. History is a pleasant pastime, never a profitable study." Lord George Bentinck became a statesman, neither by study, nor by his own intuition, but by that of Mr. Disraeli. After the death of Lord George Bentinck, Mr. Disraeli could stand alone, or at least required only a crutch, and not a cloak. Lord Derby supplied what was lacking, and gave bail for his good behaviour.

In 1849 Mr. Disraeli became definitively the leader in the House of Commons of the party which called itself Conservative, and which he intended to make Tory. But his position was a delicate one; his hold on his

party was not yet established. From 1846 to 1852 was the first period of his action upon it. This period is itself divided into two: the first during his coverture, while Lord George Bentinck was leader; the second under his acknowledged lead. This whole period was one of ostensible protection. It comprised the attacks upon Peel in 1846, the defence of the sugar duties in 1847, and of the navigation laws in 1848, the arguments for the reimposition of an import duty on corn in 1849, and the motions in 1849, 1850, and 1851, for a readjustment of local taxation, so as to compensate the landed interest for what they had lost by free-trade. But during all this period, his speeches contain no affirmation of the principle of protection. In 1848 he declared outright that he was a free-trader, though not a freebooter of the Manchester school. He was able, however, to combine his free-trade with a freebooting which was not of the Manchester school: for in 1849 he declared himself ready to appeal to the people on the question, "whether they were for the system which should make the foreigner or the Englishman pay the taxes of the land." He thought also that the landed interest ought to be protected at the expense of the mercantile interest, and prophesied that the recent changes in the commercial system must end in national degradation and financial convulsion. He tried also to apply what he called free-trade principles to the land. If the land is immaterial, he asked in 1850, why is it taxed at all?—as if rent itself were not taxed, and a tax on rent a public tax on the part of a private tax. When Parliament, he said, had destroyed the artificial protection of the land, it had no right to maintain the artificial burdens. Lord Russell bore witness that he never grounded his motions on protection, and never promised its re-establishment: but his own party treated this silence as a concession to the prejudices of the free-trading majority, and exhibited a confidence in his convictions which his words certainly did not warrant.

The events of 1848 had brought Reform once more to the front. The disaster of Louis Philippe and Guizot had warned Lord Russell of the danger of finally excluding great classes from the franchise. But he opposed all motions for its extension, till he was placed in a minority by Mr. Locke King in 1851. He resigned; but Lord Derby was not able to form a ministry, and he retained office, though he was again placed in a minority on the continuance of the income-tax, by a combination of Mr. Russell with Mr. Disraeli. The next session (1852) was weakened by the exclusion of Lord Palmerston.



ston, he proposed a new Reform Bill, but was beaten by Lord Palmerston on the Militia question, and again resigned. This was the first great occasion for Mr. Disraeli's education of the Conservatives on the question of Reform. There had been a meeting of the party, where it was led to commit itself to a position which turned out to involve a policy hitherto strange to it. It was to relinquish its intolerant attitude, and to allow Reform Bills to be introduced, reserving its force for moulding them according to its own ideas in committee. This was a great step gained. Henceforth the Tories, instead of negating all reform, began to be taught to suppose that they had positive schemes of their own, not indeed to be produced independently, as though they were of any positive value, but to be, if possible, substituted for any proposals which might come from the opposite party. "From the time," said Mr. Disraeli, in October 1867, "I ever presumed to take any lead in public affairs, I have never omitted an opportunity of claiming, whenever this question was brought forward, the right of the Tory party to deal with it, deeming that historically we had as good and better right than our opponents, but that, totally irrespective of these considerations, it was a fatal position that one of the great constitutional parties of England should commence their programme by the admission that, upon the most vital and interesting of public questions, they were considered to be debarred from ever interfering." Reform then was inculcated both as a principle or article of "the traditional Tory creed," and as a rule of tactics; and it became the occasion of clenching the transformation of the Conservatives into the Tory party.

The year 1852 saw Mr. Disraeli Chancellor of the Exchequer and leader of the House of Commons. In the beginning of the session he had declared that the peculiar burdens on hand entitled the landed interest to countervailing duties as a compensation. He was now a compensationist. A few weeks afterwards, Lord Derby, as the head of the new ministry, sketched the policy which the Government intended to follow. In a minority in the House of Commons, it would avoid all unnecessary party measures, and devote itself to legal and social reform, without following Lord John Russell in his "indefinite plan to unsettle everything and settle nothing" by parliamentary reform. Mr. Disraeli, addressing his constituents at Aylesbury on his re-election in March, assured them that he had sown all his wild oats, that for fifteen years he had never forfeited a principle or a pledge, and declared,

"it shall never be said that I have attained power by false pretences." A precipitate settlement, unjust to farmers, planters, or sailors, was, he said, wrongly called free-trade. But he would pledge himself to no particular measure, only to the policy of justice to all classes, including "ample and complete redress" to the landed interest. When he first met Parliament he was obliged to adopt provisionally the budget of the outgoing ministry; this he did in a speech so candid that Mr. Gladstone was ready to let the result of the financial policy of the preceding ten years rest upon it. In the autumn session of the new Parliament, the way having been cleared by the affirmation of a resolution in favour of the free-trade policy, Mr. Disraeli produced his budget. It was ambitious enough. It offered paltry compensation to the shipping interest and the planters. The land was promised the substantial alms of half the malt-tax. The townspeople were to be gratified with a reduced duty on tea. But there was to be a graduated income-tax and an extended house-tax. "There are greater subjects for us to consider," he said, "than the triumph of obsolete opinions. I look upon one-sided free-trade as an obsolete opinion, just as you look upon protection; and I am lost in the great principle of the day, that of unrestricted competition." Lost he undoubtedly was. Mr. Gladstone demonstrated that he knew nothing of the business; and his budget was refused by the House. But at least he had educated his party, first into substituting "compensation" for "protection," and then into being "lost in unrestricted competition." In the imagination of the party, this actually meant that landlords and farmers were not to be taxed; but it was also capable of being ultimately shown to have meant pure and simple free-trade.

In the years between 1853 and 1858, the attention of the country was absorbed in the Crimean War and the Indian Mutiny. In 1853, Mr. Gladstone's first great budget was too popular to offer any hopeful point of attack; but, by a union with Mr. Milner Gibson, Mr. Disraeli managed to beat the Government on the question of taxes on knowledge. Though he failed to profit by the military passions of the hour, and to ride into office as a War Minister, he had no little influence in putting an end to what he called the ministry of "no principles but all the talents." He could not displace Lord Palmerston's Government till 1858, when the Extradition Bill, which he ought to have approved for its subservience to Napoleon III., afforded him a second opening



to power. During the interval between his two administrations he had busily educated his party in the principles of Tory Reform. He had at last given them a theory on which a Bill might be founded, and all other Bills rejected, in order eventually to pass that. In his numerous Reform speeches he always insisted that the franchise is neither a right nor a trust, but a privilege, not an odious exception, but a general reward. If this is denied, and a right to the franchise asserted, then he told his party every restriction becomes an absurdity; but when the franchise is given by law as a privilege and reward, then it does not matter how liberally it is given. Universal suffrage he assured them would produce a Tory majority. He criticised the Reform Act of 1832 as having given privileges to property only, and as having swept away all the old privileges given to labour and to skill. On the old system the freeman represented the artisan and the labourer: "we virtually terminated the political rights of labour with the class of freemen we destroyed." But whatever privileges he was ready to lavish on labour, he reserved greater privileges for the land. Government, he said, must be based on traditionary influences and large properties round which men may rally. They are the only security for liberty and property. Ours is a "territorial constitution." Power is in the Crown, order in the Lords, liberty in the Commons. Such were to be the bases of Tory Reform. Lord Derby, in his first speech as minister in 1858, observed that the broad distinctions of political parties no longer existed, but that they were divided into the most various shades of opinion, the niceties of division being so fine that it was difficult to define the position of many a member of Parliament. Thus the composition of parties was in exact analogy to the composition of Tory principles. The formula, "power in the Crown, order in the Lords, liberty in the Commons," by giving a separate local habitation to each element, separates the elements themselves, gives them a fragmentary character, and builds up the party programme out of mutually inconsistent bits, each of which demands in its turn a practical development. Such a creed is exactly the one to present to an assembly divided in the way Lord Derby described. It offers to every fragment of a party that fragment of a principle on which it erects its platform. And in exchange it demands compromise on all other points, and thus trains men for every kind of concession. On this eclectic basis Lord Derby formed his ministry of 1858. It borrowed Mr. Gladstone's finance,

the India policy which Mr. Disraeli had opposed in the earlier part of the session, and some of Mr. Locke King's piecemeal reforms. The Conservatives boasted that the session of 1858 was more prolific of measures than any since 1852. Whether the boast was true or false, the honour claimed was small for a party sworn to stop all legislation when out of office, and ready to concede all when in office. The policy of universal obstruction while in opposition, by combination with extreme sections of the ministerial party, coupled with universal concession while in office, and the carriage of measures by the same combination, is one that has in it neither mystery nor art. It flows on with the bare necessity of a physical law. It must succeed whenever the Liberal party contains its discontented sections which, in union with the Tory party, outnumber the rest of the Liberal body. The novelty was not in the efficacy of the contrivance should be discovered, but that the Conservative party should be brought to combine with its extreme allies in order to overcome the Whigs, whose fault in the eyes of the Tories was that they were too conservative. Such alliances, though suicidal for Conservatism, were naturally approved by a Tory leader, because they tended to transform Conservatism into Toryism, and directly promoted certain articles of the Tory creed of democratic monarchy.

To the true Tory, parliamentary government is an eyesore. To hamper Parliament, to exhibit its inability to solve a pressing question, and to relegate the decision to a minister who will annul ordinary parliamentary rules in order to carry out a proceeding essentially Tory, and not Conservative. This is exactly what Mr. Disraeli saw might be done by Reform. When everybody had agreed that it was to be settled, and ministry after ministry had tried to settle it, and failed, it would be that "the great machine was not adapted to the question, that it could not meet the difficulties;" and then would come the great opportunity for referring the question to the party which was national and parliamentary. By 1858-1859 the party had been so far educated that the Government was able to comply with the new demand of bringing in a Reform Bill. It was a Reform Bill with only one liberal feature in it,—the reduction of the county franchise. And this patch of liberalism was only necessary; for it was part of a general policy for giving parliamentary preponderance to the uneducated and dependent majority of the people, which lives in counties



maintenance of the £10 line in the boroughs, coupled with the scheme of lateral as opposed to vertical extension of the suffrage, by means of lodger and fancy franchises which would only affect the "respectable" classes, completed the reactionary character of the measure. It was deservedly rejected. A dissolution took place; and after a hostile vote in the new Parliament, the ministry resigned. In this second tenure of office Mr. Disraeli had gained the vantage-ground of having forced his party to support positive concrete proposals on Reform, and from that ground he renewed his process of education. His five points are too recent to need recapitulation or criticism. They were certainly all more or less preached in his Reform speeches between 1859 and 1866. And he boasted at Edinburgh that they were all embodied in the ultimate measure of 1867. In reality his boast was neither timely nor true. That measure sinned against his first point; for it was only a piecemeal reform, and was not completed till 1868. And the completion of it effaced its compliance with another of the five points; for several "centres of representation" were annihilated. Moreover, two other points were made futile by the refusal of the House of Commons to sanction the suggested alteration of the boundaries of boroughs, or otherwise to weed the county registers of the borough voters, or to give a preponderating parliamentary influence to the county population. Of all his practical and impracticable suggestions only one enjoyed a temporary and short-lived triumph—his famous principle of the personal payment of rates. As an instrument of parliamentary intrigue it was perfect; as a theory of government and of political economy, or as an administrative contrivance, it was immeasurably puerile and ridiculous. This, however, was the solitary approximation to a legislative result from Mr. Disraeli's Tory teaching. The Bill, after it had thrown off its deceptive checks and compensations, came out ultimately differing in one point alone from such a measure as Mr. Bright, or, before him, Mr. Hume had recommended. This one point was not personal payment of rates, for the personal payment had shrunk into personal rating. Personal rating as a condition of the franchise was the birth for which the mountain had been in labour for nineteen years, and for which the Conservative had been changed into the Tory party. Even this has since been practically swept away.

The conflict between the three schools of Liberalism, Toryism, and Conservatism, was

better seen during the passage of the Irish Church Bill than during the Reform struggle of 1867. In 1869 the three parties were visibly distinguished. The Liberal Government introduced a complete and consistent Bill, which dealt firmly with principles and kindly with interests. The Tory leader declared that the measure was worse than foreign conquest, by which he probably meant that it was as fatal to the Toryism he had been constructing as the "Dutch conquest" had been to the Toryism of the Stuart days. He denounced it as a divorce between the State and religion, and a consequent weakening of the Crown. But after contending seriously though in vain for the principle of Establishment, which his theory required him to do, he made a mere sham-fight for endowments, which he must have felt, though he did not say, could not on his principles be either wisely or justly left in the custody of a disestablished Church. Thus, though the list of his original amendments exhibited him as the champion both of establishment and endowment, yet, when he gave battle on the principle of establishment, and then surrendered at discretion on that of endowment, he only acted with perfect consistency as a Tory, who sanctions the existence of a Church, but only as an annex to the Crown, and censures a Church administered in any other way than by absolute prerogative. This surrender no doubt immensely facilitated the passage of the Bill through Parliament, and was therefore distasteful to those few Conservatives who hoped for a better bargain by delay. It also weakened the position of the main body of the party, who accepted disestablishment as inevitable, but considered that by prudent management the whole of the property might be preserved to the disestablished body. Lord Cairns, as Mr. Disraeli's lieutenant in the House of Lords, finally annihilated these Conservative hopes. The Tory leaders, after being compelled to admit the principle of disestablishment, distinctly lent their aid to reduce to sufficient depletion the strength of the engine thus taken away from the armoury of the Crown; while the Conservatives strove rather lightly for establishment, in comparison with their vigorous efforts to retain the wealth of an independent Church. The two principles are, in fact, mutually contradictory, and would, under fitting circumstances, lead to a division in the party. The Tory is for Church and Crown; but not for the Church without the Crown. The Conservative wishes to keep whatever he can, if not wholly, then in part, and to reserve the wealth and influence, even when it is impos-



sible to maintain the establishment, of a Church. The theory of the royal supremacy existing not in the royal courts but in the person of the sovereign, and the union of the Church with the State on the sole ground of this supremacy, was the total contribution of Toryism to the debate on the Irish Church measure.

With all its positive pretence then, Toryism has proved as sterile as Conservatism itself. Where it has been prolific, it has been so merely by surrender to some section of Liberals, with whose opinions it has provisionally decked itself. And indeed, in those transcendent moments when the delight of cajoling a hostile majority lures Mr. Disraeli into frankness, he does not stick at the admission that, after all, his Toryism has as little real place in English legislation as the Conservatism it has superseded. On the 25th of February 1867, he said: "A national party, a party which is nothing if it be not national, had by too long a possession of power shrunk into a heartless oligarchy. The Whig party seized the occasion which was before them, and threw the Government of this country into the hands of the middle classes. Never to my mind was any political experiment more successful. Never has a country been better governed, to my mind, than England during the last thirty years." It is precisely during these thirty years that Mr. Disraeli's political activity has been manifested. It is precisely in thwarting the course of this good government that all his energies have been employed. His hostility has been that, not only of a private antagonist, but of an organizing leader. When the obstructive forces lay shattered and helpless, he rallied them, and recreated the opposition. Organized, consolidated, formed into a coherent phalanx, by his skill, the party ever since has devoted itself to resisting, piecemeal and in the mass, one by one and altogether, the successive developments of the Liberal policy. And for what? In order that its leader might rise from the Treasury bench, and confess in its name that that policy was unsurpassed in excellence. There is no doubt of his right to be the mouthpiece of the party; there is no doubt of his competence to declare the idea on which it rests. He created both the one and the other; and he knows whereof they are made. His word is the end of controversy. *Habemus confitentem reum*: the Tory policy is a conspiracy against good government.

And what is that Conservatism to which the party is exhorted to return but the very influence which predisposed it, the very preamble and premiss which forced it, to

welcome and subserve the Toryism from which it now recoils? Conservatism is not a doctrine or a system; it makes no provision for the most elementary and necessary demands of government. It is merely a sentiment, or an ethical habit. It dies away out of men's minds as they expand to a real knowledge of the forces which are moving the world and of the problems which those forces are continually creating, as they rise to a genuine conviction that their own class interests are not the ultimate test of right, and as they gain the moral courage to act sincerely on the principles which they believe to be true. Under Peel, Conservatism did not stand by itself; if he continued to share its prepossessions, he lent it a life which was not its own. But when the party came to understand that it could no longer enjoy that life without committing itself to a real political system, it started aside like a broken bow. It expelled the only principle of vitality and development with which it seemed capable of amalgamating, and collapsed upon the dull mass of its own negative instincts. The rest was only the inevitable working out of a general law. For a party cannot exist upon a purely negative basis, haggling for ever over the details of its own doomed interests. It cannot help seeking an escape from a palpably impossible position. The Conservative party after 1846 only followed the promptings of its own nature, in the circumstances in which it stood. Therefore it fell a prey to whatever chimera in the sphere of politics could promise most to its interests and its passions. It became the dupe of clattering aphorisms, and the accomplice of a hare-brained plot. It stood by in simpering acquiescence while each of its sentiments was in turn converted into a logical premiss to establish and enforce its contradictory. It accepted as a political philosophy the interchangeable juggle between protection and free-trade, unrestricted competition and monopoly. It learned to justify whatever it might be its interest to do, by whatever principles it might be its interest to profess. What Conservatism has been, that it will be—not a serious policy, nor even the preparative for one, but simply the ready prize of any imposture which promises to stop the sun, and to draw the moon out of its sphere. If the repentance of the Opposition is to establish for them any claim to the national respect, if it is to provide them with any real foundation for a policy in the future, it must go deeper than the trumpety squabble about their tactics and their leaders. It must take them back to the time when they turned away from the light towards which



they were advancing, and reverse the mental and moral habit which incited them to that apostasy. What they have to learn are elementary truths—that facts are stronger than the ignorance which denies them, that justice is higher than the interests of any class, that principles are safer than the alternate cowardice and recklessness of passion. To drape themselves again in the tatters of Conservatism would be something more than to defy the general teaching of history; it would be deliberately to renew, in the face of their own personal experience, their career of disaster and dishonour.

#### ART. VIII.—CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

1. *Resultate der auf Befehl Sr. Majestät des Königs Wilhelm I. von Preussen im Sommer 1868 nach Aegypten entsandten Archäologisch-photographischen Expedition.* Herausgegeben von Dr. Johannes Dümichen. Theil I. (Berlin: Duncker.)
2. *Die Gliederung des Buches Isaias als Grundlage seiner Erklärung und insbesondere der Auslegung einer für die Zukunft wichtigen Weissagung.* Von B. Neteler. (Münster: Niemann.)
3. *The Greek Sceptics from Pyrrho to Sextus.* By Norman Maccoll, B.A. (London: Macmillan.)
4. *Paulus der Apostel der Heiden.* Vorträge gehalten in den Protestantischen Vereinen zu Dresden und Leipzig. Von Max Krenkel. (Leipzig: Duncker und Humblot.)
5. *The Homilies of Aphraates the Persian Sage.* Edited from Syriac Manuscripts of the fifth and sixth centuries, in the British Museum, with an English Translation, by W. Wright, Ph.D., LL.D. Vol. I. The Syriac Text. (London: Williams and Norgate.)
6. *Synesius von Cyrene. Eine biographische Charakteristik aus den letzten Zeiten des untergehenden Hellenismus.* Von Dr. Richard Volkmann. (Berlin: Ebeling und Plan.)
7. *The Case of Pope Honorius reconsidered with reference to recent Apologies.* By P. Le Page Renouf. (London: Longmans.)
8. *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands.* Von J. Friedrich. II. Band. 1 Hälfte. Die Merowinger Zeit. (Bamberg: Reindl.)
9. *Indiculus Arnonis, und Breves Notitiae Salzbургenses.* Herausgegeben und erläutert von Friedrich Keinz. (Munich: Fleischmann.)
10. *Maçoudi. Les Prairies d'Or.* Texte et traduction par C. Barbier de Meynard. Tome Cinquième. (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale.)
11. *Monumenta Germaniae historica, edidit Georgius Henricus Porta.* Scriptorum Tomus XXI. (Hanover: Hahn.)
12. *Ottotonische Studien zur deutschen Geschichte im zehnten Jahrhundert.* II. *Hrotvit von Gandersheim.* Von Rudolf Köpke. (Berlin: Mittler und Sohn.)
13. *History of the Norman Kings of England, from a Collation of the Contemporary Chronicles.* By Thomas Cobbe. (London: Longmans.)
14. *The Chronicles of Roger de Hovedene.* Vols. I. and II. Edited by Professor Stubbs. (London: Longmans.)
15. *Tabulae Ordinis Theutonici.* Ex Tabularii Regii Berolinensis codice potissimum edidit Ernestus Strehlke. (Berlin: Weidmann.)
16. *Ricardi de Cirencestria Speculum Historiale.* Vol. II. Edited by John E. B. Mayor, M.A. (London: Longmans.)
17. *Gesta Abbatum Monasterii S. Albani.* Vol. III. Edited by H. T. Riley, M.A. (London: Longmans.)
18. *Chroniques de J. Froissart.* Publiées par Siméon Luce. Vol. I. (Paris: Renouard.)
19. *Histoire de Toulon au Moyen Age.* Par Octave Teissier. (Paris: Dumoulin.)
20. *Jacobäa von Bayern und ihre Zeit. Acht Bücher niederländischer Geschichte.* Von Franz v. Löher. Zweiter Band. (Nördlingen: Beck.)
21. *Histoire de Charles VIII., Roi de France.* D'après des documents diplomatiques inédits ou nouvellement publiés. Par C. de Cherrier, Membre de l'Institut. (Paris: Didier.)
22. *Trois Documents de l'Eglise du XV. Siècle.* (Venice: Antonelli.)
23. *La Bibliothèque des Princes Corsini, à Rome.* Par M. Gachard. (Brussels: Merzbach.)
24. *Dispacci di Giovanni Michiel.* Rettificazioni ed Aggiunte di Luigi Pasini. (Venice: Grimaldo.)
25. *Le Cardinal Jean Morone.* Par Frédéric Sclopis. (Paris: Durand.)
26. *Gérard Mercator, sa Vie et ses Œuvres.* Par le Docteur T. van Raemdonck. (Saint Nicolas: Dalschaert-Praet.)
27. *Shakespeareana Genealogica.* In Two Parts. Compiled by Geo. Russell French. (Cambridge: Macmillan.)
28. *Narrative of the Spanish Marriage Treaty.* Edited and Translated by S. R. Gardiner. (London: Camden Society.)
29. *Gustaf Adolf.* Von G. Droysen. (Leipzig: Veit.)
30. *Geschichte Wallensteins.* Von L. von Ranke. (Leipzig: Duncker und Humblot.)
31. *Graf Georg Friedrich von Waldeck, ein preussischer Staatsmann im 17ten Jahrhundert.* Von Bernhard Erdmannsdörfer. (Berlin: Reimer.)
32. *Rembrandt Harmens Van Rijn. Sa vie et ses Œuvres.* Par C. Vosmaer. (The Hague: Nijhoff.)
33. *Syllabus of Rymer's Fœdera.* Vol. I. By T. Duffus Hardy. (London: Longmans.)
34. *Friedrich Wilhelm I., König von Preussen.* Von J. G. Droysen. (Leipzig: Veit.)
35. *Le Père Ricci Général des Jésuites à l'Epoque de leur suppression (1773).* Biographie et pièces inédites publiées par le P. Auguste Carayon. (Paris: L'Ecluseux.)




36. *Aus Schelling's Leben in Briefen*. Erster Band, 1775-1803. (Leipzig: Hirzel.)
37. *Archives Judiciaires. Recueil complet des discussions législatives et des débats résultant des grands procès politiques jugés en France de 1793 à 1840*. Documents recueillis, annotés et mis en ordre par le Baron Carl de Ketschendorf. (Brussels: Decq et Mucquardt.)
38. *Portalis, sa Vie et ses Œuvres*. Par René Lavollée. (Paris: Didier.)
39. *Das Leben des Generals von Scharnhorst, nach grösstentheils bisher unbenutzten Quellen dargestellt*. Von G. H. Klippel. I. II. Thl. (Leipzig: Brockhaus.)
40. *Histoire politique et parlementaire de la Belgique de 1814-1830*. Par Louis Hyman, Membre de la Chambre des Représentants. Tome premier, La fondation du Royaume des Pays-Bas. (Brussels: Office de Publication.)
41. *Aus den Memoiren eines Russischen Dekabristen. Beiträge zur Geschichte des St. Petersburger Militäraufstandes vom 14 (26) December 1825 und seiner Theilnehmer*. (Leipzig: Hirzel.)
42. *Robert Owen, the Founder of Socialism in England*. By Arthur John Booth, M.A. (London: Trübner.)
43. *Grundriss einer allgemeinen Kulturgeschichte der neuesten Zeit*. Von J. J. Honneger. Bd. I. II. (Leipzig: Weber.)
44. *The Life of Mary Russell Mitford, related in a Selection from her Letters to her Friends*. Edited by the Rev. A. G. L'Estrange. (London: Bentley.)
45. *Briefe von Alexander von Humboldt an Bunsen*. (Leipzig: Brockhaus.)
46. *Charles Baudelaire, sa Vie et son Œuvre*. Par Charles Asselineau. (Paris: Lemerre.)
47. *Life of Mother Margaret Mary Hallahan, Foundress of the English Congregation of St. Catherine of Sienna, of the Third Order of St. Dominic*. By her Religious Children. (London: Longmans.)
48. *Histoire de la Constitution de 1852, son développement et sa transformation*. Par A. Cuheval-Clarigny. (Paris: Sauton.)
49. *Histoire de l'Isthme de Suez*. Par Olivier Ritt. (Paris: Hachette.)
50. *Recherches économiques, historiques et statistiques sur les guerres contemporaines (1853-1866)*. Par Paul Leroy-Beaulieu. (Paris: Librairie Internationale.)
51. *Livländische Antwort an Herrn Juri Samarin*. Von C. Schirren. Dritte Auflage. (Leipzig: Duncker und Humblot.)
52. *France*. By M. Prévost-Paradol. (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas.)
53. *Nationality: or the Law relating to Subjects and Aliens, considered with a view to future Legislation*. By the Right Hon. Sir Alexander Cockburn, Lord Chief-Justice of England. (London: Ridgway.)
54. *The New West: or, California in 1867-1868*. By Charles Loring Brace. (New York: Putnam and Son.)
55. *Wanderbuch*. Von W. H. Riehl. (Stuttgart: Cotta.)
56. *Constitutional Progress*. Seven Lectures delivered before the University of Oxford. By Montague Burrows, M.A., Chichele Professor of Modern History. (London: Murray.)
57. *Typical Selections from the best English Authors*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press.)
58. *Histoire de Calife le Pêcheur et de Calife Haroun er Rachid, Conte inédit des Mille et Une Nuits*. Texte Turc accompagné de notes explicatives et de la Traduction Française en regard par Charles Clermont-Ganneau. (Jerusalem: Typographie de Terre Sainte.)
59. *Nouveaux Lundis*. Par C. A. Sainte-Beuve, de l'Académie Française. Tome onzième. (Paris: Michel Lévy Frères.)
60. *Theocritus translated into English Verse*. By C. S. Calverley. (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell, and Co.)
61. *Les Arts au Moyen Age et à l'Époque de la Renaissance*. Par Paul Lacroix. Ouvrage illustré par F. Kellerhoven. (Paris: Didot Frères.)
62. *Histoire de la faïence de Rouen*. Par André Pottier. (Rouen: Le Brument.)
63. *Histoire générale de la Musique depuis les temps les plus anciens jusqu'à nos jours*. Par F. T. Fétis. (Paris: Didot.)
64. *Nouvelles études morales sur le temps présent*. Par E. Caro, de l'Institut. (Paris: Hachette.)
65. *Les Sciences et la Philosophie. Essais de critique philosophique et religieuse*. Par Th. Henri Martin. (Paris: Didier.)
66. *Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft und orientalischen Philologie in Deutschland seit dem anfang des 19 Jahrhunderts*. Von Theodor Benfey. (Munich: Cotta.)
67. *An Icelandic-English Dictionary, chiefly founded on the Collections made from Printed Works of the 12th-14th Centuries*. By the late Richard Cleasby. Enlarged and completed by Gudbrand Vigfusson. Part I. A-H. (Oxford: Clarendon Press.)
68. *Habit and Intelligence in their Connection with the Laws of Matter and Force*. By Joseph John Murphy. (London: Macmillan.)
69. *Recherches sur le Spectre Solaire*. Par A. J. Angström, Professeur de Physique à l'Université d'Upsal. Spectre Normal de Soleil. Atlas de Six Planches. (Upsala: Schultz.)
70. *Vorträge über die Entwicklungsgeschichte der Chemie in den letzten Hundert Jahren*. Von Dr. A. Ladenburg. (Brunswick: Vieweg.)
71. *Rapport Méthodique sur les Progrès de la Chimie Organique pure en 1868 avec quelques détails sur la marche de la Chimie physiologique*. Par le Dr. Micé. (Paris: Bailière.)
72. *Outlines of Chemistry, or Brief Notes of Chemical Facts*. By William Odling, M.B. (London: Longmans.)
73. *The Mississippi Valley: its Physical Geography*. By J. W. Foster, LL.D. (Chicago: Griggs and Co.)
74. *Pre-Historic Times, as illustrated by Ancient Remains, and the Manners and Customs of Modern Savages*. By Sir John Lub-



bock, Bart. Second Edition. (London : Williams and Norgate.)

75. *An Illustrated Natural History of British Moths*. By Edward Newman. (London : Tweedie.)

1. THE indefatigable Dr. Dümichen has just published a volume of the results obtained by the Prussian archaeological expedition to Egypt in the summer of 1868. The first fifteen plates are taken from four of the most remarkable tombs of Sakkarah and represent Egyptian art at the time of the fifth dynasty, that is, considerably more than 2000 years before Christ. The remaining plates, with the exception of the last four (which are really supplementary to another publication of Dr. Dümichen's), belong to a very much more recent period. They contain a plan and inscriptions of the great temple of Hathor at Dendera, and represent the "basest period" of Egyptian art. The name of the "Emperor Nero" occurs repeatedly. These recent texts, which are infinitely more difficult of decipherment than those of the better periods, are of considerable interest both from a mythological and from a philological point of view. The play upon words, sounds, and images, which is characteristic of this literature, sometimes furnishes curious and even important evidence. At Plate XXV., for instance, there is a passage (lines 11 and 12) in which almost every word begins with the letters *ch*. The beginning of the text (line 9) is equally alliterative. *chi-ut, chi-ut, chem chu-t en cheft-neter*. This is fresh evidence as to the phonetic value of the ideographic . See *The*

*North British Review*, No. CI. p. 106.

The interest of the representations belonging to the older period is partly historical and partly archaeological. The historical information which may be gathered from the most ancient tombs has been carefully collected in M. de Rougé's *Memoir on the Monuments of the First Six Dynasties*. Professor Hartmann, the African traveller, has contributed a valuable paper determining the species of animals represented in Dr. Dümichen's publications. But the most important contribution to the present volume is Herr Graser's essay, "*Das Seewesen der alten Aegypter*." He is the author of a most valuable work *De Veterum re Navali*, which is now in fact the greatest authority on the subject. The large number of Egyptian vessels of every kind (no less than 143 in all), which are found in the plates of Dr. Dümichen's recent volumes has enabled Herr Graser accurately to study and describe the details and development of the Egyptian system in its different periods, from the earliest date down to the thirteenth century before Christ. Although the Greek ship of the historical period was far more complicated in its construction than the Egyptian, almost all the elements of the Greek system are found in a simpler form in the Egyptian, so that Herr Graser in describing the latter is almost invariably able in the absence of the

Egyptian technical term to use a corresponding Greek one.

He is of course strictly accurate in contrasting the wealth of the Greek texts in nautical phraseology with the poverty of the Egyptian. But it would be unfair to forget how recently the Egyptian texts have been deciphered, how imperfectly as yet they have been studied, and how many still remain unpublished. There is no antecedent improbability in the discovery of Hieroglyphic texts as important in their way as the inventories of the Attic navy, published by Boeckh. "No one writer in the whole range of Greek and Roman literature," says the author of an article in Dr. Smith's *Biblical Dictionary*, "has supplied us (it may be doubted whether all put together have supplied us) with so much information concerning the merchant ships of the ancients as St. Luke in the narrative of St. Paul's voyage to Rome (Acts xxvii. xxviii.)." The Coptic translator of the New Testament unfortunately did not think it necessary to render the technical Greek terms by corresponding Egyptian ones. He either preserved the Greek term or gave an approximate or untechnical version. In spite of all difficulties, however, our Hieroglyphic vocabulary is far more advanced than many persons are aware.

2. HERR NETELER has made an honest but certainly not successful attempt to overthrow the opinion, now generally received among scholars, against the unity of composition of the Book of Isaiah. He is perfectly conscious of the fact that none of the previous endeavours to prove this unity have been satisfactory. But he exaggerates the importance of the fact; and he is mistaken in supposing that the most complete success, within its own limits, of such an attempt as his own would have any real bearing on the question of the unity of authorship of the book. The mere want of unity and connection between the different prophecies would be no proof that they did not proceed from a single author. And, on the other hand, a perfectly false and illusory unity of thought and composition may be imagined to pervade the writings of very different men, particularly if grave difficulties, such (among many others) as differences of dialect, are thrust out of sight, and the obvious meanings of words are set aside to make way for grossly improbable interpretations. Herr Neteler writes for the purpose of convincing rationalists and unbelievers. But "the belief of the Church that the Book of Isaiah is a Divine revelation" no more establishes the unity of its authorship than the belief of the Church with reference to the Proverbs of Solomon proves that Solomon wrote "the words of Agur," or "the words of King Lemuel, the prophecy that his mother taught him." The most orthodox believer may admit the inspiration of the latter part of Isaiah without on that account being forced to admit that these chapters were written by the author of the first. The internal evidence of the latter chapters as overwhelmingly proves that this



author lived during the Captivity, and was a contemporary of Cyrus, as the evidence of the first chapters proves that their author lived in the days of Hezekiah, and earlier kings of Judah. The earlier prophet predicted the captivity, the later prophet the restoration of Judah. No one would dream of attributing a work which spoke of Queen Victoria as a contemporary sovereign to a writer who flourished before the reign of George I. Nor is it to the point to say that a prophet is not tied to these miserable conditions of time and space. No part of the Book of Isaiah asserts that *kind* of fore-knowledge which is implied in the mention of Cyrus by a contemporary of Hosea and Ahaz. Herr Neteler evidently sees no difficulty in this mention. According to his views, not only was Cyrus predicted, but the clearest indications were given of the politics of modern Russia. From a combination of the data of Isaiah with those of Ezekiel, it appears certain to him "dass Edom eine bildliche Bezeichnung für die Russen ist." This is very much as if a divine prophet of the present day, writing in France, were to warn a distant posterity against an Antichristian power, say in North America, by denouncing woes against Belgium or Switzerland.

8. MR. MACCOLL'S essay on *The Greek Sceptics* contains a clear and accurate account of the opinions of Pyrrho and his various successors and continuators. The difference between the mere suspense of Pyrrho and the probabilism of the later Academy is satisfactorily brought out; and the writer perceives the fallacy of the charge of negative dogmatism brought against Arcesilas and Carneades by the later school who revived the tradition of Pyrrho. The introduction is too rhetorical, and sins both by excess and defect. There is much fine writing wasted in an attempt to prove that the decline of Greek national life was the reason why Aristotle and Plato had no successors, and why subsequent philosophy reduced itself to the regulation of individual life; and little or nothing is said on the extreme insignificance of Pyrrhonism. Later experience has shown that in the most vigorous society it is almost impossible for an encyclopædic system of philosophy to maintain itself beyond the first generation of disciples, unless, indeed, it can incorporate itself with a positive system of theology. Short of this, the best that any system can hope is to pass like those of Hegel and Aristotle into special sciences. Moral and psychological controversies, such as those between Stoics and Epicureans, and the followers of Locke and Reid, are longer lived than such systems, not because they appeal to weaker faculties, but because they appeal to fewer faculties. The peculiarities of temper which incline individuals to take sides in a psychological controversy are more permanent than the phase of culture reflected in an encyclopædic system. The insignificance of the later Greek scepticism is due to the fact that it did not fasten upon popular institutions or creeds, but confined itself to philosophical systems. It was a protest, not against the pressure of

society, but against the pressure of a small cultivated class. The pre-Socratic scepticism emancipated the individual in order to arm him against society; the post-Aristotelic scepticism emancipated the individual from the contradictory dogmas of the learned, in order to enable him to acquiesce in the customs of the crowd. Even the new Academy, which Cicero once dignified with the title of universal disturber, only merited the title so far as it was a criticism on the conservative and official philosophy of the Porch. The real meaning of the scepticism of Carneades was that abstraction was sufficiently certain to justify sacrifice; and the cumulative arguments by which he relied for practical guidance could only establish propositions that lay within the concrete sphere of common sense. Mr. Maccoll treats the later sceptics, beginning with Ænesidemus, too much as if they had fallen from the clouds, and had no connection with their time; and there is no apparent reason why he should have wilfully refused to discuss the connection of Ænesidemus's scepticism with his Heracleitean mysticism. Besides these omissions, one rather grave inaccuracy must be noted. Mr. Maccoll seems to be under the impression that *καταληπτικὸν* is Greek for an intellectual representation.

4. HERR KRENKEL'S views on St. Paul are essentially those of the Tübingen school; and his *Paulus der Apostel der Heiden* contains little of importance that has not already been said, in a less popular form, by Baur and Zeller. To the biblical student the "Erläuterung" at the end of the volume will perhaps be more interesting than the Lectures which form the substance. The author acknowledges none of the epistles as genuine—those to the Romans (i.-xvi.), Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians, Colossians, Thessalonians, and Philemon. He has not succeeded in convincing himself of the spuriousness of the Epistle to the Ephesians, and has used the data contained in it while describing the condition of the Ephesian Church. In the 16th chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, he agrees with Reuss, Ewald, Weiss, and others, in recognising a fragment of another epistle to the Ephesians. The so-called Pastoral Epistles, though not genuine in their present form, he believes to contain one or two considerable fragments really written by St. Paul. On the birthplace of the Apostle he strongly supports St. Jerome's assertion, "de tribu Benjamin et oppido Juda Gisculis fuit, quo a Romanis capto cum patribus suis Tarsum Ciliciæ commigravit" (*vir illustr.* c. 5). St. Jerome must have been fully conscious of the apparent contradiction between this tradition and three passages in the Acts of the Apostles, and must have known how to reconcile it with them. At the same time, a myth would not have selected an unimportant spot, not mentioned either in the Old or the New Testament. On the subject of the eye-witness and companion of St. Paul, who speaks in certain chapters of the Acts of the Apostles, Herr Krenkel brings forward arguments in support of the authorship of Ti-



5. THE collection of writings which appears under the title, strange even to most patristic scholars, of *The Homilies of Aphraates* [or Ferhad] the Persian Sage, is one of the most venerable monuments of Christian antiquity, and the earliest series of original compositions now extant in the Syriac language. The publication of this treasure, which had been hidden for centuries in the Nitrian desert, is due to private munificence. A proposal of Dr. Cureton that it should be printed at the expense of the University of Oxford was rejected by the delegates of the Clarendon Press; and Dr. Wright, of the British Museum, who was charged by Dr. Cureton, when dying, with the execution of his plans, would have failed to get the work printed when it was at last ready for the press, had not an old friend and school-fellow, Mr. David Murray of Adelaide, South Australia, offered to bear the entire cost. The first volume, just published, contains the Syriac text; and a second, containing the translation, will follow as soon as Dr. Wright's other engagements will permit.

It is evident, at the first glance, that the writings now published as those of Aphraates, the Persian sage, are absolutely identical with those published at Rome more than a hundred years ago, in the Armenian language, as an ancient translation of the works of St. James of Nisibis. The Armenian is a close, and generally most faithful, version of the Syriac text given in the present volume. Some of its corruptions and obscurities may at once be cleared up on referring to the Syriac. It is said, for instance, that the names of God are many and glorious. "He has called his name Ahiah, Seharah, Elisade, and Adonia Zauth." These names in the corresponding Syriac passage (p. 335) are intelligible enough. It was the belief, therefore, of Dr. Cureton that these discourses were attributed to St. James of Nisibis by an error which has been fatal to the literary reputation of the real author, Aphraates. This opinion, which is shared by Dr. Wright, Professor Payne Smith, and most Syriac scholars of note, is a very probable one. The evidence in favour of it is extremely strong. It is not, however, absolutely conclusive; and there is evidence on another side of the question, which has not been sufficiently considered. That the author's name was Aphraates need not be doubted. But may not Aphraates and James of Nisibis have been one and the same person? The writers who speak of Aphraates are not ancient; the earliest of them, George, bishop of the Arabs, wrote in the eighth century. None of them seem to know much of Aphraates except from his writings. George, who states that some asserted Aphraates to have been stationed at Nisibis, does not appear to have suspected his episcopal rank, which may be inferred from passages in the discourses on "Penance" and "Pastors," but particularly from the synodical letter, which none but a bishop could have written. In this letter, as Dr. Wright observes, the author speaks of "the holy imposition of hands which men receive from us." The dates of the discourses (A.D.

337, 344, and 345) exactly agree with the time of St. James of Nisibis, according to the best chronologists (see, for instance, Clinton's *Fasti Romani*, vol. i. p. 417). One of the Nitrian mss. ascribes the discourses to "Mar Jacob, the Persian sage," on which Dr. Wright observes that "even at that early period (A.D. 512) our writer may have been confounded with his more widely celebrated namesake, Jacob of Nisibis." But the Armenian translator, who is extremely ancient, and Gennadius of Marseilles, in the *5th* century, are independent witnesses on the same side of the question. The principal objection of Dr. Wright is that James (or Jacob) of Nisibis died in A.D. 338, "and consequently his claim to the authorship falls at once to the ground." But the date of his death is far from being so well established as to make the inference drawn from it a necessary one. The Chronicle of Edessa and Dionysius Telmachrensis are by no means infallible authorities. They contradict each other as to the dates of St. James's immediate successors. And, granting that the evidence referred to by Dr. Bickell as to the episcopate of Babu during the *second* siege of Nisibis may be relied on, it may on the other hand be doubted whether the hymns he quotes are sufficient to outweigh the positive testimonies of Jerome, Theodoret, and Philostorgius, as to the activity of St. James during *one* of the sieges. A minor difficulty arises with reference to the two names. There is, of course, no obstacle to supposing that the same man may have been designated by both; it was, as Dr. Wright tells us, a usual practice in the Syrian Church to take a new name on advancement to some ecclesiastical grade; but there is some difficulty in understanding how these discourses, if really by St. James of Nisibis, have been handed down in the history of Syriac literature under the less illustrious name. Valeat quantum.

There can, however, be but one opinion as to the singular value of the discourses themselves, whether considered from a purely literary point of view as the earliest extant specimens of Syriac composition, or as the work of the most ancient Father of the Syrian Church. The extreme simplicity of the creed they contain is characteristic of the early date at which they were written. "For this is faith," we are told (p. 22), "that one should believe in God Almighty who made heaven and earth, the seas, and all that is in them; who also made Adam in His likeness, gave the Law to Moses, and sent of His Spirit in the prophets; who also sent Christ into the world; and that one should believe in the resurrection of the dead, and also believe in the mystery of baptism. This is the creed of the Church of God." The writer then proceeds to mention the duty of abstaining from the observance of the sabbath, new moons, astrology, magic, fornication, musical festivals, etc. The discourse demonstrating that Christ is the Son of God will disappoint those who look into it for strong expressions of Nicene orthodoxy. It is written against the Jews, and must be taken as an argumentum ad hominem



rather than as an explicit statement of all that the author held upon the subject. The Jews, it is said, complained that Christ was called God and the Son of God. The author's argument is this:—Our Lord Jesus is God, and Son of God, and King, and Prince, Light of Light; and He is called by many other names. But, even if He were a mere man, the titles we give to Him, and the honour we pay to Him, are such as the Jews must confess to be lawfully given to men. Moses was called God; and he was made a God not only to the wicked Pharaoh, but even to the holy priest Aaron. Christ is called the Son of God; but God calls Israel His First-born Son. God has many and glorious names; but He has without any jealousy given them to the Sons of men, His creatures. He has even called Nabuchodonosor the King of Kings. Adoration, too, has been lawfully paid to bad men. Daniel adored the apostate Nabuchodonosor; and Joseph adored Pharaoh. And if bad men may lawfully be adored, how much more fitting is it that we should adore and glorify Jesus, through whom we have been converted, and who has brought us to the knowledge of God the Father? He died on account of our sins, and took them upon Himself; and we adore these mercies, and bend the knee before the majesty of His Father, because He has turned our worship towards Him. And He is called God like Moses, and First-born and Son like Israel, and Jesus like Jesus the son of Nun, and Priest like Aaron, and King like David, and Prophet like all the prophets, and Pastor like the pastors who have fed and led their flocks. All this, it must be remembered, is said in argument against the Jews. It is no less true, on the other hand, that the author, when writing to Christians for the express purpose of teaching them their religion, never uses language with reference to our Lord which goes beyond the actual words of Scripture. The attempt of Antonelli, the Roman editor of the Armenian version, to quote testimonies in favour of the Homousion is an evident failure. If the Nicene doctrine necessarily follows from first principles, then indeed these discourses are thoroughly Athanasian; but it would perhaps be as easy to find these first principles in professedly Arian confessions. The strongest passage which Antonelli can find in support of his thesis is the statement that Christ "a principio æqualis Patri erat." But the original Syriac merely says, "From the beginning *He was* with the Father." The Armenian translator had evidently read, "æqualis erat," for "erat."

The simplicity of the creed of Aphraates is, however, to be accounted for as representing an early stage in the development of Christian doctrine. It is not the conscious simplicity either of a heretic or of a reformer. The whole tone of Aphraates is utterly at variance with such a view; and it is as little Protestant in the modern sense as can be imagined. He repeatedly, and in the strongest terms, implies his belief in the Real Presence. Man's body, he says, is purified in the Eucharist by the

body of Christ (p. 77). "Keep watch over thy mouth, through which the King has entered" (p. 48). Our Lord with His own hands gave His flesh for food (p. 222). The pastors to whom he speaks, and against whose faults he inveighs with a tone of authority, are priests who offer sacrifice, and have the power of the keys. It is through the use of these keys is penance that sinners are restored to spiritual health. The necessity of confession and the efficacy of absolution are expressly taught to penitents, whilst the corresponding duties of secrecy, discretion, gentleness, and justice, are enforced upon the pastors of souls. A controversialist might be tempted to quote the statement (p. 134) that "of all who have put on flesh our Lord Jesus Christ is the only one who is both *immaculate* and *victorious*, and that there is no other among the children of Adam who enters the contest, and is not overthrown or wounded. But there is a passage in the preceding discourse (p. 113), in which, after describing the woman as having been from the first day the devil's harp, the cause of the earth's curse, and of its thorns and briars, mention of the "blessed Mary" is followed by a rapturous description of virginity. Aphraates does not refer to the monastic life, proper speaking, but to the ascetic life. He speaks of solitaries and virgins who have wedded themselves to Christ by a vow; and he warns the latter (p. 106) against a scandal which Cyprian in his day denounced so severely. "Ye virgins who have betrothed yourselves to Christ, if any of the children of the world [ascetics] should say to one of you, 'I will be with me and serve me,' answer him thus: 'I am betrothed to the true King, and He will serve. If I leave His service and serve my Spouse will be wroth, and will write me a letter of divorce, and expel me from His house.'" In the discourse on the Resurrection (p. 161) he teaches the efficacy of prayer to the dead.

His knowledge of Scripture is profound. His quotations are so numerous that great might, at first sight, be expected from him in the criticism of the sacred text. "I must say, however," observes Dr. Wright, "like most of the other eminent Fathers, Aphraates seems to me to quote the Scriptures merely from memory, sometimes mistaking the book in which the passage occurs, and at other times, mixing up the words of two or more passages of Scripture." As far as we can see, he does not quote the deuterocanonical books. On the other hand, several passages which are quoted as from Scripture appear to have been taken (if they are not simply blunders of the author) from some of those apocryphal writings which are not frequently cited by the very early Christian writers. It is, however, not impossible that his copy of the Scriptures may have contained interpolations of which the MSS. known to us have no traces.

6. DR. VOLKMANN, who is preparing a German translation of Plotinus, was led in the course of his studies on the Neo-Platon-



philosophy, to devote a special inquiry to the writings of Synesius, about whom the historians of Greek philosophy are all but silent. A very short examination convinced him that there were excellent reasons for this silence. Synesius as a philosophical writer is absolutely devoid of originality. He merely reproduces the Neo-Platonic doctrine in its well-known general outlines. But from other points of view his writings belong to the most interesting remains of the later Greek literature. He is well known to readers of history as the descendant of the Doric kings of Sparta, as the pupil and friend of the unfortunate Hypatia, whom he loved and revered to his dying day, and as a convert from Paganism to Christianity, who was raised to the see of Ptolemais, and whose episcopate is for ever memorable through the humiliation of the tyrant Andronicus. Dr. Volkmann has written an excellent biography of him, and cleared up the obscurities of the subject wherever documentary or other evidence can be brought to bear upon it. One of the most obscure parts of the history of Synesius, as it is often written, is the "extraordinary compromise," as Gibbon calls it, in virtue of which Theophilus, the patriarch of Alexandria, by no means a latitudinarian in theology, almost forced episcopal consecration upon a philosopher who "loved profane studies and profane sports, who was incapable of supporting a life of celibacy, who disbelieved the resurrection, and who refused to preach fables to the people unless he might be permitted to philosophize at home." The gross inaccuracy of this account is proved from the actual text of Synesius; and what really took place is honourable alike to the philosopher and to the patriarch. Dr. Volkmann is entitled to the thanks of his readers for presenting to them in all its details the career of so gentle, affectionate, truthful, and in every way noble a character as that of Synesius.

7. MR. RENOUF, whose recent pamphlet on the heresy of Pope Honorius was put on the Index, and also attacked with argument, has published a reply to some of his assailants, under the title of *The Case of Pope Honorius reconsidered with reference to recent Apologies*. With excellent taste and forbearance he avoids every allusion to the official censure, and deals only with the literary controversy. Yet, of the two, the censure was more worthy of commemoration and remark. It signified that the Court of Rome will not tolerate the imputation of dogmatic error to a Pope, and has anticipated the expected result of the General Council. It also established a prejudice against Mr. Renouf's pamphlet in the minds of his assailants, which may partly explain the levity and impertinence in which they seem to have indulged. Many years ago an announcement appeared of a work which Mr. Renouf was preparing on ancient Christian literature. The present essay affords reason to believe that the work will raise the standard and the reputation of ecclesiastical learning in England. There is no second-hand research in

Mr. Renouf's pages; and yet all that has been written on his subject, in various ages and countries, is as familiar to him as the original sources themselves. It will hardly be possible to add to what he has written; but it cannot be said that anything required to be added to what was known before he wrote. The marvel is that so much acuteness and so much knowledge should be expended on so bootless a quest. Mr. Renouf himself declares, that "in a country where Catholics possess learned faculties of theology like those of Bonn, Tübingen, and Munich, it would have been quite unnecessary to reply to such opponents." The words imply a very just criticism on his own book. For competent readers his argument is superfluous; for incompetent readers it is vain. Those whom he expects are probably of the latter class. But the remedy for their incompetence, as his words indicate, is the possession of a high standard of learning. No argument on a single point, however able, can break the bonds which attach particular theological opinions to particular interpretations of fact. Men grow out of them by a general progress in knowledge and an increased respect for evidence. Men who believe that no Pope can err will not renounce their doctrine because Honorius did err. It is for men who are prompted by their religious system to justify the Pope that the book is written. It would not be easy to find defenders of the orthodoxy of Honorius at the present day, except among men who have an interest in maintaining papal infallibility. Mr. Renouf well knows that rather than give up their system they will reject the evidence. "Multum huic nostræ communi orthodoxorum sententiæ præjudicaret, si non evidententer constaret Acta Sextæ Synodi impostura Theodori . . . corrupta esse," says Binius. "Admitto ego," says Molkenbuhr, "si epistolæ Honorii quæ nunc extant sint genuinæ." But Mr. Renouf declines to analyse the mental condition of his opponents, and refuses to see any symptom more serious than artless inaccuracy. He protests that it was far from his intention to accuse Perrone of untruth. It would be interesting to know his opinion of Perrone's remarks on the character of the Reformers and on the Roman Inquisition, and of his references to Origen and Cyril to prove that the Greek Church believed the Popes infallible. Quoting from the *Liber Diurnus* the passage where the Popes promised to observe "cuncta quæ hujus apostolicæ sedis præfati Pontifices apostolici prædecessores nostri synodali ter statuerunt," he says that the word "præfati" excludes all possible reference to Honorius. We believe that the passage is really even more to the point; for the famous manuscript of the Vatican has "probat" instead of "præfati."

8. Two years ago Dr. Friedrich published the first volume of his *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*. The work was intended to come down to the Reformation, and to be completed in five years, and in three volumes. From the method adopted, and the exhaustive way in which the different topics were treated,



this design appeared at the time impracticable; and the first half of the second volume, which has recently appeared, justifies the doubts which were then expressed. In 670 pages the author only embraces a part of the Merovingian period, omitting Bavaria, Franconia, Thuringia, and Friesland, as well as the discussion of general Ecclesiastical questions. He still, as in the first volume, constantly forsakes the path of clear and simple exposition, and wanders into the region of incidental polemics. In one place (p. 140) he stops to remonstrate against the latitudinarianism of a body of Swiss pastors—a matter which is certainly far enough from any connection with the Merovingian Church.

These aberrations are the more unfortunate, because the author brings a store of profound learning to his task. He has examined an abundant collection of dissertations and monographs, and made use of inscriptions and other antiquities; and in many instances he justifies his opposition to the destructive criticism of Rettberg. For, as he explained at the beginning, his aim is to produce a conservative history. Every legend that he thinks capable of being retained, he retains; or, if he is obliged to reject one-half of it as fabulous, he still keeps the other half. This is a very hazardous method, and one which, *e.g.* in the case of the legend of St. Fridolin, can scarcely be admitted. On the other hand, his refutation of Ebrard's absurd fancies about the Culdees is conclusive. He has obtained some new matter from the acts of the three Councils, which he formerly edited from a Munich ms., and which, though he did not originally discover them, he was the first to use for historical purposes. At page 108, however, there is no mention, as there should be, of the two Synods under Childeric II., which were discovered by Professor F. Maassen.

The section devoted to the general position, importance, and influence of the Church in the Merovingian Empire, is followed by another which deals specially with those bishoprics in Lorraine, the Rhine Provinces, and Swabia, which later on belonged to Germany. Here the author examines in detail the succession of the Bishops, and what is known of their lives and works; and he then gives an account of the particular ecclesiastical foundations in these bishoprics, with the historical information that exists about them. The whole is certainly a valuable result of careful study. But the author has still a long way to travel before he reaches Boniface; and as the mass of these ecclesiastical foundations becomes greater as time goes on, the completion of the book on its present method seems impossible. It is clear that the author has not formed in his own mind any general plan of his subject.

9. HERR KEINZ, an official of the public library at Munich, has re-edited some old documents relating to the Church of Salzburg, correcting the text by comparison with mss., and explaining the local names and some other matters. The work deserves praise for its careful execution; and the documents, though

primarily of local significance only, acquire wider interest from a particular circumstance. St. Rupert was the founder of the Church of Salzburg, and the apostle of Bavaria; and though it may not be important to know precisely what possessions he and his successors obtained from the dukes and nobles of the country, it is a considerable point in ecclesiastical history whether a man of such energy and influence lived 100 years sooner or later. The sources of our knowledge of that period are so defective, that it has for some time been a matter of controversy between German scholars whether he belonged to the end of the seventh, or the first half of the sixth century. The opinion generally received among scholars of late has been that sustained by Hansiz, Rettberg, and Wattenbach, namely, that St. Rupert came to Bavaria in 696 as a missionary, on the invitation of Duke Theodo. Dr. Friedrich has recently endeavoured to establish 580 as the correct date; and for the decision of this question the documents which Herr Keinz has re-edited, as well as an old legend of the saint, are of considerable weight. It there appears that Bishop Virgilius, one of the Irish monks of whom so many at that time came into Germany, and who was raised to the bishopric of Salzburg by Duke Odilo in 745, had a law-suit respecting certain property, in which law-suit the witnesses who were heard remembered the time of St. Rupert. A transcript hitherto unknown, which has been discovered by Herr Keinz, not only confirms these particulars, but completes the list of witnesses, which was defective in the only copy previously known. Among them are two godsons of Chuniald and Gislar, who are known to have been assistants of St. Rupert. We find several "Monachi S. Ruodberti," that is, monks who had received the habit from St. Rupert; and the same names occur in the old mortuary of the convent of St. Peter in Salzburg. In the face of this evidence, it is difficult to see how there can be any further doubt as to the time when St. Rupert lived. It is an altogether different question whether, as the Salzburg legend says, the duke and people of Bavaria first received Christian baptism at that time. It is not only possible, but probable, that Christianity had been regularly established in Bavaria 100 years before, but that the Church had seriously decayed in the interval, in consequence of the Agilolfingians having thrown off their allegiance to the Frankish kings.

10. THE fifth volume of M. Barbier de Meynard's translation of Maçûdi's *Golden Meadows* contains the greater part of the history of the Omyad Khaliphs, from the abdication of Hishâm and the accession of Moâwiah I. to the end of the reign of Hishâm, son of Abd el Melik. The readers of Maçûdi are aware that he perpetually refers to his *Akhbar es Zemîn*, or *Annals*, as his great historical work, and considers the *Golden Meadows* as a mere series of supplementary notes. Although the local importance of the writings to which he attached so much importance must be considered an irreparable



misfortune, it is doubtful whether they would have enabled us to penetrate as thoroughly into the life and character of the personages described as we can through the inexhaustible profusion of characteristic anecdotes and other information which the *Golden Meadows* furnish. The most interesting parts of the present volume are the chapters on the Mo'wiah (particularly that which describes the daily life of the Khaliph), Abd el Melik, Had-djadj, Suleiman, and Omar II. The pitiful death of Hocein, the son of Ali, is already well known from other sources. The digressions which occur from time to time on the heterodox sects are unfortunately very short, the reader being referred for additional information to lost works of the author. The extracts from poetical compositions are numerous, and often full of interest.

11. THE great collection of the *Monumenta Germaniæ historica*, begun some fifty years ago, moves slowly forward under the editorship of Dr. Pertz. Up to the present time four volumes of the *Leges* have been completed. Of the *Scriptores*, the 21st volume has just appeared; but the series lacks its 13th, 14th, and 15th volumes. Moreover, Gregory of Tours, Fredegarius, Paulus Diaconus, and all the oldest annals, are still wanting, as well as all the sources for the Merovingian period, which entered into the plan of the work, and the old contemporary biographies of the Popes, known under the name of Anastasius. These gaps are the more serious, because it was precisely here, according to previous statements of the editor, that so many new results were to be looked for. The section of deeds and letters has not yet been even begun. It may be a question whether these delays are a necessary consequence of the extent and difficulty of the undertaking, or whether they might not be in some degree avoided if the editor allowed greater freedom of action to competent and trustworthy fellow-labourers. But it is obvious to remark that the volumes of the Hohenstaufen period have of late years followed one another in rapid succession. One part of what has just appeared had long been ready for publication, having been prepared by Lappenberg, who has dealt with the materials for the history of the Baltic provinces. His work comprises the chronicles of Helmold and Arnold, which describe the conquest of the Slavonic population, the advance of the German chiefs and colonists, and the acts of Henry the Lion. He also supplies a more recent chronicle of Holstein. The volume closes with the valuable chronicle of Gislebert, Chancellor of Baldwin V. of Hainault, who became Count of Flanders, and Margrave of Namur, and played an important part in politics in the time of Frederick Barbarossa. The editor has been obliged to omit the chronicle of the once famous convent of Lobbes in Belgium, in consequence of the refusal of M. Vos, the Vicar of the church of Lobbes, to give any information with regard to the manuscript. An edition of it was published some time ago by M. Vos

himself; and his present refusal cannot but throw grave suspicion on the character of his own work.

12. PROFESSOR KÖPKE of Berlin, a scholar of Ranke, has for thirty years been engaged in those researches into the annals of the Saxon Emperors which were begun under Ranke's immediate supervision, and introduced into Germany a more solid and conscientious historical treatment. When Maximilian of Bavaria, at Ranke's instance, founded the Historical Commission of Munich, Professor Köpke undertook to revise his own annals of Otho I.; and, as an introduction, he has published some dissertations on the principal historical sources of that epoch, under the title of *Ottonische Studien*. The first essay is on Widukind, the Chronicler, a monk of Corvey; the second is on Hrotsuit, the nun of Gandersheim, commonly called Roswitha. The author goes very completely and circumstantially into all questions which arise, however minute, such as whether Widukind was acquainted with the works of Roswitha, or Roswitha with Widukind's Chronicle, and whether they knew one another personally. Roswitha herself is more widely interesting, not only for her epic poem on the acts of Otho I., but still more for her other works. It is very remarkable that a Saxon nun of the tenth century should have had the learning necessary to write, and should have written, fairly good dramas, in imitation of Terence, on events of sacred history, and on old legends, in order to substitute such reading for the profane works of the Roman poet. Professor Aschbach of Vienna recently put forward a theory that the dramas were not really Roswitha's, but only forgeries of Conrad Celtis and his friends, composed at the time of their publication in 1501. This hypothesis was much opposed; but it also found warm supporters. Herr Köpke has now once more gone over the evidence most carefully; and, after his investigation, it can scarcely be doubted that Professor Aschbach's theory is erroneous. Roswitha, though a brilliant and extraordinary phenomenon, is not unique in her learning. During the tenth century it was by no means a rare occurrence in nunneries for Virgil, Terence, and some few other writers, to occupy the attention of the inmates. Roswitha knew much more of legends than Celtis and his friends; but her Latin is far inferior to any that the Latin scholars of the Renaissance would have published. Its character is identical with that of other writings of the tenth and eleventh centuries. The frankness with which carnal sins are spoken of, while at the same time licentious suggestions are avoided, is also characteristic of that period. In nunneries there was only too frequent occasion for mentioning such things, and warning against them. The ultimate and strongest proof of the authenticity of the dramas is furnished by the *ss.* of the eleventh century still existing at Munich, which no expert could consider a forgery. Professor Köpke gives a photograph of one page, with the additions and corrections made



by Celtis before sending it to the printer. This demonstrates that Celtis did not rightly understand the text. While thus establishing the authenticity of Roswitha, Herr Köpke has pointed out a real forgery by Conrad Celtis, and has proved the spuriousness of his Ligrinus, a professedly contemporary poem on the acts of Frederick Barbarossa, which has often been regarded and quoted as genuine. It was this forgery which suggested to Professor Aschbach his doubts of the authenticity of Roswitha; but Herr Köpke shows how great is the difference between the two works. On the other hand, he endeavours to fix the note of forgery on an epic poem of the eleventh century, relating to the war between the Emperor Henry IV. and the Saxons. Herr Pertz had previously taken the same view; but it was refuted by Professor Waitz, who is now issuing a new edition of the Poem in question.

13. MR. COBBE'S purpose in writing a new *History of the Norman Kings of England* may best be given in some of his own words. "I refer almost exclusively to those annalists who lived among the people and scenes they describe. . . . And I discharge myself of unwarranted augmentations by later chroniclers, of the so-called philosophies of history, and of rhetorical flourishes, which involve the false with the true. I seek to be accurate and clear rather than true." Mr. Cobbe's performance corresponds very fairly to what might be expected from this programme. He has a clear judgment and a vivid power of realizing past scenes and characters; he has saturated himself, as it were, with the early chronicles; and the narrative parts of his book are many-coloured, intense, and a real addition to history. The fault of his style is not so much that it is not elegant as that it is quaint even to affectation, and that its structure is highly elliptical; but it bears the impress of a thoughtful mind, and rises at times into strains of intrinsic power and pathos, almost always, it is true, marred by a false taste. The real defect in a good book is the author's want of critical acquaintance with the institutions he describes. His contempt for philosophies of history seems to have led him deliberately to disregard, not only the knowledge that has been acquired since Kemble wrote, but all that a very ordinary man, with less than Mr. Cobbe's reading, might easily work out for himself. Hence the present volume is singularly one-sided; so good in the purely narrative parts that it will repay any man's reading, and so weak in occasional chapters and paragraphs that the student imbibes a certain distrust for the work altogether.

Of the Saxon period, Mr. Cobbe's slight introductory notice takes very much the same view as that with which the world has been familiarized by the writings of Lingard, Lappenberg, and Palgrave. It is sensible and good as far as it goes, but adds nothing to existing knowledge, and must be regarded merely as a preface. The history of William I. is the weakest part of the book. Mr. Cobbe seems to know nothing of Domesday-Book,

except through Sir Henry Ellis's introduction, and trusts too much to Ordericus Vitalis, an invaluable but very dangerous authority. His great source of knowledge was from the recollections of old men, and he manifestly confuses different epochs in the settlement of the country. But the reigns of William I., Henry I., and Stephen, are in some respects better told by Mr. Cobbe than by any English historian. They cover a period of history from which most writers have shrunk as dreary and profitless,—the epoch of feuding nobles struggling for power against the King. Mr. Cobbe has worked out the genealogies of the great families, the history of castles, and the details of different campaigns, with a real love for his subject, and with a fulour for which all who come after him will be grateful. Yet his genealogies in particular must not be implicitly trusted. At page 110 he speaks of Godwin's wife, Gytha, as "the widow of Ulf," and "daughter of Astrith, King Cnut's sister. Munch and Lappenberg are in representing Gytha as sister to Jarl Godwin and consequently sister-in-law to Astrith. Even if this be wrong, the widow of Jarl Godwin who died in 1027, could scarcely have been a mother, by Godwin, of Swegen, a second Earl, who was Earl in 1044, or even of Edith, probably a fourth or fifth child, yet married in 1044, and able to sign charters in 1045. In the first Table, Mr. Cobbe makes Aldred the son of Uhtred by Ælfgifu, daughter of Æthelred. He was really son by Egfrida, the daughter of Bishop Aldun, who was Uhtred's first wife. But the strangest of all mistakes, and which perhaps is only a clerical error, is that which makes Siward Aldred's son instead of his son-in-law. Nevertheless, a few mistakes of this sort in very difficult and intricate matters do not seriously affect the value of Mr. Cobbe's twelve Tables, which give more than that has never been given elsewhere with equal fulness.

At page 63 Mr. Cobbe says, "The return which we possess in Domesday Book reaches his [the Conqueror's] revenue at a sum equivalent to £23,250,500 a year of our money, exclusive of escheats, forfeitures, mulcts, wardships." In other words, he deliberately believes that the people, whom he estimates at 1,200,000 (a number, it is true, proveably below the mark), paid about £20 a head, or £100 a household, the average of the highest taxed countries being now from £2 to £3 a head, and wealth having increased indefinitely. Domesday-Book, of course, says nothing of the kind; and Mr. Cobbe is really quoting the passage in which Ordericus Vitalis puts the royal revenue at £1061, 10s. 1½d. a day. Ordericus has confounded days and weeks. Mr. Cobbe confuses his authority, and multiplies by the enormous factor of 60. Domesday-Book, in fact, tells us, as has been proved by an analysis of more than twenty counties, that the income from land of all England was under £100,000 a year, perhaps under £80,000, and that the King's part of this was about a fifth. We know from Giraldus Cambrensis that the whole royal revenue, from all sources



under the Confessor, was £40,000, and from the Pipe-Rolls of Henry I. that it was under £70,000 in that reign, and that only £12,000 of this was derived from the crown demesne. There is a smaller mistake of the same kind at p. 43, where it is said that "William parcelled almost the whole land of England into knights' fees, each of about £20 in annual value." As a fact, the knight's fee in Domesday-Book very seldom rises above £10, and is more often as low as £5, or even £2. The higher value given by Mr. Cobbe is an anachronism, and belongs rather to the thirteenth century than to the eleventh. Nor is it correct to speak of the hide as 32½ acres, even under cover of Mr. Kemble's authority. Such passages as that in Domesday (ii. f. 94), which speaks of 280 acres as constituting a part only of five hides, or that which speaks of half-a-hide and 30 acres (ii. f. 75 a), are conclusive as to the practice in the eastern counties; the notice in the *Dialogus de Scaccario* of the hide as a measure of 100 acres seems to prove that this was the current estimate. But a much more serious error is when Mr. Cobbe speaks of the Norman conquest as the "domination of a wholly feudalized people over a race of freemen," and proceeds to speak of "ceorls" as if a free yeomanry, either owing allegiance to no man, or, at least, able to transfer service and land, still formed the great bulk of the population. As a fact, we know from the Domesday survey that five men in seven were either villans or bordars and cottars; in both cases, that is, bound down to the soil and fixed labour, but having in one case heritable property, in the other only a life interest in it. Of the remainder of the population, as recorded, nearly one-third were slaves. The very name "ceorl" almost disappears from England after the ninth century. William added nothing to the feudalism he found existing in England, except that he gave new titles, and so destroyed the small class of allodial proprietors, and that he enforced the oath of homage from all military tenants. But even this latter regulation, the most important of all, was only the enforcement of an old Saxon law framed by Edmund.

14. WHETHER it was so urgently necessary that *The Chronicles of Roger de Hoveden* should be reprinted as to justify the setting aside of that ordinary rule of the Record Series which forbids the republication of printed matter, is a question which may perhaps be fairly raised. Savile's edition has been twice printed, and is neither very bad nor very scarce. Of the four parts into which Professor Stubbs divides the work, the first, he tells us, is "an exact copy from an older original," and the third "a re-written and annotated copy of the work known as the Chronicle of Benedict of Peterborough;" the second is "an awkward compilation from several sources;" and only the fourth represents the author's personal knowledge, or is in any sense original. In other words, the two published volumes do not come down to the part

which is really Hoveden's. It would be most unfortunate if an idea should get abroad that the Record Commission has by this time completed the publication of all valuable manuscripts, and is compelled to make work for editors by setting them to do over again what has been once done. The charters, official documents, and Royal letters, that have not yet been printed are to be counted literally by thousands; and if it be thought inexpedient to resume their publications in extenso, though few scholars would be of this opinion, selections, such as Professor Shirley made for the reign of Henry III., would be invaluable. Yet, if the present edition of Hoveden was a little superfluous, Professor Stubbs deserves the credit of having enriched it with sound and valuable work; and in this case, as with Richard of Cirencester, the Prefaces are the most valuable part of the book. Indeed, the history of the reign of Henry II. has been in several particulars completely re-written in these pages, and in the Prefaces, by the same author, to Benedictus Abbas.

The Preface to the first volume is chiefly a searching examination of Hoveden's sources of knowledge and historical value. It adds, however, incidentally a discussion on Anglo-Saxon chronology, and fixes the dates of Egbert's and Ethelwulf's reigns in the ninth century. The Preface to the second volume takes a wider range; and one point discussed is the authenticity of the accepted forms of the laws of the Conqueror, which were transcribed by Hoveden together with those of the Confessor, with Glanville's tractate, and with the Assizes of Woodstock and Clarendon. By comparison with an early ms. and with Hoveden's text, and by an analysis of the diplomatic peculiarities, Professor Stubbs proves that William's laws were remodelled and largely interpolated in the thirteenth or fourteenth century. The chief results are that the article in which the Conqueror abolishes tallages, except by the common council of the realm, the peculiar form of the law of watch and ward, and the law emancipating a serf if he remains a year and a day in a city, are all to be discarded as spurious, and probably as anachronisms. The importance of this rectification can hardly be over-estimated. It is true, the right of the English kings to tax at pleasure was never admitted at any period of history; and within eighty years, at least probably within fifty, of the Conqueror's death, certain privileged towns were able to protect the serf who, after a year and a day's residence, had been taken up into the civic guild. But matters that concern the right of taxation and personal freedom are the very last on which any vagueness is tolerable. It is a minor but a valuable discovery that the legislation referred by Palgrave to the Assize of Northampton in 1176 really belongs to the Assize of Clarendon in 1166. Gradual as the acts were by which Henry II. consolidated the royal authority, they are evidences of a purpose which never left him, and which he more than any other man was fitted to work out among a generation that remembered the



horrors of civil war. His signal success in carrying through the Assizes of Clarendon, which contributed to substitute royal for local jurisdiction throughout the country, was probably due to Becket's absence on the Continent. An interesting sketch of the last days of Henry closes that part of the Preface which deals exclusively with Hoveden.

Before concluding, Professor Stubbs points out "very briefly the way in which the foreign policy of England during the middle ages was affected by the circumstances, the acts, and the alliances, of the first king of the House of Anjou." To the first part of his argument, that if the Anglo-Norman monarchs had owned nothing more than the duchy on the Continent, their connection with France would have been very slight and unimportant, most students will readily assent. But in bringing together, as he does very fully, the scattered evidences of a wide-spread connection with foreign countries during the reign of Henry II., he seems to overrate the permanency of the influence exercised. Precisely because Henry II. and his sons were foreigners in feeling and interest, seeking alliances in Germany, Spain, and Italy, mixing themselves in Papal quarrels, and perhaps regarding Paris as an eventual prize, did public feeling in England become passionately insular. Probably half the thinking men of the country, under John, were glad to be rid of Normandy, even at the price of some national disgrace. Least of all can it be said that "the wars of Edward III. and Henry V. would have been impossible without that training in the hatred of foreigners, which reached its maximum during the thirteenth century." Not to mention, what Mr. Stubbs admits, that half England accepted the Frenchman, Simon de Montfort, as a leader, it is certain that, during the long interval between John's death and the accession of Edward III., nothing was more unpopular than the prospect of a French war. True, the foreign favourites of Henry III. were detested, the Gascon troops of Edward I. were unpopular, and the English sailors were bitterly jealous of their French rivals. But an English king and nobles chose a French king for their arbiter; English soldiers served freely in the French ranks in Crusades; and the French language and literature became household words in England. Even when the spell of a long peace was broken by the quarrels at sea, and the treacherous seizure of Guienne, England readily renounced the war; and the set purpose and anger of its people were for many years directed steadily against Scotland. Of that anti-Gallican sentiment which caused the disuse of French as a spoken tongue, and almost led the country to renounce the Pope, and which, at a much later period, caused an English nobleman to tell a Frenchman in his company that if he had a rascally French word in his body he would cut it out with a knife, there seems scarcely any trace before the lamentable wars of Edward III. Yet those who differ from Mr. Stubbs's conclusions may consult his summary with profit. It treats a

subject that is too often passed over altogether and it treats it with singular fulness and precision.

15. THE Berlin archives possess a valuable deed-book of the Teutonic Order, which besides the general privileges of the Order, contains a great quantity of documents relative to its possessions in the Holy Land, Armenia, Cyprus, Greece, and Italy. Extracts from it have often been obtained by persons occupied on the history of the Crusades and of the Latin Empire in the East; but the Prussian Government lately resolved to have the entire collection printed, and intrusted the task to Dr. Ernst Strehlke, a young scholar of established reputation. He died before accomplishing the work, which has been finished by Professor Jaffé. Dr. Strehlke has not confined himself to the mere printing of the original, but has also collected all available documents of the same kind, and with their assistance corrected the text of his manuscript and supplied its deficiencies. What he already been correctly printed elsewhere is only given in an abridged form; but in such cases it is carefully pointed out where the original is to be found. The most important part of the work is that which refers to the Levant. This part is as full as possible. All the documents are given in extenso; and they comprise a large number which have never been published before. An accurate table of contents facilitates the use of the book, which will be extremely valuable to all students of the history of the Holy Land.

16. THE *Speculum Historiale* by Richard of Cirencester, a monk of Westminster Abbey, is a good specimen of the type which history was assuming in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The mere chronicle, however excellent and full, was felt to be insufficient, and, as men were no longer content to describe contemporary events in the style of the Saxons' Chronicle, they also aspired to something more than a transcript of any single work for a record of the past. Neither was the type originated by Malmesbury regarded as satisfactory. Mere excerpts or flowers of history, however tastefully selected and elegantly narrated, seemed inadequate by the side of the vast stores which had been accumulated in different centuries. The polish, and what may be almost called the critical acumen of the twelfth century, had been replaced by a crude voracity for facts; and in Higden's *Polychronicon*, Richard of Cirencester, and in the author of the *Eulogium Historiarum*, we get more or less strongly marked a tendency to digest all records into a single compact and encyclopedic narrative. The result is mostly unfortunate. As a rule, the material used by these writers is drawn altogether from originals that we possess, or differs only where the author has misunderstood a sentence or misspelt a word. Of Richard of Cirencester in particular it may be said that history would have sustained no real loss if he had perished altogether. Of course it is satisfactory to be



assured of this; and the two or three new pieces which he contributes,—the tract on the coronation of the English Kings, the spurious charters of Westminster Abbey, and the little passionate outburst against those presumptuous moderns who assailed the liberties of the Abbey,—were perhaps worth printing in a pamphlet by themselves. But the book itself was unnecessary, as it deals only with the times before the Conquest, of which the author probably knew least; and its publication in the Record Series must be regarded as a mistake. The editor's work, however, has been done with such singular care as to confer on the present volume a certain secondary value. He has given in almost every case references to the authors whom Richard of Cirencester transcribes; and to this we have only noticed one material exception, in Lib. iii. c. 82, where the authority for a worthless but poetical legend of Eadric Streona's death has not been ascertained. To a certain extent, therefore, the book will serve as a compendious one of reference for those who wish to see at a glance the sources of much of the popular history of England. The index is very full, and seems to be thoroughly reliable. The glossary is a little less perfect. "Frodos" is spoken of as corrupted from *δρόος*. It is really nothing but the English word "froth." The translation of "dominicus," "owned, held as property," though correct, would scarcely give much information to those ignorant of the distinction between "demesne" and "assized lands." Perhaps such a word as "clausura" should have been explained. These, however, are very slight matters.

The chief value of this volume, however, is in the very admirable exposure of Bertram's forgery, *De Situ Britannia*, which Mr. Mayor has contributed. How Bertram, a young student at Copenhagen, came to palm off his invention on one of the best known antiquaries of the time, Dr. Stukeley, is scarcely intelligible even now. It seems strange that the student should have been so easily taken in; and the impostor did not follow up his success by any fresh speculation on learned credulity. Bertram's plan was substantially that adopted by Dr. Simonides, when he *discovered* a manuscript of Homer, embodying all the last results of German criticism, except that the English artist, though cautious enough never to produce his manuscript, was so rash as to construct an elaborate narrative, instead of confining himself to a mere catalogue of names. The result naturally was that he entangled himself in many difficulties. For instance, he perpetually adopts a different orthography from that which the genuine Richard of Cirencester employs, transforming "Dovers" into "Dubra," and "Rofeoestre" into "Durobrovæ," or "Durobrobi." His Latin style is that "of the preface-writers of the eighteenth century," not of a mediæval work; and he is ignorant of genuine mediæval forms, such as "bracchio," "sequutus," "tempto," which occur in the real Richard. He inserts improbable incidents,—for instance, making several brethren

of his order pay an antiquarian visit to the battle-field of Agricola and Galgacus. He quotes extant Druid documents, and glides into modern speculations, whether the ancient Britons were governed by a monarchy, an aristocracy, or a democracy. That his text should be a patchwork from Cæsar, Solinus, and other ancient writers might be only natural. The genuine Richard lived in times when men were not ashamed to copy literally and freely. But a knowledge of Peutinger's Table or of the Ravenna geographer, though perhaps just possible, as both were in existence at the time, is barely conceivable, as neither was known in England; and plagiarisms from Camden and Baxter speak for themselves. A single specimen will show Bertram's style and Mr. Mayor's work. "Cantiis," says Bertram, "proximi et, ut putant nonnulli, subjecti Bibroci, qui et aliis Rhemi dicuntur." "Bibroci," says Mr. Mayor, "... are conjecturally placed by Camden, 207 in the hundred of Bray, co. Berks. The Rhemi come from Baxter glossar. s. v. Bibroci. 'Equidem crediderim Bibrocos nostros Coloniam fuisse e Remis deductam,' etc. Of course Bertram's forgeries are not always of this elaborate kind. Often he only inserts a name slightly altered from the Ravenna geographer; or, as in the case of Heriri, Snowdon, from Nennius, whom he afterwards edited. Sometimes such a name as "ad fines," which occurs in other parts of the Itinerary, but not in Britain, is inserted at the boundary of a shire, which Bertram evidently regards as of Roman original. Mr. Mayor's analysis of those signs of spuriousness is perhaps the most complete thing of its kind in English literature. Mr. Riley's analysis of Ingulf will bear comparison with it; but Mr. Riley unhappily omitted to account for the genuine parts of Ingulf, such as his story of the fire, and has thus misled some of his less wary readers into supposing that the whole book was worthless. Now, of Bertram's production not a line is genuine; and the critic's only work in demolishing was to show how the knowledge had been derived which so far coloured and excused the clumsier parts as to impose on a host of antiquaries, and even on Gibbon.

17. THE third volume of the *Annals of St. Albans* is principally occupied by the biography of Abbot Thomas de la Mare, one of the ablest Englishmen who ever presided over a monastery, and whose life, vividly told by Walsingham, might serve by itself as a picture of the relations of Church and State in the fourteenth century. Seldom has any man better united the qualities that acquire favour with those which command respect in turbulent times. His ready wit, comeliness, and reputation for sanctity, recommended him in the first instance for preferment; and he stood so high in the Black Prince's estimation, that the Prince took some personal trouble to keep him from resigning. To the monks of St. Albans he was a kind and liberal head, winning their reverence and love in no ordinary



degree. But one of his claims upon their gratitude was a zeal for the temporal well-being of the Abbey, which involved him in constant litigation with all his neighbours. He had law-suits with the Kings of England, the Dukes of Lancaster, the two Primates, three bishops, four earls, and a countess, and some twenty gentlemen, priors, and citizens, of sufficient importance to be named, as well as against many others. He was especially energetic in repressing all usurpations of rights by his villans, and in reclaiming bondmen into servitude. In one case he recovered a Manor which had been alienated for two hundred years or more. He was at law with one of his neighbours for six and twenty years; and one incident of the quarrel was the starving of fifty beasts whom their owner would not release out of the pound. Altogether Thomas raised the Abbey rental by £100 a year; but the sum spent every year on law proceedings was considerable. Yet even this champion of the Church was at times weary or fearful of litigation; and his friendly biographer records sorrowfully that several properties were lost through his superior's carnal affections or timidity, and that many serfs made interest with the Roman Curia, and obtained their freedom. It is not wonderful if monastic corporations were unpopular in England.

How much he was hated outside the convent walls, Abbot Thomas almost learned by terrible experience. When it was known in St. Albans that the commons of Kent and Essex, under Wat Tyler, were in possession of London, the inhabitants of twenty or more villas confederated to extort concessions from the Abbey. The Prior, and several monks and legal advisers of the Abbey, fled as they best could, and never halted till they reached the cell at Tynemouth. Meanwhile, the rioters, many of whom had been in London, and saw Tyler, indulged in all the license of freed bondsmen. They broke open the gaols, and released some of the prisoners and beheaded others. They destroyed the folds in the Abbey woods, demolished the hedges of a field taken from the commonage, gave one another formal seisin of the Abbey's property, and fastened a rabbit upon the pillory in sign that they had acquired right of warren. Some damage was done to the Abbey buildings, and some money extorted violently from the Abbot, while a general quittance of debts to the Monastery was proclaimed. Yet, on the whole, it is wonderful that they acted with so much moderation; and an evident sense of legality is distinguishable throughout all their proceedings. They succeeded in obtaining a formal surrender by deeds, to the different villas, of the franchises they desired. They destroyed the stones which recorded the Abbey's triumph at law on the specially obnoxious point of culture. Above all, they were instant with threats that an imaginary charter from Offa, giving civic rights to the burgesses who had not existed in his day, should be handed over to them. The Abbot, who could neither produce it nor disabuse them of their tradition, was compelled to give

a bond of £1000, that he would either find it or swear on the Eucharist with the twelve senior monks of the Abbey that it was not in their possession. But it was soon known that Wat Tyler had been slain. One by one nobles and gentlemen appeared, to defend the rights of property; and, when the burgesses of St. Albans still sturdily refused to give up their charters, the King came down in person with his Justiciary, Tresilian. It required some strategy to induce the local juries to indict offenders; but Tresilian summoned several at a time, and played them off one against the other. Fifteen persons were hanged, and eighty thrown into prison; but the general feeling was one of sullen indignation, and the dead bodies were carried off and privately buried. Altogether the Abbot had to pay more than a hundred pounds for the King's support; and for some time afterwards the farm-buildings on parts of the property were fired by secret incendiaries.

Mr. Riley's Preface is chiefly occupied with a summary of the more remarkable events recorded in the three volumes of the Chronicle. There is one curious mistake at p. lxiv, where he translates "*duci circa colligistrum*," as "going round upon the pillory;" and he omits in his Glossary a peculiar use of "*Oriolum*" (iii. p. 462), seemingly for the senior monks having the right to sit at the dais or high table. Generally his Preface is not quite equal to the importance of the book; but the side-notes are good, and the Index full.

18. THE splendid edition of Froissart published by the Belgian Academy is already superseded by that which M. Luce has prepared for the Société de l'Histoire de France. In a long Introduction he explains the extraordinary difficulty of his task, and justifies the method he has followed in the first book. The received text, which is preserved by fifty MSS. and appears in innumerable editions, does not contain the book in the form in which Froissart finally left it, but as it was first composed, in the midst of English influences, and under the patronage of Queen Philippa. It is the work of an English partisan. The campaigns of Crecy and Poitiers are described as Froissart had received them from the lips of men who had fought under the Black Prince. The narrative glows with martial spirit; but the facts are mostly taken from Jean le Bel. Some years later Froissart wrote the book over again; and his second text is preserved in a MS. at Amiens. It contains the French version. Froissart was living among new friends, he caught their feelings, and repeated what they told him. Again, after the lapse of years, early in the fifteenth century, he composed a third narrative, which exists only at the Vatican, and was brought to light by the eminent Belgian historian Kervyn de Lettenhove. The strong English feeling of the early text had quite disappeared. Froissart writes as a bitter enemy of the English people, and as a contemptuous aristocrat. The change which French patrons had begun was completed by the catastrophe of Richard II. The



three texts cannot be reconciled; and their differences are so characteristic that it is desirable to compare them all, in order to appreciate fully the nature of the man. It would be interesting to have them printed successively, after the example of Calvin's Institutes in the Strasburg edition of his works. M. Luce has preferred to make the first the basis of his edition, and to give copious extracts from the others. Bekker himself never bestowed greater care on the text of an author. M. Luce has seen with his own eyes every ms. that it was important to consult, and has made all his notes with his own hand. The result has been that Baron Kervyn's copy of the Vatican ms. is proved to be perfectly valueless, while the importance of its readings is proportionately raised; and the authority of Froissart as a historian, already shaken by the publication of many contemporary documents, suffers still more from the study of his variations. M. Luce deprives us of somewhat that was considered authentic history, but supplies a new and most interesting piece of literary biography. He applauds even the prejudices of Froissart, and heartily endorses the hatred which he ended by feeling for the English, and which he always felt for the Germans.

19. THE archives of Toulon contain 100,000 official documents and 10,000 letters, out of which M. Teissier has undertaken to compile a history of the town. They begin with the thirteenth century; and the first volume comes down to the end of the fourteenth, and gives a plan and description of Toulon in the middle ages, so minute and so exact that few towns possess anything like it. The only point of general interest is the constitutional history. Toulon at that time belonged not to the kingdom of France, but to the dominions of the Counts of Provence, whose elevation to the throne of Naples, and long absence from their home, favoured the progress of municipal liberties. It passed rapidly through the typical changes which gave unity and regularity to the numberless variations of Italian history. At first a general assembly of the inhabitants regulated the common affairs. In the year 1314 a council of twelve was appointed, to be elected equally by the upper, middle, and lower class, so as to give four representatives to each. The theory of representative government was better understood at that time than since; but the centripetal force which belongs to aristocracies soon prevailed. In 1367 the whole municipal authority was concentrated in two syndics, and the patrician order established its supremacy. Of the religious and the commercial history of Toulon in those early days little is known. There was the common struggle between clergy and laity; and in 1285 the clergy were made subject to taxation. The mariners of Toulon supplied the place with grain by a mild sort of piracy. When there was a scarcity they stopped ships bound for other ports, and caused the cargo to be sold in their own market. The later volumes of M. Teissier's work promise to be valuable for the history of Mediterranean commerce.

20. NEITHER the impulse nor the assistance given to historical studies by Maximilian I. of Bavaria has ceased, for he directed in his will that all sums which he had once granted for the purpose should be payable out of his private property. He had especial regard for the history of his own house; and his deepest interest was reserved for the checkered existence of Jacobina of Holland. She was the granddaughter of one of the sons of the Emperor Lewis of Bavaria. This son had inherited through his mother the provinces of Holland, Zeeland, and Hainault; and as an heiress Jacobina had many suitors. At times she led the ordinary life of a princess; at others she was in prison or in exile. Having been the wife of three princes, she died in 1436, at the age of thirty-five, the wife of a noble. Though exposed to much obloquy, and not without fault, her conduct shows to advantage beside that of the princes with whom her lot was cast; and her qualities endeared her to the people, as well as to those who were immediately about her. A number of fables have grown up round her history; and no scientific biography had been written when the King committed the charge to Herr Franz von Lüher, the present Director of the Munich archives. He has published his researches in the Acts of the Bavarian Academy, and completed the history in two volumes, of which the first appeared seven years ago, and the second last year. The work carries us into the midst of a confused din of wars, arising partly from small local feuds, partly from the rapidly growing power of the Dukes of Burgundy, who conquered the inheritance of Jacobina, and partly from the course of the great Anglo-French struggle. A prominent part is played by Duke Humphrey of Gloucester, who was for a time the husband of Jacobina, and who, while the dominion of Henry VI. in France depended chiefly on the Burgundian confederation, endeavoured to recover his wife's inheritance from the Duke of Burgundy. The narrative is life-like; and the author has especially endeavoured to depict the manners of the time and country. It is difficult in these days to realize a state of things in which the ambition and mere caprice of princes over and again involved their people in the horrors of war. In these conflicts their enemy's territory was mercilessly laid waste with fire and sword, and their own fared little better. Multitudes of starved and fugitive peasants haunted the woods, and lived on plunder, or perished miserably, while princes and knights displayed an extravagant splendour. It is perhaps a little wearisome to follow the heroine step by step through such a chaos of events; but it gives at least a vivid glimpse of a period, the barbarism of which, in spite of all its artistic imaginativeness, contrasts very unfavourably with the austere positivism of the present epoch.

21. THE reign which M. de Cherrier investigates in his *Histoire de Charles VIII.* has an importance of its own which is not measured by the personal insignificance of the King. It falls into two distinctly marked periods, the



first of which was decisive from an internal, and the second from an external, point of view. In the first period, Charles having attained his legal majority, but being still too young to govern, the possession of power was disputed between the Duke of Orleans, first Prince of the blood, and Anne of Beaujeu, the King's elder sister. Their rivalry brought the question before the States-General, who were called in by common accord as arbiters. The States-General, though divided into six nations and separated into three orders, had common complaints against the proceedings of the previous reign. Having drawn up separate memorials, they formed a joint commission to construct a general memorial; and instead of three spokesmen for the three orders, a single one was appointed. So far, it might seem that the assembly had become national, and that the nation thus collectively assembled was about to reform the State, commencing with the supreme power itself. But this was by no means the case. The Court was left to dispose of the government between Anne of Beaujeu and the Duke of Orleans; and all the promised reforms were easily eluded. The States demanded, indeed, to be convoked every second year; but they neglected the measure that was indispensable to enforce their demand. Instead of limiting the duration of the taxes, they merely reduced the quota. And thus France, instead of entering upon the path which England had already pointed out, remained for centuries at the mercy of an arbitrary power. This great error was attended with the most fatal consequences. It left the country exposed to civil war; but that was the least evil that followed for Anne of Beaujeu soon triumphed over the Duke of Orleans, and governed wisely. What was more serious was that, when Charles took the government into his own hands, the country had no means of checking his adventurous fancies. By the conquest of the kingdom of Naples the young King soon threw France into those Italian wars into which she dragged half Europe after her. It was the beginning of those general conflicts which have occupied so much of modern history, and the consequences of which have lasted to the present time. The especial value of M. de Cherrier's book is the new sources from which his account of this second period of the reign is derived.

During the years that preceded the expedition of Charles VIII., Italy was far from apprehending a new era of invasion and servitude. After the conclusion of the struggle between the Church and the Empire, she believed the danger of foreign invasion to be at an end. The victory of Rome had been the triumph of the national cause; but the peninsula, instead of being united thereby, was only delivered over to its internal rivalries. It contained fewer States; but they were stronger, and their mutual jealousies were greater. To the south were Naples and Sicily, in the centre were Rome and Florence, to the north Milan and the two great maritime republics—Genoa and Venice. Their mutual

rivalry led the Italians to make trial of the system of the balance of power which France was soon after compelled to adopt. Of the States, that of the Church seemed the most formidable; but the Popes did not claim to impose their dominion on the Italian powers, but only sought to have their mediation accepted. This policy had been pursued by Nicolas v., Calixtus III., Pius II., and Paul II.; but it was abandoned by Sixtus IV., Innocent VIII., and Alexander VI. The next rank to that of Rome was divided between Naples and Milan. But at Naples the rivalry of the two houses of Anjou and Aragon had been attended by disastrous consequences. If the house of Aragon triumphed, that of Anjou continued to be in check, and had bequeathed its rights to a representative who was only too well able to enforce them. Milan, formerly the mainstay of Italian resistance to the ambition of the emperors, had fallen into the hands of the Visconti, and then of the Sforzas; and having aggrandized itself at the expense of most of the neighbouring cities, it could only inspire them with distrust. Among the republics Genoa and Venice were the two most important. But Genoa, the home of perpetual revolutions, was equally unable to govern or to endure a master. Venice, on the other hand, occupied in the peninsula a position something like that which England occupied in Europe; but it was with this difference that England, excluded from the Continent, was turning to the sea, where she was to achieve her future greatness, while Venice, proportion as she lost her Levantine colonies, increased her continental possessions, and thereby made herself more vulnerable, and at the same time, an object of greater aversion to the Italians at large. Florence, which had surpassed the other States in civilization, aspired to a pre-eminence, especially in Italy. With Lorenzo de' Medici she had endeavoured to assume among the Italian powers that part of mediator which the Papacy had lost through the personal ambition of Sixtus IV., Innocent VIII., and Alexander VI. Florence was the natural link between Naples and Milan. But after the death of Lorenzo the connection became easier to break, and a particular circumstance sufficed to break it. This was the ambition of Lodovico Sforza, or Luigi il Moro, uncle to Gian Galeazzo, who reigned at Milan. His whole authority was in the hands of Lodovico; but he desired something more. Naples was his obstacle; for Gian Galeazzo had married Isabella, daughter of Alfonso, son of King Ferdinand of Naples. Lodovico therefore allied himself with Venice and Rome against Florence and Naples; but, distrusting Rome and not relying much on Venice, he turned his thoughts towards foreign aid, and addressed himself to France.

The French King, indeed, was already marked out as the enemy of the King of Naples. The house of Anjou had left him the inheritance of its claims; and he was urged to maintain them by the chiefs of the Angevin party.



who had been expelled from Naples. His mind, fed on the romances of chivalry, was filled with visions of crusades, adventures, and brilliant feats of arms. Lodovico's embassy, therefore, found him well prepared. But there were difficulties in the way of a distant expedition for a monarch who was surrounded by enemies nearer home. The King of Spain was urging his claim to Roussillon and Cerdaña; the King of England required his lost provinces, or money in compensation. Maximilian, whose betrothed (the Duchess of Bretagne) Charles had married, and whose daughter, betrothed to himself, he had sent back, demanded at least the restitution of his daughter's dowry, Artois and Franche-Comté. Charles did not hesitate for such matters as these. He yielded all round. The King of Spain obtained Roussillon and Cerdaña, the King of England his money claims, and Maximilian Artois and Franche-Comté. Meanwhile Charles sent ambassadors to the various States of Italy, to prepare the ground, and then, without much troubling himself about the welcome they received, set out on his own expedition.

M. de Cherrier has carefully studied these preparatory negotiations, and has added several new particulars to the known history of the expedition of Charles VIII. It is notorious how rapidly the conquest was made, and how rapidly it melted away. The young King met with no obstacles on his way; he was welcomed in the friendly cities, Turin, Casale, and Pavia, and received in triumph in the doubtful ones, Pisa, Florence, and even Rome. The conquest of Naples was achieved without an effort; but he supposed its preservation would be equally easy, and thereby lost it. While he was at Naples, dreaming of a crusade against Constantinople, the storm was gathering in his rear at Venice. He was obliged to turn back. But the league which had been formed against him endeavoured to cut off his retreat; and thus he found the opportunity for a battle and a victory at Fornuovo, though it only secured his retreat. It would have been well if his departure had been without thought of a return, and if that brilliant and sterile adventure had for ever disgusted France with foreign conquest, and taught the Italians to unite in earnest and shut their country to invaders. But the lesson was lost for both parties, as M. de Cherrier shows in the two appendices which close his work. The Italians grew more divided than ever; and, though Charles died without an opportunity of recurring to his projects, they were adopted and pursued by his successors Louis XII. and Francis I. Louis XII., who laid claim to both Naples and Milan, only succeeded in introducing into the south and the north of Italy the two powers which it was specially his interest to keep out—Spain and Austria; and Francis I. contributed more than any one else to the establishment of the supremacy of Charles V.

22. THE Government of Hungary lately sent a literary agent to Italy, to collect materials for Hungarian history; and the commission

has borne fruit in a volume called *Trois Documents de l'Eglise du XV. Siècle*. These documents are taken from a collection of papers which found their way from the Vatican to the archives of Venice. It is supposed that they were bought by the ambassador Gasparo Contarini, after the sack of Rome; and a passage to this effect is quoted from his despatches in a note to the Italian translation of Mr. Rawdon Brown's Introduction to the Venetian Calendar. But Contarini speaks only of certain papers of Leo X.; and there is no good reason to believe that he made the whole collection. It is to be hoped that the editor of the present volume, M. de Baratos, knows the history of his own country better than that of Italy. He imagines that the Vatican was pillaged "by the partisans of the Bourbons, when the Bourbons claimed the Neapolitan throne, and were opposed by the Holy See." Clearly he has never heard that a Bourbon commanded the army of Charles V. He calls the King of France the Most Catholic King, and declares that Mathias Corvinus "annula l'Empire d'Allemagne," and that the Church was preserved from the attacks of the reformers by the three Popes, Sixtus IV., Innocent VIII., and Alexander VI. Hungary appears to have been unfortunate in the choice of her literary representative.

23. M. GACHARD's volume on the manuscripts of the Corsini Library contains several letters by Cardinal Pole, which were unpublished, although copies exist in England. The editor has omitted some of the most important, because he found nothing in them for the history of Charles V. He acknowledges in becoming terms the liberality with which the treasures of the library are made accessible, and does not appear to know that Ranke, Lämmer, and others, who came before him, enjoyed the same opportunities, and made excellent use of them. M. Gachard is justly renowned, not only as a man of vast research, but as one of the most faithful and trustworthy analysts of unprinted documents. He appears to be less exact as a transcriber. He gives "la bontà" where the ms. has "alla bontà" (p. 14), "l'allegrezza" for "la alligata" (p. 119), and "Rocaforo," which he translates "Rochefort" instead of "Roccafocò," Rochefoucauld (p. 53). There is a gap at p. 157, where the omitted words are "in certe materie me," and at p. 160, where he has not been able to read the word "contrario." There is also much confusion in the chronology of Pole's letters, where M. Gachard has been deceived partly by Quirini, and partly, it would appear, by the incorrectness of the copy which he has used. He has not taken the trouble to find out who was the personage whom he calls "Monsignor de Vigornia (Henrico Peningo)," and devotes forty pages to the letters of Mendoza, without inquiring whether they are all unknown. Speaking of certain letters of Bentivoglio, he quietly says that they are "probablement toutes imprimées aussi." That is precisely the sort of information which the readers of M. Gachard's book will expect him to furnish. It is, in fact, a collection of



rough notes for private use, which the admirers of the author will hardly think worthy of his reputation.

24. A SUPPLEMENT to the lately published volume of Michiel's despatches on the reign of Mary Tudor has been given by Signor Pasini in a pamphlet written to defend himself against an imputation contained in Mr. Friedmann's Preface. Mr. Friedmann found out Michiel's cipher in the spring of 1868, and proved his discovery by publishing considerable extracts in *Macmillan's Magazine* on the 1st of November. Early in December he deposited the key, together with a copy of the deciphered papers ready for the press, in the hands of Signor Cecchetti, one of the principal officers of the Venetian archives. In the following January it was announced that Signor Pasini, a gentleman employed at the same archives, had succeeded in deciphering Michiel; and the merit of the discovery was claimed for him. A more suspicious combination of facts could hardly be conceived; and Mr. Friedmann's indignation was aroused. Not satisfied with pointing out the enormity of the claim to a discovery which had been made public three months before, he plainly insinuated that the key which he had deposited at the archives had been used surreptitiously by Signor Pasini. We have satisfied ourselves, independently of the published Reply, that this charge is unjust. Signor Pasini had studied the mysterious ciphers before Mr. Friedmann; and, like all the experts to whom they were submitted, had failed to find the key, when two despatches of Michiel's predecessor Soranzo were put into his hands, which were written in nearly the same cipher, and which were deciphered. Of 374 signs employed by Michiel, Soranzo explained 150. With this help, Signor Pasini constructed a key for the rest, including 68 signs which had baffled Mr. Friedmann, and which were not found in the despatches of Soranzo. The key is, however, neither accurate nor complete. Several blanks occur in a despatch which Signor Pasini prints as a trophy of his success, in places where the original sign is quite legible. His method is arbitrary; and the correctness of many interpretations may be questioned. It is very doubtful, for instance, whether such words as *Sig. Turco*, *Giannizzari*, *Cipro*, *Candia*, occurred in the secret vocabulary of an ambassador in England. Where he differs from Mr. Friedmann, Signor Pasini is sometimes right and sometimes wrong. Mr. Friedmann interprets the sign *a*<sup>22</sup> to mean *Sua Maesta*. Signor Pasini contradicts him, and says that it means *Bassa*; but he adds that where it occurs in Michiel it is used, by mistake, in the sense assigned by Mr. Friedmann. Where Mr. Friedmann reads *Re di Bohemia*, and his Italian censor prefers *Re dei Romani*, the former is right; it is not Ferdinand, but Maximilian, to whom the passage refers. Some points raised in the litigation are trivial, and impossible to verify, such as the use of *Illustrissimo* for *Reverendissimo*, or of the abbreviation *Mons.* for *Monsieur*. In spite of blunders, and of

the suspicious futility of many emendations, Signor Pasini's pamphlet remains as a useful errata to Mr. Friedmann's incorrectly printed book. He is fully justified in repelling the imputation of collusion between himself and Signor Cecchetti. He admits that he was furnished with a key to a large portion of the cipher; and he does not deny that he profited by Mr. Friedmann's essay in *Macmillan's Magazine*. His merit is real, though of a very secondary kind. His vindication would be complete if he had shown more candour in acknowledging the skill displayed in Mr. Friedmann's discovery. Instead of doing so, he induced four gentlemen to testify that he had proved in their presence his ability to decipher Michiel. The paper is dated the 30th of January. At that time it was well known at Venice that the key had been found; for it was lying at the archives, while the papers it had served to decipher were in the hands of a Venetian printer, and had already been partially published. It is very difficult to acquit Signor Pasini of an attempt to anticipate Mr. Friedmann's claim to priority, and to magnify his own achievement at the expense of the real author of the discovery. The authorities of the Venetian archives have taken care that no blame should fall on that institution by the indiscretion of their subordinate. A letter is before us in which they declare that the evidence is entirely in Mr. Friedmann's favour, and that it would be unjust to dispute his sole claim to the authorship of the substantial discovery.

25. Two lives of Cardinal Morone, by two celebrated Italians, have been published within three years. Cesare Cantù, having examined the report of the trial of Morone before the Roman Inquisition, made known the substance of it in 1866; and Sclopis, the president of the Academy of Turin, has just written an essay on the same subject, for which he has obtained some new matter from the Ambrosian Library. The chequered life of the great ecclesiastical negotiator reflects more definitely than that of any other churchman of his time the phases through which Rome was passing. Morone belonged to the first distinct group of reforming cardinals, and shares the fame of Sadolet and Cervini, Contarini and Pole. He was Nuncio at the Imperial Court in the crisis of the deadly struggle with the Lutherans; and no Catholic prelate was more moderate or more conciliatory. In the height of his reputation he was struck down by the Theatine reaction, and thrown into the prisons of the Inquisition on suspicion of being a liberal cardinal. After his deliverance he became Legate at Trent, and presided over the last decisive deliberations of the Council. For many years his name was the first to be pronounced when men spoke of the future Pope. Materials for a most interesting biography might still be found. Sclopis has not sought them, but describes the career of Morone as a significant example for those who have resumed the work which he closed in 1563. He dwells with especial satisfaction on the part taken by Mo-



rone in inducing the Pope to acquiesce in the loss of the church-lands in England, and quotes his letter of November 7, 1554, in which he informs Pole of the favourable decision of the Court of Rome. On this question, indeed, Morone was more liberal and sagacious than his friend. The unpublished correspondence between them shows that the English Cardinal was disposed to take a strict and rigorous course in the question of the church property, and was overruled by Rome.

Morone is not quite worthy of the praises which his biographer lavishes on his character. He was undoubtedly gifted with the qualities of a great diplomatist, with moderation, dexterity, and experience. But he was rather a statesman than a scholar or a divine; and he wavered deplorably in the German controversy. By his own confession, the liberality which he showed to Protestants was laden with deceit. No other Roman prelate despaired so utterly of the prospects of his Church, or was so much overawed by the Reformation. His despondency and want of discretion in adversity were succeeded by such subservience to Rome, and such fertile ingenuity in the management of the Council of Trent, that he was suspected of aiming at the papal throne. It may be regretted that a man so able, and so free from the taint of fanaticism, was foiled in his ambition.

26. The work lately published by Dr. van Raemdonck on *Gérard Mercator, sa Vie et ses Œuvres*, bears witness to a careful study of the works of the great geographer; but it is chiefly interesting for the new light which it throws on many parts of his comparatively unknown life. Mercator's family name was Kremer, signifying merchant, which, following a custom of his time, he translated into the Latin equivalent. Dr. Van Raemdonck has investigated his family relations, and the circumstances of his birth at Rupelmonde in 1512; and he gives details, which are for the most part new, relative to his life at the University of Louvain, where he applied zealously to mathematical studies. It was in that city that he first established himself, as an engraver and colourer of maps. He also set up as a smith, and a maker of astrolabes, globes, mathematical instruments, etc. In 1541 he issued a terrestrial globe, which he dedicated to Nicolas Perrenot; his celestial globe came out ten years later. In 1536 he was married at Louvain. At that time the ideas of the Reformation had spread widely, though secretly, in the Low Countries; and in 1544 the law was invoked against a number of the citizens of Louvain, who were accused of having embraced the new doctrines. Among them was Mercator. He was arrested at Rupelmonde, and was kept in prison for four months. The testimony and intercession of several influential persons was employed in his favour; but the investigation took its course, and was long and minute. The accusation, however, was not substantiated; and at last he was released. A few years afterwards he left the country, and settled at Duisburg, where he remained till his death in 1594. Dr.

van Raemdonck traces the course of his life at Duisburg, where he spent his time in improving his maps, and keeping up his relations with the scholars of Europe. His sons assisted him in his undertakings; and the eldest of them, Arnold, is known in connection with the manuscript Bible of Ulphilas, which was found in an abbey near Duisburg, and is now in the library at Upsala. Dr. van Raemdonck has added to his biography an excellent appendix, in which he considers Mercator's works in logical order. He then prints his letters, and concludes with some genealogical and biographical details, which are not without interest, relative to his children and descendants.

27. Of the two parts of Mr. French's *Shakespeareana Genealogica*, one is superfluous, and the other, in its main position, wrong. He considers that his great discovery is to have supplied all the missing links between Mary Arden, Shakespeare's mother, and Walter Arden of Park Hall, whose sons were Sir John, Esquire of the body to Henry VII., and Thomas, which Thomas was the father of Robert Arden, who was, according to Mr. French, and the general mass of authorities, the father of Mary Arden, the mother of William Shakespeare.

The great difficulty in the way of the theory is this. Shakespeare's father had already received a grant of arms about the year 1568. In 1596, doubtless at the request of the poet, the grant was renewed. In 1599 there was a fresh application, this time reciting the pretensions of Mrs. Shakespeare, who was a co-heir of her father. This third grant, therefore, gives a right to the elder Shakespeare to impale, and to his son to quarter the Arden arms. In the grant, the arms of the Warwickshire Ardens were first of all inserted; then they were erased, and instead of them the arms of the Ardens of Alvanley, in Cheshire, were put in, with the slight modern difference of a martlet to show that it was not from the eldest, but from a younger branch of the family that the coat was derived. In the time of Henry VI., Ralph Arden of Alvanley married Catherine, daughter of Sir William Stanley of Hooton; their children were Sir John Arden of Alvanley, Thomas, the ancestor of the Ardens of Leicestershire, Robert, Hugh, and Ralph. Mrs. Shakespeare's father, Robert, might have been son of this Thomas of Leicestershire. There are some slight traditions of a special connection of the poet with the town of Leicester; and there are indications of an early connection with the Stanleys. Spenser the poet, in his "Tears of the Muses," dedicated to his kinswoman, Lady Strange, the wife of Ferdinando, afterwards the fifth Earl of Derby, spoke of him as "our tuneful Willy;" and according to Dugdale, he wrote the beautiful epitaph on Sir Thomas Stanley, the brother of Ferdinando, in Tonge church. And Mr. Bohn, in the biography of Shakespeare which he presented to the Philobiblion Society, points out that this Stanley was married to Margaret Vernon, a relation of the Vernon who was afterwards wife of Lord Southampton, who was Shake-



Shakespeare's greatest friend. Moreover, as the Ardens of Alvanley claimed descent from the Dukes of Normandy, whose arms with those of the Earls of Arundel and Mercia they were entitled to quarter, this pedigree adds a new point to the story told by Manningham, in which Shakespeare figures as William the Conqueror; and it throws some light on the construction of Dekker's *Satiromastix*, where Shakespeare, under the guise of William Rufus, administers to Ben Jonson the correction referred to in the *Return from Parnassus*. Whether or not this was the real pedigree of Shakespeare's mother, the erasure and substitution on the grant of 1597 shows that the poet wished it to be considered so; and the anecdotes of 1600 show that he was then known to claim some connection with the Norman dukes. It may be guessed that Shakespeare, who, according to Rowe, had so signally befriended Jonson in 1598, was introduced by him to his friend Camden, the Garter King, in 1599, and was afterwards, in 1600, ridiculed for his pretensions to birth in Jonson's description of Crispinus's arms in the *Poetaster*. This would account for the authenticated fact that Shakespeare was angry with Jonson for this play, and inflicted upon him condign punishment. At any rate, the connection of the poet with the Cheshire Ardens seems to open out more veins of biographic and poetic illustration than the connection with the Ardens of Park Hall, which Mr. French so elaborately, and so inconclusively, defends.

28. MR. GARDINER has edited for the Camden Society the manuscript which was his own principal guide for the history of the Spanish match. The author, Francisco de Jesus, was a friar of great repute at Court, who was employed in the negotiation, and had full command of the best sources of information in composing his narrative. He is otherwise known in literature as the compiler of the great Spanish Index, which bears the name of Sandoval. The account is tediously minute, but very useful to the historian, by reason of the original documents which are interwoven in it. Mr. Gardiner says he has always found them faithfully reproduced; and he thinks that the statements of the author may be relied on. Francisco, however, was not so deeply trusted with the secrets of State as with the theological part of the question; and the real policy of Olivarez, and the reasons of the breach, must be learned elsewhere. Mr. Gardiner has accompanied the work with a very readable translation. Apart from punctuation, the Spanish original is accurately printed. There is an error at p. 59, which has led to a curious misinterpretation. In the description of the interview between Charles and the Spanish divines, Mr. Gardiner reads "Comenzò el Padre con favor," and translates "The Father, after a complimentary introduction:" it should be, "el Padre confessor." At p. 53 are the words: "y luego diò su Mag<sup>d</sup>. de mano propria." Mr. Gardiner understands them to mean: "Immediately after this his Majesty was to add in his own hand," which implies that the despatch

was not really written. It does not appear that there is any ground for such a supposition.

29. IN the Preface to his *Gustaf Adolf, H*, G. Droysen disclaims any intention of adding more to the numerous biographies of the great Swede. Holding that political sagacity had a far larger place in his mind than religious enthusiasm, he wishes to set forth his position in European history, and to calculate the force of his impact upon Continental politics. The present instalment of his work, reaching down to the Peace of Lübeck, is the result of careful study, not so much of unpublished manuscripts as evidence buried in little read and out of the way books. Thus, though the main part of the materials of the book were already before the world, the result of the labour bestowed upon them is to give a fuller and more accurate knowledge of the work done by the Swedish King. The real history of the designs of Spain and Austria upon the commercial and political domination of the Northern Seas is more roughly told here than it has been by any other writer. But the most interesting part of the book is the narrative, for which Geijer and Geijer may be searched in vain, of the negotiations carried on by Gustavus with England and Brandenburg, in 1624 and 1625, in the hope of placing himself at the head of the German party of resistance. If the scheme failed for the time, it was, as Herr Droysen conclusively shows, simply because the King refused to take part in the war except upon conditions which his own judgment assured him to be indispensable to success. He must have so much support in men and money. He must have the moral certainty that a considerable body of allies would really stand by him. He must have in his hands certain German ports as a basis of operations. Rather than recede for an instant from the terms once laid down, he chose to turn aside to the Polish war, leaving Christian IV. of Denmark to deal as he could with the German difficulty. In this part of his work, Herr Droysen has made judicious use of Rusdorf's Memoirs, and of the correspondence of Oxenstierna and Camerarius printed in Moser's *Patriotische Archiv*. It is a pity that he had not before him an unpublished letter from Gustavus to James Spens, which is preserved amongst the State-papers at the English Record Office, in which he finally announced his decision. If any one, he characteristically wrote, thinks it an easy matter to overthrow the united strength of Catholic Europe, "nos hanc illi gloriam, ceteraque quæ illam comitari possunt commodè, non inviti concederemus."

As an account of the relations of Gustavus to European politics, of the dangers against which he strove, and of his method of dealing with the difficulties of his time, Herr Droysen's book leaves little to be desired. But it is evident that, in his wish to bring into prominence the political character of the war, he has been somewhat forgetful of the close connection which, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, existed between politics and religion. In one place (p. 195, note) he lays stress upon the



words used by the Swedish diplomatists to express the object at which they aimed. "Bald heisst es," he says, "salutem ac restitutionem rei collapsæ Evangelicæ ac imprimis Regis Bohemiæ;" bald 'restituendo res Germanicæ;' bald 'restitutio rerum amissarum;' bald 'S.R.A. hoc unicum ac solum medium putat, Pontificios cogendi ad saniolem mentem;' solche Wendungen jedoch meist in Verbindung mit habsburgischem Unwesen wie: 'potentia Pontificiorum ac domus Austriæ.' Auch solche Ausdrücke zeigen wie wenig es ein Religionskrieg, wie sehr es ein politischer Krieg war, um den es sich handelte." The inference would rather seem to be how impossible it was, in those days, to talk of politics without reference to religion, or of religion without reference to politics. A far graver fault in Herr Droysen is his incapacity to comprehend the character and motives of men whom he dislikes. His account of the intentions of Austria, as he calls it by anticipation,—contemporaries would have said, of the House of Austria, or, of the Emperor,—is a mere caricature. He may plead that he is in good company in abusing Ferdinand II. to the uttermost. But it is unjust to introduce him upon the stage (p. 121), not by any account drawn from trustworthy sources, but by a quotation from a partisan pamphlet written in 1629, at the height of the indignation caused by the issue of the Edict of Restitution, to the effect that his object had long been "die Spanische Universalmonarchie, und also das geschlossene tridentinische consilium zu anfangs und vors allererste per Europam, und folgend durch die andern Theile der ganzen Welt zu effectuiren." Ferdinand himself always said that his object was to see to the execution of the laws of the Empire; and, whatever may be thought of the interpretation which he put upon those laws, the question of his sincerity at all events deserves a serious discussion.

80. In the Preface to his *Geschichte Wallensteins*, Professor Ranke justly lays stress upon his researches at Brussels and Dresden as likely to present the subject of his work in truer colours than those which have been employed by writers who rely too exclusively upon the evidence left in the Munich archives. Wallenstein's character as a statesman grows in his hands. He is seen bent upon strengthening Germany against foreign aggression, by putting an end to the religious intolerance that was weakening the nation. His policy is on a higher level than the sectional aims of Maximilian of Bavaria or Frederick of the Palatinate. Professor Ranke has shown, as conclusively as anything can be established by indirect evidence, that Wallenstein, upon his recall to power after the victories of Gustavus, distinctly stipulated for the withdrawal of the obnoxious Edict of Restitution. As far as can be gathered from the very full and impartial narrative which follows, it does not appear that there was any breach of faith on the part of the Emperor. Ferdinand would probably have agreed to yield to circumstances in the particular case, if the principle of his authority were maintained intact. But this could not

be. Even the Elector of Saxony, the least revolutionary of men, perceived that the axe must be laid to the root of the Imperialist system from which such bitter fruits had sprung. Nothing speaks more highly for Wallenstein's statesmanship than the rapidity with which he saw that the claims he had hitherto put forward on behalf of the Emperor must be abandoned, and that the one thing needful at the moment was the conciliation of the Protestant Electors, even though it cost him the abandonment of a great part of his original programme. He had thus, as Professor Ranke points out, taken up the position occupied in the preceding century by Maurice of Saxony. At the head of John George's troops, he might have exercised an overwhelming authority. Where he was, he was in a thoroughly false position, a position which became desperate, when, foreseeing apparently the impossibility of reconciling Ferdinand to an abandonment of his claims, he entered into an intrigue with France and Sweden, the object of which would have been to place him at the head of the anti-Austrian alliance. He was now attempting to pass from the position of Maurice to that of Gustavus, and that too by means of his authority acquired as commander of the Emperor's army. The scheme came to the knowledge of Oñate, the Spanish ambassador; and Wallenstein's ruin and assassination was the result.

The chief causes of Wallenstein's failure are found by Professor Ranke (p. 350) in the general distrust caused by the unpopular nature of his schemes, which took no note of the prejudices and bigotries of the day, and (p. 423) in the respect paid by the army to its oath of fidelity to the Emperor. There can be little doubt that this view is the true one. But it is not the whole truth. The adverb in Schiller's well-known line, "sein Lager nur erkläret sein Verbrechen," must be abandoned as incorrect; but it was a true historical instinct which led Schiller to bring the "Lager" into special prominence. Professor Ranke, on the other hand, thrusts it out of sight as much as he can. But for a few parenthetical observations hardly any thing would be known from him of that evil system in which "Der Bürger gilt nichts mehr, der Krieger alles." It was this system, however, which had a distinct influence upon Wallenstein's failure. Generals who have been able to make use of armies against constituted authorities, have always been supported by sentiments prevailing in the nation to which the army belongs. When Wallenstein called upon his soldiers to follow him in defence of the national cause, he forgot how completely he had separated the army from the nation. He had made it a mere military machine; and to a military machine the oath of allegiance was everything, and the needs of Germany were nothing.

The key to Wallenstein's life is to be found in the circumstances of his youth. Sprung from a younger branch of an old Czech family, he had little to hope for from the aristocratic institutions of Bohemia; and a residence of some years under the strict Puritan rule of



the Bohemian Brothers at the house of his uncle disgusted him with the religion of his country. But he did not, like many converts, throw himself heart and soul into the system most opposite to that which he had abandoned. To the Church and Crown for which he drew his sword, he stood in much the same relation as that in which so many English statesmen who had passed through the Puritan domination stood to the political and ecclesiastical principles of the Restoration. His devotion to Ferdinand was as great as, and no greater than, Churchill's devotion to the Stuarts. He took no root on German soil. If he cared nothing for its princes and its laws, neither did he care anything for its citizens and its peasants. His failure was the failure of high intellect to command permanent success when uncombined with moral sympathy. Here was the mark of separation between him and his great rival; "Bei ihm," is the judgment of Professor Ranke (p. 268),—"war alles bedachter Plan, umfassende Combination, ein immer höher strebender Ehrgeiz. Wenn auch der König ein weiteres Ziel verfolgte, so trat das doch vor den freien populären Impulsen zurück, denen er jeden Augenblick Raum gab, . . . Niemand verliesz sich auf Wallenstein; zu Gustav Adolf hatte Jedermann Vertrauen."

31. HERR ERDMANNSDÖRFER is a member of a Commission at Berlin, which has for some years been occupied in preparing the materials for a history of the great Prince-Elector; and his book on Waldeck is, in the main, a fruit of these researches. It is a work of diligence and ability, and is agreeably written; but its characteristic contents belong to the category of mere partisan literature. The author is of opinion that Professor Droysen, in his History of the Prince-Elector, has overlooked the secondary personages, and regarded the course of events as though everything were due to the personal exertion of the Prince, and the ministers went for nothing. Accordingly, he shows how important a part was played by Count Waldeck, whom he proposes as a model Prussian statesman. But though his views thus far differ from those of Professor Droysen, their general ideas on the history of Prussia are essentially the same; and the bias of the disciple is even more marked than that of the master. Count Waldeck, who entered the Brandenburg service in 1651, was a bitter enemy of the House of Habsburg, and strove, by the assistance of France, to destroy its influence in Germany, and so to effect a radical change in the existing constitution of the empire. He endeavoured to gain the Prince-Elector to his views, by holding out to him the prospect of a hegemony. In the pursuit of his object he evinced dexterity, energy, and a thorough contempt of right, which rendered him for a certain time eminently successful. Herr Erdmannsdörfer gives a very vivid description of the course of events; but by continual parallels drawn from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, he anticipates projects which belong only to a period later than his hero, and throws a completely

false light on the history. In his conception Count Waldeck changes into a Count Rismarck; and he obviously desires to exalt a minister whom he regards as the destined representative of Waldeck's policy. The two men have really some points of resemblance, but the author's zeal makes him forget that the results of his parallel are not always flattering to the living statesman. Waldeck left the service of the Prince-Elector in 1673, and his policy, after a short success, ended in complete failure. Herr Erdmannsdörfer relates how he admitted his error, and reversed his ideas. Instead of agitating against Austria and seeking the aid of France, he came to find his schemes on Austria, whom, later, he served as a general; and he worked earnestly to induce the German princes, and especially his former master, the Prince-Elector, to enter into a combination against France.

32. THE life of Rembrandt was almost entirely unknown till 1852, when Mr. Scheltema, the archivist of Amsterdam, published the result of his investigations on the subject in the form of a discourse written on occasion of the erection of a statue of the artist. He cleared up many obscure points, corrected many misapprehensions, and brought to light many new particulars. His work, which created considerable interest, was followed in 1863 by the first part of M. Vosmaer's book. This part deals with the precursors of Rembrandt, and the years of his apprenticeship with Van Swanenburch and Peter Lastman. It gives minute details about his family, derived from authentic documents, and succeeds in determining the date and place of his birth, which Mr. Scheltema had not been able to do. Rembrandt was born at Leyden, on the 15th of July, 1607.

M. Vosmaer has just published the second and concluding part of his book, which follows the life of the painter from his first entrance on his career in 1627, illustrating it by reference to his works. In 1632, Bol, Flinck, Backer, de Weth, and de Poorter, were his pupils; from 1635 to 1640, Victor, Eckhout, and Philip Koninck. These were succeeded during the next two or three years by Ovens, Verdoel, Heerschop, Drost, Fabritius, and others. The year 1641 is memorable in Rembrandt's life for the beginning of his connection with John Six, whose name has become inseparable from his own. M. Vosmaer has studied Rembrandt's paintings, sketches, etchings, and drawings, and succeeds in classifying them completely, and thus giving a full view of his career. The celebrated piece known as "The Hundred Florins" he assigns to the period between 1648 and 1650. In the four following years the list of pupils includes Maes, Renesse, Dullaert, Willemans, and G. Ulenburgh. M. Vosmaer devotes a chapter to Rembrandt as a landscape-painter, and to the artists who followed his instruction or inspirations in that branch of the art—such as Farnierius, Leupenius, Esselens, and Erkelens. In the year



1656, Rembrandt became insolvent; and his property was sold by public auction at Amsterdam. But this trouble did not abate his energy. He applied himself to work with even increased ardour; and his labours did not cease till the month of October 1669, when he died. M. Vosmaer supports all his facts by authorities, for the most part unpublished; and he rejects a great many anecdotes of Rembrandt, which are current in Dutch and other books, both old and new. In an appendix he gives a chronological catalogue of the painter's works, with information as to the sales at which they have been offered, and the collections in which they are now to be found. This catalogue is a work of great patience and labour, and is worthy of a book which ranks high in the history of art.

83. THE Preface to Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy's *Syllabus of Rymer's Fœdera* consists mainly of two parts—a life of Rymer, the first editor of the *Fœdera*, and a bibliographical account of the different editions. The biography of Rymer is one of such singular pathos as to give interest to what is otherwise the somewhat monotonous history of a student's pursuits. He was the son of a Cavalier Yorkshire gentleman, was educated at Cambridge and called to the bar (1678), and in a fatal hour for himself took the prevalent epidemic, and wrote a tragedy (1677). After fifteen years of unavailing literary work in different fields, for which he is now chiefly remembered by Lord Macaulay's description of him as "the worst critic that ever lived," he succeeded another bad poet, Shadwell, as Historiographer-Royal (1672), Tate, the perverter of the Psalms, being made Poet-Laureate on the same day. By this time Rymer was over fifty, was, it is said, a married man with a family, and was in such circumstances of poverty as to be the butt of a scurrilous satire on the "Garreteer Poet." His new appointment, giving him a fixed income of £200 a year, ought to have secured him from want. But, unhappily for himself, he was commissioned to edit the National Records; and from the publication of the first volume obloquy and poverty never left his threshold. He made an unfortunate mistake at first, by printing a spurious homage from Malcolm III. to Edward the Confessor, and drew down the wrath and criticisms of the whole Scottish nation upon his head. His volumes, though praised in France, and eagerly bought up and reproduced in England, on the whole disappointed general expectation; for the public had hoped that history would be reconstructed; and the faults incidental to every great work in its first beginnings, a certain confusedness of plan and trifling blunders of execution, were detected and exaggerated in critical circles. Even if Ayloffe's report on this head be a little coloured, as Sir Thomas Hardy thinks, it seems certain that the book was never adequately esteemed in the author's lifetime, and has been steadily depreciated since his death. But, above all, Rymer was transcribing and printing at his own cost, and could not get his

expenses reimbursed by the Treasury. No regular provision was made for the publication. The first hundred pounds paid were derived from the forfeiture of a Catholic priest. In 1697, he spent £210 for the Government, and received from the Lords of the Treasury "£200 in lottery tickets, of which I made about £160." Up to August 1698, he had expended £1253, and had received only £500. Even when Queen Anne took his case up, the Treasury reduced his just claim of £600 to £200. To the day of his death (1713) he never received any recompense for his labours as editor; and Sir Thomas Hardy infers, from the haste with which probate of his will was obtained, that it was found necessary to sell some of his effects in order to bury him. Prior's epigram on Mezeray might have been transferred with terrible fitness to Rymer: and it may well be asked "what beggar in the Invalides" would have changed places with the man who did so much to make England famous?

Of Rymer's work, Sir Thomas Hardy judges on the whole very favourably, passing a just censure on him for quoting excerpts from Leibnitz as *ex originali*, but considering him on the whole a judicious and careful editor, whose omissions and mistakes are of little moment. The worst part of his work is the first volume, which is undoubtedly too meagre; but throughout, many valuable documents published in Leonard's *Recueil* have been omitted. The criticism of the New Rymer Sir Thomas Hardy defers to his second volume; but apparently it will not be favourable. He himself proposes a supplement to the *Fœdera*, in the shape of "a brief but complete calendar of all authentic documents to be found amongst English Records, necessary for the verification and illustration of the political, ecclesiastical, civil, and military history of Great Britain." There can be no doubt that such a work is a desideratum; and no one could do it better than Sir Thomas Hardy.

In his Index, to test the execution would be a labour of many days, and we can only criticise the plan. It seems all that can be desired, giving a brief title or statement of the contents in every document, with the references to the three editions, the Original, the Hague, and the Record or New Rymer. One excellent feature is that Sir Thomas Hardy invariably gives the date of each document, and the place where it was signed, thus doing for every reign what he did for one in his *Itinerary of King John*, and enabling the reader to see at a glance where the King was on any given day of the year.

84. PROFESSOR DROYSSEN is known as the head of that section of German historians which assigns to Prussia the providential mission of establishing German unity, by reducing the smaller States under her own dominion, and separating Austria from the rest of the nation. He traces this mission back to the Mark of Brandenburg, and conceives the whole history of the Brandenburg Princes,



and afterwards of the Kings of Prussia, to be nothing else but its gradual fulfilment. It was to establish this view that he many years ago undertook his *Geschichte der Preussischen Politik*, of which two new volumes have just appeared. These volumes embrace the period from 1718 to 1740, and form an independent work, under the title of *Frederick William I., King of Prussia*. In reality, however, they only deal with the King's foreign policy; and this was the weakest side of a government which in other respects may justly claim to constitute an epoch. "It was at this time," says the author, "that Prussia first took that sharp hard stamp which has remained characteristic of her: the army, the administration, and the finances then received a shape and organization the outlines of which have endured to the present day." But instead of showing the real grounds and method of this process, the two volumes merely exhibit a series of political transactions. These the author gives from his researches in the Berlin Archives, following every turn of diplomacy with minuteness, but failing lucidity and condensation. His habit of considering questions from an exclusively Prussian point of view leads him into many errors in dealing with German affairs, the interest of which at that time did not centre in Berlin; and the same defect is still more striking in his treatment of matters belonging to the general politics of Europe, in which Prussia then bore no considerable part. He often represents events as though the whole politics of the day had been revolving round Berlin: and in one place he says that the new era of Europe was inaugurated in Prussia. In the same tone of exaggeration, speaking of the treaty of Schwedt, which Prussia concluded with Russia in 1713, and by which she gained a portion of what was then Swedish Pomerania, he declares that since then the centre of gravity for the Baltic countries has lain in Prussia. The truth is rather that the preponderance of Russia on the Baltic dates from that time, and that Prussia, instead of hindering, has promoted it. Later on, the author does not deny this; he recognises the threatening position Russia has occupied from that time, but attributes the fault to the other States of Europe rather than to Prussia. The fact, however, remains, that Prussia, to further her schemes of aggrandizement, allied herself persistently with Russia; and Herr Droysen relates how repeatedly and how vainly England and Austria endeavoured to bring the King to an anti-Russian policy. The two powers no doubt were actuated only by self-interest, and not by great ideas, or by any sense of moral obligation. But this was according to the genius of the eighteenth century; and the motives of the Prussian policy were not of a higher order. Frederick William was chiefly bent on the acquisition of new territory, so that right scarcely entered into the question. Conquest seemed to him the best of rights. When Russia proposed to him an alliance against Poland, with the prospect of gaining what is now called West Prussia, he wrote on the draft with his own hand, "Paratissimus sum." On another occasion he

showed an equal readiness to seize Silesia, provided he received assistance, and was guaranteed in the possession of the province; but he did not love to run great risks. Nevertheless he had a sort of soldier-like honourableness, to which the byways of diplomacy were strange and distasteful. Hence he was often baffled by political intrigues; and if he afterwards became conscious of having been misled, he gave way to violent fits of anger, which often in their turn drove him into false positions.

As Prussia at that time played a smaller part amongst the powers of Europe, her relations with the Empire and the Emperor were the main subject of Prussian politics. The point was the claim of succession to the Duchy of Juliers. It was in the nature of things that the Emperor should be unfavourable to the growing power of Prussia, which was a danger for Austria, while it threatened the constitution of the empire. The Prussian kingdom had possessions scattered over Northern Germany, and an army of the disproportionate strength of 80,000 men to a population of only two and a half millions. It thus presented the aspect of a military State, bent on conquest, and became an object of suspicion and offence to most other North-German States, especially to Saxony and Hanover, whose interests were at that time connected with the policy of England. It is not surprising that all these States should have been more disposed to hinder than to promote the aggrandizement of a dangerous neighbour. But it was an evil day when the Emperor attempted to play a double game, and, while he formally recognised the King's claim to the inheritance, at the same time promised another house. The King, betrayed by the Emperor, was thrown into the arms of France, and concluded an agreement with that power in 1789, upon the subject of his inheritance. Thus the Silesian war of Frederick the Great may be said to have been already prepared. The King himself had designated the French Prince as his avenger. A little before his death he explained to him that the root idea of his policy had been "the honour and advancement of his house, and the prosperity of his provinces." There is no mention of right, but only of interests. Nothing is said of the German empire or the German nation, which was only regarded as material for the aggrandizement of the House of Hohenzollern. It is a falsification of history to see in this anything but a self-seeking dynastic policy, differing from that of the Emperor and the other German Princes only by its greater energy. By the aid of a considerable army, to which all the resources of the country were devoted, this policy naturally succeeded; and Prussia accordingly rose, while other German States sank in proportion. The German nation became no greater by the change; but it had to bear the burden of the wars which the Prussian policy of aggrandizement brought forth.

85. THE French Jesuit Carayon is honourably known as the compiler of a bibliography



of the Society; but it is not so generally known that he has printed some two dozen volumes of documents relative to its history. Many of them are at the British Museum; but a complete set probably does not exist except in the houses of the order. Father Carayon prints only a small number of copies; and the matter is commonly of a kind more interesting to the Jesuits themselves than to the public. His volumes do not invite general attention; and the canons of literary criticism would be misapplied in the case of works reserved for a select and special circulation. A volume which has just appeared is more important than the rest, and claims wider notice. It contains a life of Ricci, the General of the Jesuits at the time of their suppression, which was printed soon after his death, but has never been published, and 150 pages of correspondence concerning the election and the pontificate of Ganganelli. Most of the letters have already appeared. Some are taken from the archives of the Jesuits. The collection is highly valuable for the purpose of tracing the last decisive stage of that great intrigue.

When Clement XIII. died, in 1769, the Bourbons resolved to exclude every Cardinal of whom they had no assurance that he would suppress the Order. The stimulus came from Charles III. of Spain; but he carried with him Portugal and the Bourbon courts of France, Naples, and Parma. Austria was neutral. The Jesuits had friends in Sardinia, and among the German Princes. Prussia and Russia were on their side; and even George III. made efforts to save them. As early as the 14th of March, Choiseul recommends Caraccioli and Ganganelli, and says of the latter, in particular, that he, of all men, is not a friend of the Jesuits. The French ambassador at Rome, Aubeterre, was of opinion that there was not one of the Italian Cardinals who would not promise to suppress them, in order to be Pope. The French party in the Conclave was led by Bernis. Bernis desired the destruction of the Society; he also desired the Roman embassy, money to pay his debts, a pension, and a company for his nephew. But he would not hear of a simoniacal promise. A Cardinal who would make it, he said, would be sure to break it. He admits the necessity of gaining the object; but he hopes it may be gained by fair means—"par des moyens convenables." "Il n'y a que les moyens qui répugnent." He was studious of the appearance of respectability: "Je ne suis point dévot, je suis décent, et j'aime à remplir ma place d'évêque." When it became known that the Spanish Cardinals were not deterred by the scruples which made Bernis miserable, but meant to exact a written promise before they would accept a candidate, he declared that no respectable Cardinal would dishonour himself by consenting to such a compact. On the 3d of May he explained his position to the Spaniards. He would be no party to a corrupt bargain. It was their affair. If they persisted, he would not oppose, he would not even dissuade them. But he would not be their accomplice. The Spanish Cardinals consulted

him no more, and did the rest themselves. They bought off those whom they feared, and proceeded to tempt the two men who had been named by Choiseul. On the 10th of May it was known that Caraccioli had already given the required pledge, and that Ganganelli would do the same. On the 16th, Bernis was still denouncing Ganganelli, when he learned that the Spaniards had secured him. At first, his joy was mixed with a good deal of contempt. "Nous sommes bien aises de n'avoir rien su des moyens." "Fripon pour fripon, il vaut mieux remplir les intentions de nos cours que de disputer sur le degré d'insuffisance ou de ruse." He hastened to put into the hands of the new Pope a memoir showing that he owed his elevation to France. They soon became good friends. The urgent Spaniards were odious to Clement XIV., who feared to fulfil his engagement, lest it should appear to have been his stepping-stone to the Papacy. He was grateful to Bernis for his conduct in the matter, and confided to him the nature of his promise. According to Bernis, it was of such a tenor that it enabled the Spaniards to apply a pressure which the Pope could not resist, but yet it did not amount to a corrupt engagement. On the 28th of June he wrote, "L'écrit qu'ils ont fait signer au Pape n'est nullement obligatoire; le Pape lui-même m'en a dit la teneur." And on the 23d of November, "Le Saint-Père me répéta plusieurs fois qu'il n'avoit pas promis d'éteindre *hic et nunc* cette compagnie, mais seulement lorsque les circonstances le permettraient."

The evidence contained in these letters is very strong, and might have been decisive against Ganganelli, if Father Carayon, instead of writing for readers convinced before they read, had observed due precaution and criticism. Contemplating only a very restricted publicity, his confidence in the favour of his public has caused him to weaken his case. The selection of the letters, portions of letters, and parts of sentences, is unsatisfactory in the extreme. The Conclave was controlled by the Spaniards; and there are masses of Spanish correspondence in the works of Ferrer del Rio and Lafuente, and in the three volumes of the *Espíritu de Azara*. Father Carayon relies almost entirely on the papers of Bernis. He appears to have trusted inaccurate transcripts. Several of his letters have been printed by M. Crétineau-Joly, who writes in the same interest. Verbal differences in the two texts are very frequent. They will be found, among the rest, in the letters numbered 31, 35, 69, 82, 103, 125, 150, 172, 173. They are trifling, and certainly unintentional; but they do not inspire confidence in those cases where letters are translated from other languages into French. A graver fault is the omission of important papers. Father Carayon gives the instructions of the French Government for the Conclave of 1774. Those of the Conclave of 1769 were equally accessible, and more to the purpose; yet they are not in this volume. It is both interesting and germane to the purpose of the work to know the opinions of Clement XIV. in suppressing the society. He caused



them to be communicated to France by Bernis, in a despatch of March 16, 1774. In this paper he authorizes it to be stated that he would have preferred reformation to suppression, if reformation had been possible. "Si Clément xiv. n'a jamais eu de doute que la société des jésuites méritât d'être réformée, il a été longtemps bien éloigné de penser qu'il fût sage de la supprimer. . . . Si les jésuites, au lieu de montrer la plus grande audace, au lieu de se présenter toujours l'épée à la main, au lieu de fabriquer des libelles séditieux et des estampes insultantes, se fussent humiliés devant les rois d'Espagne et de Portugal, s'ils avaient respecté davantage le saint-siège et les décrets de la congrégation des rites, s'ils n'avaient pas continuellement manœuvré et intrigué, sa sainteté n'aurait jamais pris la résolution de supprimer cet ordre, quoiqu'elle en connût les dangers; elle l'aurait réformé. . . . Il a cru que des religieux proscrits des États les plus catholiques, violemment soupçonnés d'être entrés autrefois, et récemment, dans des trames criminelles, n'ayant en leur faveur que l'extérieur de la régularité, décriés dans leurs maximes, livrés pour se rendre plus puissants et plus redoutables, au commerce, à l'agiotage et à la politique, ne pouvaient produire que des fruits de dissensions et de discorde." This despatch omits the most important point of all. It does not say that the predecessors of Clement had armed the society with privileges which made reform impossible. But as a statement of one side of the case in this celebrated conflict, it deserves attention. It has been published more than forty years; but it is omitted by Father Carayon. In another despatch Bernis positively says that Ganganelli had not committed himself by any distinct pledge during the Conclave. "J'ai reconnu que le pape s'étoit encore moins engagé du côté d'Espagne que du nôtre, et que nous n'avions d'autres ressources avec lui, que les espérances générales qu'il m'avoit données dans le Conclave." These words, published by Father Theiner, have led the ablest and most impartial Protestant who has written on the subject to absolve Clement xiv.; but they also are omitted. It would appear that whatever relates to the vain project of reform is distasteful to the author. A despatch of Bernis, of January 17, 1772, breaks off with the words, "on peut croire que Clément xiv. se rabattrait sur une réforme." One is curious to know the particular reforms suggested; and it is easy to find them out, for the continuation of the despatch has already been published. Indeed, there is one letter, of August 26, 1778, in which a passage has been left out which Father Carayon himself has printed in another work. In all these cases the omissions are faithfully indicated by dots. In one very important passage this precaution has been unfortunately neglected. Father Carayon quotes a passage in which Cordara, the secretary of the General, Ricci, describes the character of Clement xiv. There is no sign of any omission; but in the middle of the passage the following words have been struck out:—"Nunquam fama laboravit adversa. Sunt qui

vere sanctum deprædicant, ejusque sanctitatem miraculis affirmatam volunt; sed haud studio partium dici arbitror, aliis attollere supra modum conantibus, quem alii plus nimis deprimunt. Ego nullum ei gradum sanctitatis supra communem modum attribuo. . . . qui ergo solutioris vitæ Ganganellum accusant, si ii mentiuntur insigniter, seque ex malevolentia innocentem calumniari fateantur, necesse est." Possibly Father Carayon has been led astray by M. Crétineau-Joly; but it is hard that the Jesuits should be duped by their own advocate. The manuscript of Cordara must be known to them, as it has been used, not only by M. Crétineau, but by M. Vignan. There are other passages which should be extracted, for the honour of the Pope, and for the still greater honour of the historian:—"Sic vitam, sic brevem pontificatum clausit Clemens xiv., si vere loqui fas est, infelix magis quam malus, et optimus etiam futurus, si meliora in tempora incidisset. Multis enim nec vulgaribus ingenii, doctrinæ, virtutisque ornamentis spectabatur. Miris primis viro sagacitas, quæ laus principis, quidam judicio prima, uti quæ minus doctis aulicorum et insidiis patet. Par illi in summi honore demissio, par modestia. Mitis, affabilis, frugi, sibi semper constans, nunquam in consiliis præceps, nunquam animi nimius. . . . Satiatus Ganganello visum condonare ultro aliquid, quam omnia in discrimen ultimum dare. Male demum si egit, haud male edem mente. . . . At vias omnes declinandæ expressionis exquisivit. At fecit invitæ voluntate sed necessitate fecit. . . . Suppressit tamen societatem, at ita demum suppressit, ut mitiore honestioreque modo possent. . . . Scio equidem futuros e Jesuitis qui me quasi degenerem, aut etiam Societatis desertorem impium coarguent, quod hanc Ganganelli defensionem susceperim."

36. For a right understanding of Schelling's philosophy, which flowed on in an almost uninterrupted development, a biography explaining the internal process of his mental life would be very valuable. The philosopher's son, who edited his father's complete works, had undertaken to write such a book, but was prevented by death, leaving a fragment of a manuscript, which described only the earlier stages of the philosophy. This instructive and well-written fragment has lately been edited by Professor Plitt, with the addition of a number of letters from Schelling's correspondence. The volume extends to the year 1803, and is to be followed by another. Besides Schelling's letters, it contains letters of Hegel, Steffens, Schlegel, Eschenmayer, Wundischmann, Marcus, Goethe, and Schiller.

Schelling was the son of a pastor in the small town of Leonberg, lying in a romantic valley of Württemberg, where, two hundred years before, Keppeler had passed his infancy. The father was a man of serious character and an oriental scholar; and the boy's extraordinary capacity was developed by an excellent training. At the age of fourteen he wrote both Greek and Latin verses with great ease.



He also knew several oriental languages, and made an attempt in historiographical inquiries. Soon afterwards he was sent to study theology at Tübingen, where he met Hegel, by some five years his senior, with whom he contracted a close friendship. At the age of seventeen he was an accomplished scholar.

His researches led him chiefly to the historical and critical side of theology; and his Dissertation, *Antiquissimi de prima malorum humanorum origine philosophematis Gen. III. explicandi tentamen criticum et philosophicum*, shows what hard questions pre-occupied his young head. This was followed by an essay, *Ueber Mythen, historische Sagen und Philosopheme der ältesten Zeit*, which is noteworthy as being quoted, forty years later, by Strauss in his *Leben Jesu*. Schelling, in his youthful essay, touched on the mythical elements of religion with much more historical perception and spirituality than Strauss, though also in a rationalistic direction. These mythico-theological researches which occupied his youth attracted him again in his old age: they form the chief contents of the *Philosophie der Mythologie und der Offenbarung*. In like manner, being originally intended for the clerical state, he became a Doctor of Theology quite late in life. The end answered to the beginning, with this distinction, that the old man retracted the rationalism of the youth, and devoted himself to investigating the positive foundations of religion and spiritual life. Hence his whole development is dramatic, and only in the last act arrives at its complete solution. His career ought to be considered in this light, which exhibits, as the fruit of his long life of thinking, the final acknowledgment of the value of positive facts, and the ultimate creation of a positive philosophy, as a contrast to the philosophy of his youth, which, in his after years, he regarded as a negative one.

The novel teaching of Fichte made a deep impression on the mind of young Schelling, and led him to acknowledge philosophy as the true vocation of his life. His first philosophical treatise, *Ueber die Möglichkeit einer Form der Philosophie*, is still considered very abstract. It contains the following remarkable passage: "I desire that none of my readers may be a stranger to the great consciousness which the prospect of a finally attainable unity of knowledge, faith, and will (the ultimate inheritance of mankind, which will soon be demanded more loudly than before) must call forth in every one worthy to have heard the voice of truth." These were bold words for a youth of nineteen. They betoken a lofty enthusiasm for the search after truth, a tendency towards regarding things in their totality, and an undiminished confidence in his own power of thinking. Moreover, they contain the fundamental note of all his philosophical works, which always aim at setting forth philosophy as a whole, but each time from a new and peculiar point of view, *ἐν καὶ πᾶσι*. His next work, *Vom Ich als Princip der Philosophie*, beginning with Fichte, soon passed beyond him. The Ich is here not simply Fichte's Ich of human consciousness,

but is made a universal form, whereby it becomes the simple act of positing itself, that is, absolute activity, or self-activity, with no motor outside itself—*actus purus*. The Ich thus conceived was in one respect identical with the absolute substance of Spinoza, and in another was its pure opposite. For the absolute substance of Spinoza, though absolutely *causa sui*, and containing nothing but itself, is conceived in *esse* as object or reality, while the Ich of Schelling is not *esse* but a pure activity, not object and real, but pure subject and ideal. Thus Spinoza and Fichte became for Schelling the two poles of philosophy—the one representing absolute subjectivity, the other absolute objectivity; and his whole thoughts were absorbed in this contrast. But, having perceived and understood the duality, he felt the want of a higher unity; and this impulse called his own system into being. He thought that the Ich ought no longer to remain an empty abstraction as in Fichte, and the absolute substance no longer an inactive essence as in Spinoza. He wanted somehow to give concrete reality to Fichte, and life and spirit to Spinoza, and thus, if possible, to amalgamate the two.

In 1796 he went as a private tutor to Leipzig, where he zealously studied mathematics and the natural sciences, and made them the objects of his thought. In the next year he published his *Ideen zur Philosophie der Natur*, and shortly afterwards, *Die Weltseele, eine Hypothese zur Erklärung des allgemeinen Organismus*. These books attracted much attention, and laid the foundations of his fame. In both of them he starts with empirical inductions, whence he afterwards draws ample deductions. Long before electro-magnetism had been discovered, he maintained a close relationship between magnetism, electricity, and chemism. Magnetism, he said, is line-force; electricity is surface-force; and chemism is body-force: thus developing the whole physical process of nature out of the three dimensions of space. His *Entwurf eines Systemes der Naturphilosophie* (1799) was in a more speculative form. In it the doctrine of nature definitely became a branch of philosophy. Schelling at that time had much influence on natural researches in Germany; and his philosophy of nature found many adherents. It afterwards fell in repute, when his earnest research degenerated, in the hands of superficial followers, into a frivolous paradox.

There was still a theorem to demonstrate:—How does nature, as the real, through the gradual process of its manifestations, become ideal, till it reaches its ultimate subjectivity in man? For with Schelling man is the microcosm in which the whole macrocosm is centralized and reproduced—a thought which Oken has since worked out in detail. For an empirical proof of this process of the gradual idealizing of nature, Schelling made special use of the phenomenon of light, as something unreal, and, in contrast with matter, almost ideal, so that it has always served as an emblem of spirit. Again, as in the philosophy of nature the real by degrees becomes ideal, so,



on the other hand, it was to be shown how the ideal in its turn gradually becomes real. This Schelling endeavoured to do in his *Systeme des transcendentalen Idealismus* (1800), the word transcendental being understood after the manner of Kant, to denote an inquiry which passes beyond the phenomenon into the noumenon. In this work, from the Ich as a purely ideal principle he deduces a new world, the highest elevation of which he makes the region of art, where the ideal becomes wholly real, and thought invests itself with bodily form. Natural philosophy and transcendental idealism are accordingly the main branches of this system. But the central point of all his speculation is the absolute, which, considered in itself, is neither ideal nor real, but is an indifference, raised above all opposites, which may variously manifest itself either as ideal or as real, and yet remains unaltered, and only identical with itself. Hence Schelling's philosophy has been called the philosophy of identity.

Of course, it was a pantheistic doctrine. It openly professed to be so, and in this respect advantageously contrasted with Hegel's system, in which the pantheism is veiled under dialectic formulas. Hegel borrowed from Schelling his most relevant thoughts, his original part being his dialectic method. Schelling's method was constructive; for the creative force of his mind lay chiefly in his intuition, which he called intellectual contemplation. This was rejected by Hegel, who was weak in intuition but powerful in reflection. The philosophy of Schelling was a product of enthusiasm, springing from the sense of oneness with the universe. Hence his marvellous facility and assurance in embracing the deepest and most comprehensive combinations, which his mind pours forth with an exhaustless abundance; hence also the bold swing of his style, the pregnant language, the lightning-like effect of his thoughts, and his dictatorial and oracular manner, which suffers no objections, but thunders down his adversaries with a single bolt. In order to understand all this rightly his times have to be taken into account. It was the period of the revolution. As in France all institutions had been overthrown, and new constitutions were springing up every year, so in Germany there was a great fermentation in the world of ideas; a great change had come over poetry and philosophy, and system was supplanting system. In the midst of this agitation Schelling stood forth the most gifted and comprehensive amongst the thinkers of the time, as Goethe did amongst the poets. The affinity of the two men comes out strikingly in the fact that they both had such teeming minds as scarcely to appear twice in the same aspect. Each in his old age became quite different from what he had been. The first part of *Faust* is as different from the last as Schelling's earlier philosophy from that of his later years. It was through the influence of Goethe that Schelling was appointed in 1798 to a Professorship at Jena. This University was then at the height of its renown. Here Schelling lived in con-

stant intercourse with the highest minds of the time; and his lectures were attended by hundreds from all quarters, and of all ages. It was the noontide of his fame. For the propagation of his theories he founded the *Journal für speculative Physik*, and in union with Hegel, who about that time had settled in Jena, the *Kritische Journal der Philosophie*. He also published his *Bruno oder über das natürliche und göttliche Princip in den Dingen*, and his *Vorlesungen über die Methode des akademischen Studiums*, one of the best known of his works. In style these lectures are amongst the very best that the scientific process of Germany can boast.

It was but natural that the philosophy of nature should lead its founder into the region of medicine. To study medical practice he went for a time to Bamberg, where there was a renowned clinical school. After being initiated into the system of the English Doctor Brown, he made an attempt at connecting its theory of organic excitements with his own philosophical system. The University of Landshut in Bavaria (afterwards transferred to Munich) rewarded him with the honorary title of Doctor in Medicine. Meanwhile events occurred at Jena which made his position unbearable. After the departure of Fichte the University had rapidly decayed; and Schelling wished also to go. Accordingly in 1803 he accepted the invitation of the University of Würzburg, where, with his friend Marcus, he proposed to devote himself to the reform of medicine. There the present volume of his correspondence ends, leaving the greater portion of his career still to be illustrated.

37. THE authentic documents relative to the great French political trials, from the overthrow of the old monarchy to the establishment of the present Empire, have hitherto remained scattered through the various official papers of the time. Extracts from them have been produced by various writers, but only for the purpose of establishing particular conclusions; and historical students who have desired to obtain an accurate knowledge of this page in the history of France have been obliged to go through the arduous labour of personally verifying all their materials. M. de Ketschendorf has endeavoured to remedy this inconvenience by his *Recueil complet des discussions législatives et des débats résultant des grands procès politiques jugés en France de 1792 à 1840*. The six great trials it contains, as it were, the history of France for half a century. The first part gives the debates with regard to Lewis XVI., Marie Antoinette, Marie Elizabeth, and Philippe d'Orléans, with an additional chapter relative to the general banishment of the Bourbons; the next refers to the impeachment of the Ministers of Charles X.; and the third, which concludes the work, is concerned with the trial of the present Emperor after the Strasburg and Boulogne attempts. The first part is the most important: it includes the discussions on the questions whether the King could be tried, and what were the forms to be observed in the



trial, as well as on the question of the appeal to the people, with the results of the divisions, and the reports on the documents cited in the case of Lewis xvi. M. de Ketschendorf has rightly refrained from all expression of his own opinions, and limited himself to a brief statement of the position of affairs immediately before or after each trial.

38. M. LAVOLLÉE's *Portalis, sa vie et ses œuvres*, contains a careful biography, and on the whole a just estimate of the most statesmanlike of the French jurists. In the eighteenth century a school of writers, among whom Montesquieu was foremost, rescued the study of the law from the proverbial pedantry of the older civilians, and refreshed it with literary culture and philosophical principles. Portalis showed himself from the first an apt disciple of this school. His first speech, delivered at the age of nineteen, broke through the traditions and scandalized the Court. A friend told him that it would be necessary to change his manner. "Sir," he replied, "the bar must change, not I." He rose rapidly to the top of his profession in Provence; and his speeches and opinions on political and ecclesiastical questions carried his reputation through the whole of France. Always a zealous and enlightened Catholic, he defended religion against scepticism and against intolerance. The province to which he belonged was united but loosely with the rest of France; and Portalis was a strenuous assertor of its privileges, and of its particular laws. He was at that time opposed to artificial uniformity in legislation whilst variety prevailed in custom, and wished the laws to be fitted to the ways and traditions of the several parts of the country. As he thus claimed the legislative power for the people, he looked on the monarchy as essentially limited in its authority, and held that the king was responsible to his subjects. On the question of constitutional liberty, though not on that of social equality, his creed was the creed of 1789; but, like Burke, he shrank from the violence with which it was put in action. It is a greater evil, he said, to destroy than to suffer. This temper of mind spoiled his efficiency during the Revolution, and kept him on the inoperative side. The coup d'état of Fructidor drove him into exile, where he wrote an elegant but slightly superficial book on the philosophy of the eighteenth century. On his return during the Consulate he rose immediately to the highest honours and the greatest influence. He was one of the chief authors of the Civil Code, and of the measures for the restoration of the Church in France. In preparing the *Code Napoléon*, Portalis, who had renounced his early aversion for uniformity of law, contended for the Roman code in preference to the national legislation. His opinions did not always prevail: but the preliminary Discourse was his work. It contains a maxim which has been often quoted: "Il est utile de conserver tout ce qu'il n'est pas nécessaire de détruire." He was less distinguished for depth and solidity of legal knowledge than for practical

experience, and especially for a sonorous and majestic eloquence, in which brevity and force were sometimes wanting. "Portalis," said Napoleon, "would be our finest and most eloquent orator, if he knew how to stop." He took a prominent part in the settlement of religion, and in all the measures which secured the influence of the national will over the national faith—of the State over the Church. The statement of principles in his speeches on these questions is so lucid that they still enjoy an almost classical authority. The last discussion in which he took part was that on capital punishment. The King of Holland wished to abolish it. Portalis convinced him that it ought to be retained, but mitigated by a frequent use of the prerogative of mercy. He did not understand the great maxim of criminal law, that punishment ought to be neither uncertain nor arbitrary.

M. Lavollée writes well; and his admiration for Portalis leads him into no excess of praise. He admits that his character was deficient in force and independence, and that he sometimes defended what he could not approve. On most points his remarks are sound. Here is what he says of Primogeniture:—"Sur tous les territoires habités par la race anglo-saxonne, la liberté de tester a conservé la grande propriété, développé la grande industrie; elle a permis de porter au plus haut degré de perfection l'agriculture et les arts mécaniques; elle a stimulé l'activité des déshérités, développé leur esprit d'entreprise, et favorisé une émigration qui couvre le quart de la terre habitable; elle a, enfin, maintenu dans sa puissance l'aristocratie territoriale Anglaise. . . . Sous l'ancien régime, en effet, les résultats de la liberté testamentaire étaient analogues en France: l'agriculture et l'industrie y avaient, il est vrai, peu progressé; mais, comme en Angleterre, l'aristocratie se perpétuait, et comme l'Angleterre, la France portait en elle une sève surabondante qui répandait dans le monde de vaillants colons et d'aventureux émigrants. Depuis que l'égalité des partages a prévalu dans notre pays, la situation a changé. L'aristocratie disparaît; la France, loin de coloniser, comble avec peine les vides de sa population; mais, d'un autre côté, la division des héritages a multiplié presque à l'infini la petite propriété, et, par là, elle a donné une base solide à la démocratie moderne, elle a créé des citoyens là où, il y a cent ans, existaient à peine des hommes, elle a fait entrer dans les mœurs, l'égalité civile, elle a cimenté l'union nationale et accru, dans une proportion énorme, la valeur du sol." It is disappointing to find a man who can write this affirming that the doctrine of passive obedience is inculcated by the New Testament and by the Church.

39. THE life of General Scharnhorst has hitherto been presented to the world in short sketches only. Herr Klippel has now undertaken a detailed biography of him; and the two published volumes of it trace his career from his birth at Bordenau in Hanover, in 1755, to his entrance into the Prussian service in 1801. Hardenberg was also born in Hano-



ver; and Stein was a native of the Duchy of Nassau: so that the three men to whom the salvation and reorganization of the Prussian Monarchy after 1806 is chiefly due were none of them Prussians, but all belonged to the provinces that have been lately annexed. Similarly, Blücher was not a Prussian, but a Mecklenburger, and Gneisenau a Saxon. Scharnhorst's father had been a soldier in the ranks, and married the daughter of a Bordenau farmer; and the boy, with his brothers, used to work in the fields, and had no other instruction than that of the village school. But he read eagerly the books lent him by the minister of the parish, especially when they related to military history. His earnest desire was to enter a military school; and at last the death of his maternal grandfather provided the means for the accomplishment of his wish.

At a little distance from Bordenau is a large lake, called the Steinhudermeer, the southern shores of which belonged to the county (now principality) of Lippe Schaumburg. Here at that time reigned the celebrated Count William, whose personal qualities entitle him to rank amongst the greatest of German princes. Possessing military genius, and full of enthusiasm for a soldier's life, he was nevertheless a wise and beneficent as well as an energetic ruler, and consulted the welfare of his little territory with an almost paternal solicitude. In the Seven Years' War he served for some time as a General under the command of the Duke of Brunswick, and afterwards proceeded to Portugal, where he re-organized the army, and, at the head of the allied English and Portuguese, successfully defended the country against the Spaniards. On the conclusion of peace he returned home, and devoted himself to the administration of his county, and to military studies. He wrote a work on Military Defence, which was printed but not published, and in which he endeavoured to show how wars might be averted by a proper system of defence in the different countries. To illustrate his ideas, he built on an artificial islet in the Steinhudermeer, a little fortress—the still-existing Wilhelmstein—where military science was taught, both theoretically and practically, and where he lived for a part of each year, superintending the military exercises of his young garrison. In this school Scharnhorst became a pupil; and all that he afterwards accomplished may be traced back to the teaching he received there. The idea of a general popular armament, the principle of the subsequent Prussian Landwehr, had been put forward by the Count, and practically introduced into his little dominion. The same spirit of German patriotism which later on inspired the pupil's military schemes had also lived in the master. And even the local situation of Wilhelmstein was not without its influence; for the neighbourhood of the Steinhudermeer is classic ground in German history, from its having been the scene of a defeat sustained by the legions of Germanicus. Scharnhorst was seventeen when he entered this school. By vigorous efforts he supplied the defects of his former knowledge, and soon

acquired the special favour of the Count, which he retained to the end. The Count died in 1777; and Scharnhorst then entered the Hanoverian service, where he soon distinguished himself as a scientific instructor and writer.

His first laurels were won during the campaign of 1798 in the Netherlands, at the battle of Handscoete; and to Walmoden, whose interest he there engaged, he afterwards owed many advantages—amongst others, the acquaintance of Stein. In the following year came the defence of Menin, under Hammerstein, who held out for several days against overwhelming forces, and at last cut his way through the enemy's camp. The plan of these operations was due to Scharnhorst, who took an active part in their execution, as well as in the further movements of the campaign which ended with the retreat of the Anglo-Hanoverian army. To learn and to teach were his essential characteristics; and the Dutch war afforded him a wealth of experience by which he profited in later years. His remarkable firmness of mind and power of abstract thought remained with him through the toils and dangers of actual service. While he was commanding his corps amidst the shower of missiles at Menin, he was also busy with scientific observations on the effect of the missiles themselves; and one of his scientific works was completed in the camp. Not the least instructive lesson of the war to such a man was derived from the variety of the nations whose armies took part in it. With the Hanoverians were English, Dutch, and Austrian troops; and opposed to them were the soldiers of the French Republic. Scharnhorst's observation convinced him of the necessity of a complete change in the old military tactics. The peace of Basil, which was the result of Prussian policy, established the historical precedent for the present "Main line" partition, by separating the north from the rest of Germany, and declaring it neutral. To protect this neutrality a corps of observation was formed under the command of the Duke of Brunswick, to which Hanover contributed some 15,000 men; and Scharnhorst became Quartermaster-General. His capacity and energy in this position commended him to the Duke, who endeavoured to win him for the Prussian service; and overtures were also made to him from Denmark. All these offers were put aside. But he had enemies at the Hanoverian Court, who were jealous of his success, and unwilling to see a man of low extraction preferred to high appointments. Scharnhorst was anxious for advancement, and made an application which was not granted. Justly indignant at this refusal he accepted the repeated invitation from Berlin, and at the beginning of 1801 entered the Prussian service. From this point begins that portion of his life which acquired him a general European fame. Herr Klippel's very instructive but rather prolix volumes explain the circumstances that formed his character and determined his wider career.

40. Of all the creations of the Congress of Vienna, the least stable was the one that had



awakened the most sanguine hopes of European diplomacy, and the special sympathy of British statesmen. After an agitated and discontented existence of fifteen years, the kingdom of the Netherlands was dissolved by the successful insurrection of the Belgians; and the Cabinets of the great Powers were soon compelled to sanction the revolution. But the period of union between Holland and Belgium after 1815, though it only represents an episode in the political history of Europe, is nevertheless of general interest. There is no clearer example of the inevitable reaction of historical and national differences against the arbitrary combination which characterized the statemanship of that time. The history of these fifteen years is the key to a right understanding of the Belgian revolution, and the political development of the independent kingdom. For when the Belgian provinces, which had formerly been so distinct from one another, joined together to resist the Dutch tendencies of the Government, and the Dutch members of the States-General, not only was their own cohesion and sense of unity strengthened, but the nation acquired the requisite training for parliamentary life, and both the great parties which had existed in the country since the close of the last century arrived at identical conclusions as to the necessity of a constitutional and liberal basis for the modern Belgian State.

Yet the historical literature of the Belgians has hitherto neglected this period of their political union with Holland, or at least underrated its significance. None of the existing works on it can be considered adequate. Nothomb, in his able *Essai historique et politique sur la Révolution Belge*, has only combined the Belgian grievances against the Netherlands Government into a skilful plea. Gerlache, in his voluminous *Histoire du Royaume des Pays-Bas depuis 1814 jusqu'en 1830*, gives many interesting particulars, but no regular or complete exposition; and his ecclesiastical absolutism, which becomes more conspicuous in every new edition, is adverse to a just appreciation of facts and motives, even as regards his own political activity, which at that time was the expression of a liberal Catholicism. Huybrecht, whom Gervinus has followed in this part of his history of the nineteenth century, has given a brilliant sketch in the *Revue Trimestrielle* (vol. xiii.) of the government of William I. in Belgium; but it is not sufficiently worked out, and is tinged with Orange sympathies. The account of the kingdom of the Netherlands which has been given by the Dutch historian Bosch Kemper, in his *Staatkundige Geschiedenis van Nederland*, surpasses all Belgian publications on the subject in the depth of its historical research, though the author has principally relied on Dutch materials, and has written with a special view to Holland.

To supply this want, the well-known Belgian publicist, M. Louis Hymans, has undertaken his *Histoire politique et parlementaire de la Belgique de 1814-1830*. The first volume, which has recently appeared, contains the

foundation of the kingdom of the Netherlands. The author, a member of the House of Representatives, and editor of the principal ministerial organ, has already shown his powers as a popular historian by well-known works on general Belgian history, and one on the government of Leopold I. Though a zealous partisan both in the Chambers and in the Press, he has always striven after impartiality in his historical works. The present volume justifies the expectations thus raised. Not only is the style clear and the plan evident, but the author has made valuable additions to our knowledge, by his researches amongst the political pamphlets in the library of the House of Representatives, and the Belgian periodicals for the years 1814 and 1815. His patriotic feelings, though often expressed, have not betrayed him into any unjust attacks on the Dutch or on William I.; nor has his liberal stand-point made him bitter against the Catholic leaders. These merits, however, are combined with serious defects. The author's knowledge is not equal to the requirements of his work. He is insufficiently acquainted with the history and conditions of other States, and with the foreign literature which bears on his subject. Outside the limits of purely Belgian affairs, he is sometimes extraordinarily inaccurate:—The establishment of the Confederation of the Rhine is transferred to the end of the year 1807 (p. 88); the 4th of April is given as the day of the entrance of the Allies into Paris (p. 50); a totally wrong account of the clause in the constitution of the German Bund relating to ecclesiastical affairs is copied from Raepsaet (p. 232); and the House of Nassau is made to lose a "throne" by the Dutch Revolution of 1795 (p. 31 and 82). Of the sources from which such a history should be drawn, the author has only made use of the Belgian and Dutch publications, adding to them a few popular French works. He has altogether overlooked Lord Castlereagh's correspondence and despatches, as well as Gagern's *Mein Antheil an der Politik*. This narrowness in the range of his studies has of course affected his conception on this subject. His ignorance of the constitutional law of the Republic of the United Netherlands makes him slur over the foundation of the monarchical government, on the return of the Prince of Orange in December 1813, though it has an important bearing on the method by which, and the terms on which, the union with Belgium was effected. Being a stranger to the correspondence of Lord Castlereagh, he does not know that the contents of the eight articles of the London Protocol of the 20th of June 1814 were determined almost exclusively by the views of William I. and his diplomatists, so that, as regards the Belgians, the King was not entitled to allege any obligations imposed on him by Europe. But even where the author possesses the knowledge on which to found a correct judgment he seems to lack the necessary critical power. Instead of giving an independent character of the King whose reign in Belgium forms the subject of his work, he merely puts side by side a



panegyric written on occasion by a Belgian publicist, and some unfavourable remarks by a Dutch statesman who was on intimate terms with the King. In spite of the merits which the book possesses it cannot be considered to promise a satisfactory account of what the author rightly described as "one of the most interesting, and yet one of the least known, periods of Belgian history."

41. IN Russia the men who took part in the military conspiracy of 1825 are known as the Decembrists, or men of December. One of them, Baron Rosen, an Esthonian, and formerly a lieutenant in the Finland Jäger Guard, has published an account of the affair, derived from his private memoranda—*Aus den Memoiren eines Russischen Dekabristen*. Though not one of the leaders of the movement, he assisted actively in its development, and took part in the conflict at St. Petersburg. On the failure of the conspiracy, he was sent to Siberia, where he underwent ten years of hard labour, followed by four years of compulsory residence, at the end of which time he was allowed, though the intercession of the present Emperor, to return to his country. Of the 121 condemned Decembrists, only fourteen were living when he prepared his memoir for the press: and of these only three had taken an active part in the struggle of the 14th (26th) of December. The memoir itself contributes little to the secret history of the plot, which the author thinks has already been sufficiently explained and illustrated. His object is rather to bear witness to the truth of a historical fact, and to furnish those who are interested in the fate of the Decembrists with an authentic account of their character and conduct. This task, undertaken chiefly in the interest of his own countrymen, he has performed exhaustively and well. A natural moderation of temperament, and the effects of a long experience, are apparent in the objectivity with which he judges the persons, and recites the strange occurrences, of his story. He does not attempt to influence the reader's mind in one direction or another; but, as is natural in a man who has lived on into the new epoch inaugurated by the present Emperor, he appears to perceive that the movement of 1825 had no root in the popular sympathies, and could only have resulted in practical failure, even if it had attained an apparent success. Its leaders understood neither the aim, the limits, nor the instrumental means of the political change that floated before their imagination. At the conferences of delegates no common plans of operation or of mutual assistance were agreed on; and no idea of any kind was put forward to animate the soldiers, whose mere blind obedience was reckoned on for the moment of action. It is observable, in contrast to the present time, that in the Russian associations of that period no difference appears between the national Russians and the non-Russians, while the Poles, on the other hand, stand aloof from every sort of alliance. The author states the relations of these parties clearly and concisely; and the chief interest

of his book is in this section, and in his account of the operations of the 14th (26th) of December, and of the trial of the prisoners. The record of his life, and that of his intimate companions in Siberia and the Caucasus, tend to confirm preceding accounts of the horrors endured at that time; but it adds nothing essentially new to what was already before the world.

42. THE sensible and unpretending little book which Mr. Booth has published on *Robert Owen, the Founder of Socialism in England*, is avowedly designed rather to stimulate than to satisfy curiosity; and the author's aim has been, not so much to write a memoir of Owen as to sketch the various social movements with which he was connected. The great English Socialist, after some thirty years of notoriety, sank into comparative obscurity in his later life, and seems in some danger of being forgotten by the present generation. Yet his name must always fill a large space in the social history of England. Nor was his influence so ephemeral as it would at first sight appear. The extravagance of his later views, and the collapse of his more ambitious prospects, ought not to obscure the fact that New Lanark was for many years, even financially, an undeniable success, and that he was early and honourably associated with measures of such permanent importance as the Factory Acts and Infant Education. Nor were his wilder speculations wholly without result. The ruins of his castles in the air have supplied the materials for many more humble but more durable edifices. He was a born organizer and ruler of men; and he entered the industrial world at the most critical period of its history. The introduction of machinery had revolutionized industry, by crushing individual craftsmen, and concentrating power in the hands of great capitalists. The first effects of this important change were ominous and discouraging. The workmen found themselves deprived of their independence, and had not yet learnt the strength which lies in combination. The masters abused the power of capital, and ignored its responsibilities. To this must be added the effects of a long and ruinous war, the shock given to credit by a sudden change from paper currency to cash payments, taxes imposed in defiance of all principles of political economy, and a poor-law which flooded the country with paupers. To Owen is due the credit of having been among the first, if not quite the first, to realize the enormous powers for good which are placed in the hands of the master manufacturer. Full of his theories as to the absolute plasticity of human nature, and animated by a disinterested enthusiasm for the welfare of his fellow-men, he set to work vigorously at New Lanark to form the circumstances which should mould the character of his community. Liquor-shops were proscribed; schools were founded, to which the workmen's children were sent from their earliest years; purchasers were emancipated from the tyranny of the retail dealer, by the institution of stores at which goods were sold



at wholesale prices. Before long, public kitchens, a library, reading-room, and ball-room were built; and finally, a strict supervision was exercised over the morals of the whole society. The effects of these reforms were as magical as the experiment was novel. Dazzled by the brilliancy of his success, Owen imagined that he had found the key to universal happiness and prosperity. His superficial culture and his insensibility to the spiritual side of human nature fostered the delusion. In an evil hour he plunged into the sea of metaphysical speculation, and published, in 1809, his *Essays on the Formation of Character*. Their philosophy is simple: Man is the creature of circumstances; mould these properly, and you insure happiness and virtue. "Withdraw the circumstances which tend to create crime in the human character, and crime will not be created. Replace them with such as are calculated to form habits of order, regularity, temperance, industry, and these qualities will be produced." Hitherto society has devoted its efforts to the repression of crime; henceforward they should be directed to its prevention. But the causes of crime are two—ignorance and poverty. Therefore Government should educate the poor, and provide them with work. His speculations brought him into collision with the current theology, which he found opposed both to his theory and his practice. His belief in the omnipotence of circumstances was incompatible with the doctrine of moral responsibility; and religious differences appeared to him likely to impart a fatal element of discord into his new community. Other despots, feeling the same difficulty, have attempted to utilize religion; Owen was more sincere, but less politic, and his crusade against it involved him in perpetual discussions with his partners, with the philanthropic world, and with society at large. Yet, in spite of the odium which he thus drew upon himself, his practical success could not fail to excite admiration; and fresh attention was drawn to his social theories by the Report on the causes of poverty, which, in 1817, he communicated, by request, to the Committee then sitting on the Poor-laws. The remedy which he proposed was shortly that every county or union should establish a farm, and, if possible, a manufactory in addition, for the employment of their poor. His views soon assumed gigantic proportions, and he proposed to reconstruct society on the same principles which he had applied to the alleviation of poverty. In his imagination the civilised world was mapped out into rectangular farms, inhabited by a happy, peaceful, and industrious society, content with their legitimate earnings, free from the bane of competition, and from the miseries caused by theological strife. After preaching the new doctrine in different countries of Europe, he crossed the Atlantic, in 1825, and founded in Indiana, on the basis of Socialism, a community which he christened New Harmony. But like other ingenious speculators who have attempted to reconstruct society on a mechanical basis, he failed to discover the secret of

perpetual harmonious and equable motion. The legislator was reluctantly forced, by the clamours of his citizens, to concede to them at once absolute communism,—a system which, from their imperfect training, they were unfitted to practise or comprehend; but as soon as his personal supervision was withdrawn, individual selfishness reasserted its sway, and the elaborate fabric fell to pieces. Its fate was speedily shared by other communities, which had parted from, and had been founded on the model of, the original society.

Owen's flagrant contempt for the plainest truths of political economy proved the ruin of all his projects. But the experience of their failure prepared the soil for more genuine and healthy crops; and the modern co-operative movements are indebted to him in no mean degree for such success as they have obtained. He lived to a great age, and did not die till 1858. He never ceased to believe in and preach his social theories; but towards the end of his life the instincts which his theological views had suppressed found an outlet in spiritualism, to which he became a convert.

43. THE value of Gervinus's great work on the history of the nineteenth century is attested by Dr. Honegger's *Grundriss einer allgemeinen Kulturgeschichte der neuesten Zeit*. If the later author ever rises to a general idea, or furnishes any broad outline or clear view of his subject, it is when he follows in the track of the earlier one. His severe though perhaps just sentence on the romantic school—on men like Gentz and the Schlegels in Germany, Scott in England, and Chateaubriand in France—has already been anticipated by his predecessor; and even the exceptions he admits, e.g., with regard to the Swabian school of poetry, Uhland, Schwab, etc., have equally been taken from Gervinus. Indeed, he sometimes copies whole passages from that author. This is the case at vol. i. page 280, and vol. ii. page 82, though the source from which the passages are derived is not mentioned. He differs, however, from his model, in the profession of a cosmopolitan justice which in reality is only a cloak for particular national prejudices. His Introduction and his first chapter seem to be written on the assumption that the history of the world revolves round France and Paris. The general titles of his volumes—"Period of the First Empire," and "Period of the Restoration"—are as though the root question of European development was whether France owned the sway of a Bonaparte or a Bourbon. The chapters on political affairs contain little more than extracts from Vaulabelle, the author's own remarks being mere declamatory commonplaces against the Restoration and the reaction, against Metternich, Villèle, and Castlereagh. His exaggerated estimate of French affairs is paralleled by his local Swiss patriotism. He raises Usteri to the rank of a great poet, and rejects Arndt for his unfavourable opinion of the Swiss. It is only natural, considering the vast amount of material he has had to digest, that a good many inaccuracies should occur. Thus, he compares Bentham with Rousseau in point of precocity,



forgetting that Rousseau's maturity came late, and that he published little before the age of forty. With regard to Gentz he gives a string of judgments, which show that he is not acquainted with Gentz's later correspondence. His style is incorrect, discursive, and confused. He uses many foreign and many illiterate expressions, as, for instance, in vol. ii. p. 262, "um den Fortschritt beluxen;" and he sometimes falls into great irregularities of syntax, as in vol. i. page 23, 24, 35, 36, 40. If his arduous researches are to entitle him to public gratitude, the future volumes of the work must be much more thoroughly worked out than the two which are now before the world.

44. "THE fact is, we have so many authors that they succeed one another like the figures in a magic lantern, glitter and pass, and are forgotten." So Miss Mitford wrote in 1811, of a greater letter-writer than herself; and if comparative neglect was the lot of Horace Walpole only fourteen years after his death, it is not surprising that the same interval should have been long enough for something very like positive oblivion to overtake the authoress of *Our Village*. The struggle for life is as fierce in the literary as in the animal world; and of those who succumb to it, many might seem, if they stood alone, deserving of a better fate. Miss Mitford, at any rate, has a right to whatever renewal of her popularity may be procured by the *Life* of her which has first been related in a *Selection from her Letters to her Friends*. The title of the collection is peculiarly apt. Few memoirs paint their subject so clearly as these letters do their writer, from the sharp school-girl of eleven, who patronizes her parents, and criticises Dryden and Pope's translations, to the maiden of twenty-four, the height of whose ambition was "to be, some time or other, the best English poetess." Then she appears for some years as a lively and sensible woman, whose letters, for the most part addressed to Sir William Elford, or Haydon, touch in succession upon all the topics, literary, social, and political, of the day. A little later, family embarrassments induce her to try her pen again, first in magazines, then in the drama, where, strange to say, she met with real, if brief success, until, still under the pressure of pecuniary difficulties, the publication of *Our Village* brought her into the front rank of English authoresses of the moment. After this the letters become scantier, as the writer's health gives way under literary labours too continuous for her strength either of body or mind; but to the last they are full of intelligent sympathy with the succeeding phases and rising schools of feeling and thought. Miss Mitford—this is the most favourable trait in her intellectual character—was not one of those who wait to recognise dawning merit until a majority has already been found to proclaim it. She was numbered amongst Wordsworth's admirers as soon as she had any literary tastes at all; while the Byron fever was raging she remained staunch to Campbell and Joanna Baillie; she foretold the success of *Ion* before it was written, and of Talfourd before he was called

to the bar, Bishop Cotton's eminence while he was a Westminster schoolboy, and Keats's immortality before his death. She waited till after Waterloo to take up the cudgels for Napoleon; and her admiration for Tennyson only cooled when his name became the watchword of a school. In 1836 a series of letters begins, addressed to a "sweet young woman," Miss Barrett, whose opinions rarely prove too advanced for the elderly authoress. Miss Mitford, in spite of the milder habits of her own pen, was a great admirer of Balzac's genius, and of Victor Hugo's early works. But the transition from Fox to Carlyle is almost too abrupt for one lifetime; and it is interesting, merely as a point of literary history, to find in 1852 the last utterance of a taste formed virtually on eighteenth-century models. Miss Strickland, the Howitts, Carlyle, Emerson, and the serious parts of Dickens, alike fail to satisfy Miss Mitford's expectation that "a book which pretends to be written in our language should be English." The general impression left by the correspondence is that of a sensible and intelligent woman, with an amiable weakness for greyhounds and prize-geraniums, a talent for letter-writing which she was not disposed to underrate, and enough literary power to make a creditable figure in literary society, but by no means enough to carry the fame of her writings into a third generation. As she says of her old friend Talfourd: "We all know how soon the world forgets. Is it not strange that since the poor Judge's death not one copy of his works has been sold?" But the popular authors of forgotten works—and neither *Our Village* nor *Ion* is yet quite forgotten—are just those whose lives or letters are sure to be full of characteristic traits and anecdotes of the last generation. In volume ii. p. 153, there is an instance of the stories which used to circulate about Lord Byron during his lifetime; and the fair Almira, otherwise Sarah, who "does not know what other girls might do, but she cannot think of marrying a young man whom she adores just as she has lost one who was dearer to her than her existence," is a curiosity worth preserving. There is an amusing account of a visit paid by Hannah More to Jeremy Bentham. The philosopher had a few moments' warning, and, retiring to a corner of his library, made the servant brick him up with folios, out of sight and hearing of his discomfited visitor.

45. ALEXANDER VON HUMBOLDT lived to the age of ninety, and wrote between three and four thousand letters a year. Of this correspondence a very small portion has been given to the world. Humboldt's letters to Varnhagen, though they showed the frivolous side of his character, are full of curious matter for the history of literature at Berlin: his *Letters to Bunsen*, which have just appeared, are written in a different tone. He and Bunsen were not intimate; and, in addressing a celebrated scholar and dilettante divine, the light gossip that suited Varnhagen would have been out of place. There is another phase of Humboldt in his letters to Berghaus, and yet another in



his letters to Cancrine. His intercourse with Bunsen brought to the surface the religious element. The letters are charged with expressions implying a belief in God; and Humboldt takes pains to make it clear that he is not an atheist. His anxiety on this point coincides in a remarkable way with his wish to stand well with English readers, and with his dread of a censorious orthodoxy. But he must have been secretly laughing at Bunsen when he wrote: "The quotation from the very Christian Kant, and the words, 'ce qui est au delà appartient à un autre genre de spéculations plus élevées,' vindicate me sufficiently" (p. 73). Humboldt and Bunsen are both remembered with gratitude for their readiness to encourage and to assist young literary men; and the present volume contains many proofs of this generous quality. The political judgments are more serious and thoughtful than was commonly the case with Humboldt; and there is much good nature in the personal remarks. In the long intrigue of the disciples of Hegel to exclude Schelling from the professorship which had belonged to their master, we find Humboldt actively opposing them. When it was urged that experimental science would suffer detriment from the speculative treatment of nature which was characteristic of the school of Schelling, he scouted the idea. At the same time he shows himself fully conscious of that inaptitude for metaphysics which was his reproach in Germany, as his indifference to religion was the cause of his long unpopularity in England.

46. M. ASSELINEAU has written the life of his friend Charles Baudelaire, whom he calls "le seul écrivain de ce temps, à propos duquel on ait pu prononcer sans ridicule le mot de génie." A eulogy so exceptional is perhaps scarcely deserved by a poet who has merely sung, however mournfully and passionately, of ennui and of its distractions. But it is only in this passage that M. Asselineau yields to the natural partiality of a friend, and to the ordinary weakness of a biographer. He has treated a very difficult subject with reticence and completeness, concealing no essential trait of temperament or character, revealing no petty gossip, and, on the whole, representing Baudelaire as he was at his best. His book is at once a curious study of character, an indispensable aid to criticism, and an apology for the author of *Les Fleurs du Mal*. An apology was not unneeded; for Baudelaire seems to have been a living embodiment of the perversity which his favourite Poe considered the neglected force in the ordinary estimates of human nature. His opinions—convictions he had none—were merely the contradiction of what others were thinking; and the paradoxes of his conversation offended listeners whom the tone of his writings did not conciliate. His life, like his opinions, was an evolution by antagonism. Respectability drove him into Bohemia: among Bohemians he was an exquisite. But behind the vagaries of an exaggerated self-consciousness his friends recognised, and M. Asselineau has depicted, an artist who

in his devotion to art was never influenced by love of gain, a kindly humourist who would present the children of the poorer streets with toys in order to enjoy their innocent amazement, a friend with "le don inappréciable de l'encouragement." The artistic side of Baudelaire's nature was indeed the most influential, and the most apparent to the world. His confession that his enthusiasm in 1848 was an artistic intoxication is like Clough's declaration of love for "the dear blouse, and red trimmings" of the Garde Mobile. His affectation of Satanic wickedness appears to have been little more than a reminiscence of Byron. He slandered himself, and was never so grieved and surprised as when he was taken for that which he was at such pains to appear to be. That it is possible to think thus of the author of *Les Fleurs du Mal* is due to M. Asselineau, whose work, less valuable perhaps as a criticism than M. Théophile Gautier's essay, has the interest of the story of a life, written with skill and with affectionate care.

47. RELIGIOUS biographies generally exhibit the development of one or other of two tendencies, either of which engrosses the religious mind, though never entirely suppressing its antagonistic element. One of these follows the logic of pure reason: the other the logic of the affections. Reason fixes its gaze on the infinite and absolute attributes of the Divine nature; the affections rather embrace God's condescension to His creatures. Pure reason inculcates two loves, God being sole centre and object of one of them, while of the other self is the centre, but not the sole object. It approaches God in a special way, and by an act appropriate to Him alone; and it embraces the neighbour by the distinct way of self-love, which multiplies self in other selves. Emotional love, on the other hand, recognises but one affection for God and for man. It loves God with a transcendent act; but this act, in embracing Him, embraces all He loves, in the order in which He loves them, and is at once given totally to Him, and proportionally to all these others. One school tends to separate and isolate God; the other tends to confuse Him with His creatures. One is the witness against a degraded polytheism; the other, the reaction against a grim rationalism.

These two tendencies seem to have been curiously balanced in Mother Margaret Mary Hallahan, whose biography therefore possesses more than usual interest, as a study of a very complete and very complex character. Beginning life as an Irish orphan in the wilderness of London, half-educated in poor-schools, and living in domestic service till she was forty years old, in the last twenty years of her life she exhibited on a more ample field the qualities which she had been nursing in obscurity, and became a public character amongst the English Catholics, a founder of convents, and the centre of a large circle of workers and friends. Although her birth and bringing up enhance the wonder of her success, it is not likely that any widely different circumstances would have formed her character so well. The strong and hearty child, thrown on her own



resources, without education, or with only the conventional routine of an elementary instruction, was forced, while conforming herself to her hard external condition, to deliver her soul from its thralldom, and to assert her internal freedom in proportion as she felt the outward yoke. The fifteen years which she passed in service at Bruges, under the direction of a rigid Belgian ecclesiastic, were to her a school of freedom. When her director first advised a particular course, and then, on its seeming failure, disowned his advice, she learned in Whom in the last resort she must exclusively trust, and obtained a freedom of soul which she had never known before. With her chaotic education and unsystematic method of thought, she both yearned for system, and criticised all systems from the point of view of one whose practice was exempt from routine. On the one hand, she said, "I have never been taught to practise virtue, and how can I teach it to others?" "My character has never been formed;" and she feared the bad example that her energetic and impulsive ways might give. She felt that her nature was "contrary to obedience," that she was unfit to command, unfit even to keep school; and therefore she was always on the watch for criticism upon her conduct. But, on the other hand, when criticism came, she generally found reason to set it aside, and often she resented it. If she had a theoretical admiration for routine she felt that her strong wayward nature did not fit her to be its administrator. She would attribute her weaknesses and failures to want of system, and exhibited an alternate attraction towards, and repulsion from it, which culminated in a compromise. Acting by instinct rather than reason, judging rather than analysing, she both disparaged reason and analysis, and surrounded herself, whenever she could, with reasoning and analytical minds. Under their direction she lived, with the demure profession that women ought always to be governed by men. But she laughed in her sleeve at the whole male sex, and openly said that men could not understand her. As long as her director's injunctions touched only outward things, she was docile enough. When they concerned her health, she gave them a modified obedience; when they affected her plans and aspirations, she was neutral about them; if they were contrary to her "inspirations" she would not entertain them; but when they touched her soul or its intercourse with God, it was her principle that no creature, not even the confessor, might interfere. Yet she never compromised her loyalty; her resistance was without hostility; and she asserted her own views without an open show of disobedience. Though it was her special mission to do pioneer's work, and to make humble beginnings in garrets and cellars, she disparaged her labours, and thought that what she did was only the first rough makeshift, and set her heart upon the future perfection. "We beginners are the rubbish at the foundation," she would say, "God will find good stones to build with." Her ideal was system, her real was impulse.

Though the attainment of what at a distance seemed an ideal disappointed her, yet there were two systems which bound her conscience under the sense of sin, and which, therefore, she never conceived the possibility of criticising. The Catholic faith and the rule of St. Dominic became to her a second conscience. Irksome and constraining as all laws are when unwillingly received, these strict rules only resulted, in her case, in a very graceful freedom. They may have increased the feminine prejudices, common to the women of her time, against gigantic undertakings like the Exhibition of 1881, and may have added zest to her vicious joy at the failure of a railway bridge or a tunnel, and pointed her moral that pride will have a fall, and that it is good "to show the gentlemen who make these things that God is master, and that they have need of Him." She was conscious of a certain ludicrous side to this phase of her character, and used to say apologetically, "Thank God I am a bigot." But outside these sentiments, Mother Margaret's acceptance of the Catholic and Dominican systems left her as free as a bird. No one could display more hatred of "fiddle-faddle," of set ways of doing things, of fixed arbitrary rules. A rule became to her a principle, which might be embodied in a variety of results. She required freedom; but she only knew freedom of will and of action; of freedom of intellect she had no knowledge, but all a woman's fears. It never struck her that any one could imagine that either of her systems unjustly curtailed liberty of thought. Her attachment to them was double. She had entire faith in their dogmas and rules, and enthusiasm for the persons who administered them. And she would have been more tolerant in matters of faith than of feeling. Her doctrine of prayer would have edified the most abstracted contemplative; her interpretation, that not the mere usages of devotion, but work, either of soul or body, was prayer, would have satisfied the most active philanthropist. She made her nuns prove their fitness for their state, not by their kneeling power, but by their patience when under the discipline of saucepan and scrubbing-brush. Thus she "put solid Christianity in, and took the nonsense out" of them. But she never tried to give them a supernatural demeanour. She let her novices run about like colts, and was not shocked at the proposal of a rat-hunt. She encouraged natural affections, and hated "shim-sham piety." "Deliver me from the devout," was one of her formulas. She did not allow asceticism to degenerate into starvation, nor recollection to shut up the senses to what was going on. Valetudinarians she accused of "faddiness;" but she was always an ailing woman. With her vast strength and energy, she was yet tortured with incurable complaints, which her companions only discovered by accident, and which she never allowed to be known publicly till they had brought her to her death-bed.

Part of her work was the prescribed round of observances and ceremonies. These she performed with the exactness of an artisan at his work, and with the relish of a schoolboy



at his play. But there often came over her times of trouble which wanted other remedies. Questions arose too deep for the confessor, darkness and depression which no creature could enlighten. Under the stress of such storms she had learned a lesson which she embodied in her motto, "God, alone." It was the interjection of her hours of desolation. With her the feeling of her own nothingness was always supplemented by that of God's infinity; the one suggested the other. On the other hand, she was more cast down by the thought of God's goodness than by any humiliation. Hence it came to pass that her moments of greatest energy and devotion were always moments of greatest agony. Temporal anxieties had their depressing influence; but it was the pressure of the infinite that most tortured her. At such times the highest expression of her religion was wrung out: "I see only the naked cross, without anything to support nature." The flowers of devotion withered in her hands, and gave place to a spiritual abstraction which rejected all that intervened between the soul and God—books, pictures, images, antitheses of ideas, picked sentences, everything but the barest expression of the soul's want, unadorned by human invention. At other times her joyous nature overflowed in the ceremonial of devotion, and she revelled in processions and functions, in rosaries and vestments and ornaments. She was even once caught dancing before her favourite image of the Madonna. She joked familiarly about things which she could only regard as secondarily sacred; and there was an occasional broadness in her jests which might have astonished fastidious people. Her motherly instincts were expansive, and far transcended the family. They embraced every one who came within her influence. She governed wisely, because her common sense told her to confine her absolutism within narrow limits, and to allow her crude opinions to be questioned and laughed at by her subjects. Her fierce words had gentle meanings. She hated wealth, but founded Mendicant Societies which could only be dependants and satellites of a wealthy society. Living on alms, she disliked all gifts except such as came spontaneously, and seemed to be products of a sudden inspiration. Promises and legacies she came to distrust, then to think unlucky, then to hate. She was as ignorant and careless of politics as of political economy, but believed in the Queen's divine right, and suspected that all popular government came from the devil. She prescribed care, first of the Church, then of the poor; but under the impulse of charity she would certainly have sold the altar vessels to feed the starving, and contented herself with temporary makeshifts. In her latest years she was a great scribe; and in many of her thousands of letters, beauty of thought and expression stands in curious contrast with illiterate spelling. But it is not her words that will account for her influence. Her presence and manner were the weapons of her strength. She had the faculty of impressing the most lonely misanthrope with the idea that

there was at least one person in the world who cared for him, and was ready to make any sacrifices for the good of his soul.

The book which contains these details is noteworthy, both for the curiosity and freshness of the psychological study, and for the wholesomeness of the example. It is tinged with manifold suggestions of the miraculous, and with a controversial depreciation of the new sisterhoods in comparison with Mother Margaret's old order. But the feminine prejudices of her biographers form a kindly setting to the picture of the grand old woman whom it has been their fortune to know and to describe.

48. If the French public were in the habit of reading other books than scandalous novels and virulent pamphlets, M. Cucheval-Clarigny's *Histoire de la Constitution de 1852* ought at this moment to have a large circulation in his own country. The nation has just obtained a certain measure of liberty, and is asking for more; and a short and clear exposition of the alterations which the Constitution has undergone since 1852 is singularly opportune. But the Paris bourgeois, who hides himself when there is a riot, prefers for his political reading the most violent newspapers, partly because they amuse him, and partly because his fears make him curious to know what the Reds are planning. M. Cucheval-Clarigny is too reasonable and moderate a writer to be successful in such a competition. The method and execution of his book are simple. He first exhibits the general character of the Constitution of 1852, and points out how all its dispositions favour despotism, by removing whatever could act as a counterpoise to its overwhelming power. He then shows how the Council of State, the Senate, the Corps Législatif, and the Press, have been reduced to subjection or nullity. All this he conveys by a few rapid touches, which, while they leave no time for weariness, prove him to be thoroughly acquainted with his subject. These chapters complete the view of the situation at the moment when Napoleon III., by his own spontaneous act, effected the first breach in his constitutional stronghold. This first breach was the decree of the 24th of November 1860, by which the Chambers were authorized to vote an address to the Emperor. M. Cucheval-Clarigny then passes in review the several acts which followed this initial step. Amongst them is the important *Senatus Consultum* of the 31st December 1861, which suppressed "extraordinary credits," that is, the right possessed by the Executive of spending, on the plea of urgency, money not voted by the Chamber, without the obligation of bringing in a bill of indemnity. The decree of the 19th of January 1867 suppressed the address, and substituted a very limited right of interpellation; it also restored the ministers to the Chambers, from which the Constitution of 1852 had excluded them. The next period extends to the 12th of July 1869, after which the author considers the effects produced by the message of that date. The last chapter is



devoted to "les questions pendantes." M. Cucheval-Clarigny belongs to the left centre; and his demands are certainly not excessive.

49. The opening of the Canal which at last unites the Mediterranean and the Red Sea has inspired M. Ritt to narrate the progress and accomplishment of the work. His *Histoire de l'Isthme de Suez* has been written for the public rather than for engineers and financiers. Himself a superior functionary of the Company, he seems never to have conceived the possibility of anything short of complete success; and his attention is given, not to the interests of the shareholders, but solely to the execution of the works. As he watches their progress day by day, and sees one obstacle after another give way before them, he grows enthusiastic; and when the waters meet at last in the Bitter Lakes, the triumph seems to him complete. This simple-minded optimism gives a charm to his book, and carries the reader through its pages as easily as through a novel. After some historical reference to the early attempts to unite the two seas, M. Ritt comes to the preliminaries of the present enterprise, in which connection he fails to give due prominence to the labours of M. Arles Dufour, M. Enfantin, and M. Talabot. He then passes to the organization and progress of the works; and, as far as picturesqueness goes, his account is admirable. The works were begun on the 25th of April 1859, and completed on the 17th of November 1869. M. Ritt makes his readers thoroughly appreciate the difficulties, material and moral, which had to be overcome. He makes them spectators of a great struggle. The engines work before their eyes; and they look on at the process by which a new arm of the sea is being formed. The political and financial difficulties of the enterprise have not been wholly forgotten; but they are treated superficially. The chief official documents ought to have found a place in an appendix. M. Ritt is a fervent worshipper of M. F. de Lesseps, who appears in his pages as a being exempt from error and from human weakness; and though he renders a sort of justice to the Viceroys of Egypt, Said and Ismael, he does not bring out the fact, that it is especially to these two men that the existence of the Canal is due. If they had not taken shares to the extent of 80 millions of francs, and presented the Company with some 120 millions more, the whole enterprise must have failed.

50. It is a boast of the present age that it has declared war against war itself. Its sense right, its habits, and its interests, are all on the subject; and such a coalition of moral and material forces cannot be wholly without result. M. Leroy-Beaulieu has furnished the advocates of peace with a handy weapon. In his *Recherches économiques, historiques et statistiques sur les guerres contemporaines*, he has set himself to prove that all the wars between 1853 and 1866 might have been avoided if those concerned had cared to avoid them.

His argument is by no means wanting in force; but it is obvious to remark that the mere fact of wars occurring on such slight occasion would show them to be grounded in those passions which are an inseparable element of human nature. The author is on surer ground in his second part, where he estimates what recent wars have cost in men and money. From careful researches, and to some extent from the evidence of official documents, he concludes that in about fifteen years war has cost the lives of 1,743,491 men, including, besides those killed in battle, those who have afterwards died either of their wounds or of sickness contracted in the field. To the same scourge he attributes an unproductive expenditure of 47 milliards, 830 millions of francs, i. e. more than £1,913,000,000. The exact figures are as follows:—

War.	Men killed.	Millards of francs expended.
Crimean, . . .	784,991	8,500
Italian, . . .	45,000	1,500
Danish, . . .	3,500	180
American (North),	281,000	23,500
American (South),	519,000	11,500
Austro-Prussian,	45,000	1,650
Various, . . .	65,000	1,000
Total,	1,743,491	47,830

Some of these figures are taken from authoritative sources, while the rest are the result of an intelligent calculation, and are little if at all exaggerated. The third part of M. Leroy-Beaulieu's work, which deals with the means of diminishing the evils of war, contains some ideas worthy of consideration. The fourth part is devoted to an exposition of the writer's "Politique de la Paix."

51. LIVONIA for a long time fared tolerably well under the Russian sway. Its privileges and local self-government were respected; and the Baltic nobility filled some of the highest offices at St. Petersburg. Without the assistance of these elements Russia would not have been able to make such progress in civilisation as she has made. Under the Czar Nicholas, however, commenced a series of violent efforts for the Russification of the Baltic provinces. The Livonians and Esthonians, who form the main population of the country, were used for this purpose; the peasants were enticed into the Greek Church by false representations, and then forbidden under penalties to leave it. These proceedings, indeed, were reprobated by the Government itself; but their effects still remain. Since the Polish revolution the power and influence of the national Russian party have been in the ascendant; and, after several violent measures and arbitrary Ukases, it was thought desirable to attempt a written vindication of the tyranny that had been practised, and to put forward a theoretical claim for the abolition of local privileges and the Russification of the country. The work was performed by Samarin with some dialectic skill and plausibility; and it has called forth the *Livländische Antwort* of Herr Schirren, the



best historical scholar of the country, and up to that time a successful Professor of History in the University of Dorpat. Mildness and discretion have hitherto been the rule of defensive political controversy in the Baltic provinces: but Herr Schirren puts aside this tradition and speaks out boldly. With the Russian Government, indeed, he deals gently, on the assumption that it has only blundered through false representations; and, as is just, he dwells on the unalterable fidelity of these provinces, and on the fact, that they only claim the restoration of that normal condition in which alone they can be of any real value to the Government and the Empire. But he does not spare Russians of the stamp of his antagonist, in contrast with whom his solid learning and culture give him a manifest superiority. His style is individual, nervous, and forcible, and bears the mark of an inexorable logic, and of a cold and quiet scorn. He passes in complete review the oppression inflicted on the Baltic provinces; and a thorough acquaintance with their existing relations is necessary to the right understanding of his argument. Some of his countrymen have regretted the publication of the work, fearing the political consequences; but, in reality, the present condition of things leaves nothing to be endangered by openness of speech. The book escaped the Russian censure at first, from the fact of its being merely an appeal to the Emperor's wisdom, honour, and sense of justice. But shortly afterwards it was prohibited; and the author was dismissed from his professorship, and compelled to leave Russia.

52. THE two lectures on *France*, delivered before the Philosophical Institution of Edinburgh, by M. Prévost-Paradol, contain some useful information on the political and social condition of that country. Upon some points he is a little superficial—notably so in his remarks on socialism. On the other hand his description of the mental attitude of French society towards revolutions is extremely happy. They have come so often, he says, that they no longer excite much fear, and they have done so little that no one views them with any hope. "You cannot live in France, even in the middle of the most conservative classes, without being reminded that you are in a revolutionary land, quite as in far regions the lightness of the constructions, and the general aspect of the soil, warn you that you are in a volcanic country." And Frenchmen have come to regard a revolution just as the inhabitants of volcanic countries regard an earthquake or an eruption—as something unpleasant and inevitable, which will create a good deal of disturbance, and end by leaving things much as they were before. Of course this only applies to political revolutions. The social revolution effected in 1789 "has proved unmovable and above transformation, except by the slow course of nature." The principal features of the social order left by it are sketched in the second lecture. Of this, the best part, perhaps, is the description of the

French peasantry. It brings out with great clearness how certain, and at the same time how uncertain, an element the peasant is in French political calculations. Hitherto he has known but one master. He has no lord to fear; and, though he has a priest, he does not for the most part reverence him. But his submission to the Executive is absolute and unquestioning. The State has inherited all the obedience and fear which, in the days of feudal despotism, he paid to the noble; and to this it has added the influence which springs from constant and ubiquitous supervision. It is the State that chooses the peasant's magistrate and schoolmaster, that first educates his child and then takes it to make a soldier of, that sends the tax-collector to him, and sometimes gives him back a part of the tax if he has suffered more than usual from hail or floods, that gives or refuses his church, his road, his bridge. It is not wonderful that, when universal suffrage gave the peasant a vote, it never entered his head to use it against this all-powerful Executive, "under the hand of which he spent his humble life, and which he respected and feared in the humblest of its officials." He does not care in whose hands the government is; for all governments have to him the same character—they exact money and military service. In so far therefore as they are always on the side of the Government, the peasantry are a conservative force in France. But it is a force which a Government can only reckon on so long as it is a Government. If a revolution be only rapid enough to transfer the supreme power to new hands before the peasant has had time to understand what is going on, his devotion will be transferred too. Whoever can command the mayor, the prefect, and the gendarmes, has hitherto commanded the peasant as a matter of course.

53. THE Blue-Book issued by the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the laws of naturalization and allegiance is interesting and important; but its contents are diffuse and undigested. Those who wish to learn the state of the law in foreign countries are referred to an appendix, where they have to extract their information from a number of voluminous despatches. Inasmuch as the object in view is to make legislation not merely rational but uniform, this is a serious defect of arrangement. Sir Alexander Cockburn's lucid and concise little treatise on *Nationality* will materially assist the general comprehension of the subject. He has summarized the existing state of the laws of different countries respecting nationality, has illustrated the complications arising from their conflict, and has criticised the amendments proposed by the Commission. The criterion by which nationality of birth is determined, the terms on which nationality may be acquired and abandoned, the duties and privileges which it involves, and the position of aliens—these are natural divisions into which the subject falls. On each of these points the existing English law is defective. The English test of nationality of birth differs from that of all continental nations. The



English law takes no measures to secure that naturalized aliens shall renounce their allegiance to foreign sovereigns, whilst the nationality which it affects to grant them is incomplete, inasmuch as they are excluded from certain important political privileges—a remnant of the old jealousy of William III.'s Dutch followers,—and acquire no right to protection beyond the limits of Her Majesty's dominions. It refuses to renounce claims of allegiance from those who desire to abandon their nationality. And finally, it prohibits aliens from holding British land, except for a term not exceeding twenty-one years. Some of these defects it is in the power of the Legislature to remedy, whilst others are dependent on the harmonious co-operation of foreign countries. Where Sir Alexander Cockburn dissents from the recommendations of the Commissioners, it is usually in preferring bolder changes. Thus the English (and American) test of nationality of birth is, mainly, place of birth: the Continental, parentage. The majority of the Commissioners would retain the English test. Sir Alexander Cockburn warmly supports Mr. Vernon Harcourt in recommending its abandonment. Many ingenious arguments may be advanced on behalf of the superior fitness of either criterion. But, after all, the most cogent is that derived from the advantage of uniformity. In legislating on this subject, two main principles require to be steadily kept in view: first, to avoid the possibility of a double nationality; and secondly, to provide a ready and authentic mode by which he who wishes may wholly divest himself of one nationality, with its duties and privileges, and clothe himself with another. The maxim "*Nemo potest exuere patriam*" is unsuited to an age of emigration and free commercial intercourse. And every State should know from whom it can claim an undivided allegiance; every individual, to whom it is due.

54. MR. BRACE has not the practised fluency of his fellow-countryman, Mr. Bayard Taylor; but his book on *The New West* is full of solid information. His aim has been "to sketch such features of California, and her process of development, as most travellers have thus far neglected." He has therefore given less prominence to mining enterprise, and more to the production of corn, wine, and silk. The soil, from its very natural wealth, is abused rather than used. A semicircle of 120 miles radiating from San Francisco, produced, in 1866, 14,000,000 bushels of wheat, on 690,000 acres. This, as an average yield, is seemingly poor, but, in truth, wonderfully large when it is added that the fields have neither rest nor manure, that the straw is burned and the cattle turned in; to say nothing of self-sown crops, allowed to grow for as much as three years in succession. Recklessness is the rule, good farming the exception; and much evil is likely to be incurred before the lesson so painfully learned in older countries is taught to the Californian farmer. A readier and more certain market will probably not be without its

influence; and this he will have, to some extent, when the incomplete Pacific Railway system is developed. Wine ought to rank next to wheat in the exports of the New Western States; but it does nothing of the kind. There is abundance of volcanic soil in the Sierras admirably adapted for the cultivation of the grape, and the production is over three million gallons; but the Washington Department of Agriculture, and even the Committee of the local State Agricultural Society, condemn the quality of the wines and the frauds of the makers. In the Sonoma Valley, the vines are reckoned at about two millions and a half, and the average produce is two or three times that of France or Germany. What is wanting appears to be the skill which experience alone can give, combined with honesty of treatment. At present, experiments are being tried on a variety of grapes, and in some cases, under competent persons trained by an apprenticeship in France; but until New York accepts Californian wines they can scarcely make their way into British America, or into Europe. In the former they ought to find an extensive market. Silk growing labours under fewer difficulties, and is likely in a few years to form an important portion of the wealth of the Far West. The conditions are all favourable. Disease has rendered the European supply insufficient and irregular; and manufacturers are looking in every direction for a certain reliable source of raw material. The results obtained by M. Prevost, a French gentleman of S. José, give every hope that this may be obtained from California. The mulberry grows freely; the climate is equable; and the worm goes through its changes nearly as rapidly as in India.

California needs a large immigration of agricultural settlers uninfected by the fever of speculation which still consumes the greater part of her people, incapacitates them for steady and progressive labour, and renders them incapable of organizing society on any durable basis. The whole population is about half a million, of which San Francisco claims a quarter. In the city itself rowdyism has, to a great extent, been checked; but in the outlying districts neither life nor property is safe. The Chinese are treated with gross inhumanity; and the law gives them no redress, as their testimony is legally inadmissible. In the words of Mr. Brace, "the State Assembly has put itself deliberately in the position that any white ruffian might plunder and murder any half-dozen decent and honest Chinese labourers; and unless his deeds were seen by other white men, no Court could convict him." The case is not a mere hypothesis, but one continually occurring in the gold districts.

Mr. Brace devotes two chapters of advice to emigrants; and his remarks are short and sensible. Of course he went to see the Big Trees (*sequoia gigantea*) in the Valley of the Yosemite; and it is satisfactory to learn that they are under the care of a Forest Master appointed by the State Commission, under an Act which makes it penal to affix a business notice in the valley or among the trees. A lit-



the more diligence should have been used in correcting the figures in the book, particularly in seeing that simple additions were properly made. In p. 240 the totals for 1866 and 1867, instead of 690,475 and 684,376, should be 690,745 and 846,377. The latter blunder stultifies the text.

55. PROFESSOR RIEHL'S *Wanderbuch* lets us into the secret of his very refined and artistic method of social observation. He is distinguished amongst political writers by his habit of avoiding theory and never alluding to public affairs. He turns away from Cabinets and Parliaments to study the ways and the wants of the people, the working of old customs, and the influences which are the deposit of centuries, in remote country places, and among the nameless masses of the poor. He examines, not the designs of States or the principles of government, but the material on which they have to act, the conditions which legislation must accept but cannot change, the dull inactive forces which ultimately determine the national fate. He detects whatever is significant in the humblest details; no contrast, no diversity escapes him. His descriptions are made up of many individual touches, which are never indifferent; and he rarely attributes characteristic value to things merely accidental. His studies in popular life are as instructive historically as politically; and it has long been reported that he was writing a history of civilisation. He is familiar with the vestiges of the society that has passed away. In those regions where change is slow, where the soil is tenacious, and the beliefs and superstitions, the prejudices and habits, of one age survive far into another, he has found materials of a kind which literature does not record, and which do not reveal themselves by action on the public scene. In his present volume he lays down the maxims which he follows in his expeditions, and shows, in a few slight sketches, how they should be applied. A passage on the position of wooden shoes in the process of civilisation, and another in which he shows why in Holland the country villages resemble Germany, and in Switzerland the towns, are good examples of the way in which he explains the present by the past, and illustrates the past by the present. He is a Federalist, and imagines a future confederation which shall unite the German race from Rotterdam to Lucerne.

56. It has always seemed an incongruity that the active teaching of Oxford should flow so largely through liberal and rational channels, when the passive judgment of its great constituency rejected Mr. Gladstone with horror, and regarded even Sir Roundell Palmer with eyes more than half averted. But the University may now be congratulated on having its passive intelligence aptly represented in the Chair of the Chichele Professor of Modern History. Mr. Burrows's seven lectures on *Constitutional Progress* are all characteristic, though only in the last of them does he rise to the full height of his vocation. He

rightly disclaims for them any mutual connection, except that they all more or less run on the idea which he calls Constitutional progress, an expression which for him has no philosophical meaning, and is only intended as an echo of the name assumed by the Tory party on the eve of the last general election. This intention was so strong as to make the last lecture a mere electioneering speech; and there is no need of observing the date of its delivery, November 7, 1868, in order to recognise its connection with what was then the great question of the day. Most of the other lectures are of the same ephemeral character. In November 1855, Church Establishments are discussed, and the man who wishes them dissolved reminds the lecturer of the fox who had lost his tail. In 1866, it is the temporal power of the Pope; in 1867, on occasion of Sir John Coleridge's University Bill, the lecturer maintains that the English Universities, in connection with the Bishops, are the great guardians of English liberties, and promoters of English progress; and in 1868, the lecture is a mere party manifesto.

The idea of this essay is much the same as that of most of the rest, namely, that English politics have always turned on religious questions, and that the nation, in spite of periodical dissemblings of its love, has ever been at one with the National Church. The Bishops and the Universities, Mr. Burrows says, were the real leaders in the Revolution of 1688; the Whig nobles were only their tools. The heart of the people, always beating in unison with the Church, spoke out in the Sacheverell trial, and in the Lord George Gordon riots, and, as the speaker hinted but did not say, was then about to speak in equally decisive tones on the question of the Irish Church Establishment. For that was to be the great solvent of the menacing but factitious Liberal conspiracy, cemented for the moment by the cry against it. It is almost a law of nature for Mr. Burrows that, in order to balance the party of Church and State, the opposite party should always call in the aid of Scotland and Ireland, of Nonconformists and Romanists. But no sooner are its forces marshalled than the different squadrons have begun to attack one another. The opposition to the relief of Romanists came in 1780 first from the Scottish Presbyterians, and soon gathered up those lower sections of the Whig party whose Protestantism was stronger than party ties. "United with the party of the Church, the movement becomes irresistible." The conclusion of this prophetic synthesis was stated in Guildhall by Mr. Disraeli two days after the delivery of the lecture.

Even if it were decent to make a Professor's Chair the pulpit of ephemeral politics, it would not follow that the lecturer would be justified in going out of his way to carry his party spirit into mere literary questions. Yet Mr. Burrows over and over again rejects the authority of Hallam, on the ground that he was a Whig partisan, while, at the same time, he hails an announcement of a coming history of Queen Anne by Lord Stanhope as certain to



remove the reproach that that reign has been too little "elucidated by the pen of philosophical history." Again, any Tory success, even when brought about by the intrigues of Harley, St. John, and Mrs. Masham, is for him the voice of the nation, simply because it is Tory success. But if the Whigs keep in office for two reigns, it is "distasteful to the nation no doubt." All these inconsistencies are quite innocent in the mouth of a Professor who cannot see the difficulties of his own position, and will only admit the faults of his party on condition that he is allowed to refer them to the conspiracies and wickedness of their opponents. A man who thinks that the Bishops and Universities are the natural leaders of the English people ought to have seen that the following statement requires more to account for it than merely "the policy of Walpole:" "The more decided Churchmen shrink away into the country, or vegetate in the Universities, at this time at their lowest ebb." Illustrious exiles generally upraise, not degrade, the places of their sojourn. But in spite of his innocence, there is a subtlety of contrivance about Mr. Burrows which deserves to be noted. Only a dullard could fail to read between the lines of his justification of the Gordon riots a reflected justification of Lord Derby's ministry in making concessions under somewhat analogous circumstances. "There is no doubt that, however shocking the effect of the demonstration, these riots did in fact represent in their wild way the same instinctive dread of Romanism, and distrust in the statesmanship which was once more bringing it back into political power, as was witnessed in the reign of Charles II.;" it was "the dread of seeing Romanism set up in a position of political equality with the Establishments of England and Scotland" which actuated the incendiaries.

Mr. Burrows is a faithful disciple of Mr. Disraeli; but he gives the master's historical theories in a schoolboy's rendering, revised and corrected by a clerical hand. There is the same wonderful estimate of Bolingbroke's political sagacity; but it is tempered with an appropriate rebuke of his scepticism. There are the same marvellous propositions about an Establishment being necessary to render the State religious which are so familiar in Mr. Disraeli's speeches. Mr. Burrows has evidently learnt much, and that the more amusing part, of his history out of Mr. Disraeli's novels, which, however, he only refers to as having the merit of first rescuing Bolingbroke from his undeserved oblivion. There is an old saying, that without an admixture of chaff the horse is apt to bolt his oats: no doubt, in the order of Providence, Mr. Burrows's lectures are intended to provide a wholesome check upon the intellectual voracity of the students of his University.

57. UNDER the rather unfortunate name of *Typical Selections*, a volume of select extracts from the works of classical English authors has been issued for the Clarendon Press Series. There is little doubt that a good reading-book

for the use of the higher classes in schools has long been urgently needed; and the present volume is on a generally sound plan, has been carefully edited, and seems in all respects but one to be of singular merit. The introductory notices are said in the Preface to be the work of many different hands, and are mostly very good indeed,—short, well written, and to the point, giving the cardinal facts of the lives of the respective authors, and indicating the chief merits and defects of their styles. The passages chosen, if not always the best, are with very few exceptions sufficiently good to do justice to the writer's reputation, and to serve with proper limitation as models of style. The book therefore represents a real and very great advance in the class of educational manuals, and may be read with pleasure as a Golden Treasury, so to speak, of prose literature, by others than students at schools and colleges.

Where, however, so much has been done well, it is unfortunate that a single fault in the design should run through the whole book, and keep it below the standard it might have reached. If the name *Typical Selections* means anything, it implies that the passages chosen represent the thoughts of great authors, and not merely their style and tricks of expression. No doubt, in a book which is to be used largely by young people, the impure allusions and jests that occur in the writings of Swift, Arbuthnot, or Sterne, and the passages in which Hume and Gibbon assailed the Christian belief, ought not to be reproduced. But to go into the other extreme, and choose passages which are only typical of what the authors were not, is at least equally undesirable; and precisely this has been done. In the case of Sterne, *Tristram Shandy* and the *Sentimental Journey* have been tabooed, to the evident indignation of the author of the excellent notice on him; and the extracts made are from the *Sermons*, Sterne's most worthless and least "typical" production. Similarly with Fielding, the *Voyage to Lisbon* and the *Essay on Conversation* are the only parts quoted. A caution against Bolingbroke's views is inserted in the prefatory notice; but he appears in the extracts a devout Christian, who declares that "far from fearing my Creator, that all-perfect Being whom I adore, I should fear to be no longer his creature." Shaftesbury, not always accounted orthodox, is typically represented by a fervid effusion on "God in the Universe." Why Mandeville should have been omitted is inexplicable. It is true, Mandeville's great work was publicly burned by the hangman, and has many awkward passages; but his *Essay on Charity Schools* contains a very quotable passage on bringing up the children of the poor in the fear of God, in order, as he afterwards explains, that they may not rob their employers. Of course, on this system, Richardson, the most moral in purpose of our early novelists, finds no place in the list, because even Sir Charles Grandison contains pages that would not now be thought edifying. Yet it may surely be questioned whether the clever boy



who is captivated by Sterne's style will confine himself to reading the Sermons, when he takes down Sterne's works. It is impossible to recommend an author, and put his best writings into the Index Expurgatorius. The editorial prudery has been even stronger in matters touching religion; and there is not a passage in illustration of the strong irony with which Swift scathed the freethinkers of his time. The refutations of Tindal and Collins are sound in purpose and excellent in workmanship; but they touch on irreverence, and are proscribed. On the other hand, several passages that display the most rancorous political passion have been admitted into the manual. Bolingbroke's attack on Harley, extracts from the letters of Junius insulting the Duke of Grafton, and a passage in which Cobbett inquires whether hell has a torment surpassing the wickedness of the man who invented paper money, are very properly given among the typical selections. By all means let them remain. That Bolingbroke was malignant, Junius and Cobbett brutal, are facts to be borne at mind by all who read them. But the student ought also to understand from typical illustrations that Bolingbroke's pious fervour was the cloak of Deism, and that Swift's jests were the weapons of a confident faith.

Of minor mistakes and blemishes there are very few that deserve special notice. The article on De Foe is so far inaccurate that it represents him as abandoning politics at the accession of the House of Hanover, a statement which Mr. Lee's book has abundantly disproved. "Wharton," at p. 197, should be Warton. The year of Atterbury's death is not a matter of conjecture. Gibbon's commissionership of the Board of Trade ought perhaps to have been noticed, as his service in the militia has been. Cavendish's Life of Wolsey, and Roper's of Sir Thomas More, are better examples of style than Sidney, and ought to have been quoted for the sixteenth century. Barrow's famous description of wit is a higher specimen of his powers than any given; and De Quincey's description of the Vision of Sudden Death from "The English Mail Coach," might perhaps be added to the extracts given from his works. One of the two passages taken to illustrate Macaulay is from an essay which he hesitated to republish, and in a style which he deliberately censured as "overloaded with gaudy and ungraceful ornament." It is excellent, and ought to be retained; but it is not sufficiently typical to represent the author as he was in nine-tenths of his writings. The two works by which Cobbett now lives, his *English Grammar* and the *History of the Reformation*, are not mentioned or quoted. But these are trifling matters. Such as it is, the book is a very good one; and if it be only remodelled, so as to make it really typical, it ought to have as good a chance of perpetuity as any school-book can deserve. The necessary changes do not affect more than forty out of four hundred pages. Two slight additions are, however, desirable. The works from which the extracts are taken ought to be indicated; and a little

bibliographical list of the best editions of every author might, with advantage, be appended to the biographical notices.

58. *The History of the Fisherman Khaliph and the Khaliph Harun al Rashid* is a really valuable contribution to the stock of genuine Eastern Tales. Most persons who take an interest in the subject are aware that there are different recensions of the collection known under the name of *The Thousand and One Nights*. The same tale has been preserved by oral tradition, and handed down with very great variations both in style and details. The tales are very variously distributed over the thousand and one nights; and some of the recensions contain tales which are not found in the others. The one now published at Jerusalem by M. Clermont-Ganneau, is extracted from the Turkish version of *The Thousand and One Nights*, as a pleasant text-book for students of the Turkish language. The manner in which it is written renders it eminently suitable for the purpose of initiating strangers into the niceties, not indeed of the classical writers, but of the ordinary colloquial style. The book, however, is likely to have a wider circulation than its editor seems to anticipate. The tale, now made accessible to European readers, is worth reading for its own sake, though, like most stories of the kind, it would suffer from analysis or abridgement.

59. THE last volume of M. Sainte-Beuve's *Nouveaux Lundis* differs from its predecessors in nothing save that it is the last. The inexhaustible stream of scrupulous and sympathetic criticism has ceased to flow; but the hand of death was necessary to arrest it. The author's powers were scarcely impaired, and the limits of his materials far from reached. The present volume contains reprints of articles on Count Beugnot, best known to history as the real author of the Count d'Artois's phrase, "Il n'y a rien de changé en France, il n'y a qu'un Français de plus;" on Marshal Saxe as a diplomatist, on some points of Orthography, on some French editions of Virgil, on Lamennais's Correspondence, and on two or three more or less forgotten worthies, including P. Hyacinthe's uncle, the Charles Loyson of whom it was written, "Même quand l'oison vole, on voit qu'il a des pattes." M. Sainte-Beuve has the courage to quote Balzac's remarks on his weakness for abortive reputations; but there is some truth in the irritable novelist's charges. A bat-like ghouliness indeed is not the prominent characteristic of Sainte-Beuve's muse; she does not roam about in the dark like a jackal; but it is impossible to deny that she sometimes "enters into cemeteries, and returns with estimable corpses, which have never done anything to the author to deserve being thus disturbed." Count Gisors who was killed at the battle of Crefeld in 1758, and Count Clermont who lost the same battle, and corresponded with his friends in as arrant slang as any produced by the nineteenth century, scarcely deserve the space devoted to them. On the other hand, General Franceschi-



Delonne, a brilliant cavalry officer, who died in a Spanish prison, before having consolidated his reputation, is a man whom it is agreeable to see at full length in M. Sainte-Beuve's extracts. Even the unfortunate Loyson owes the indulgence with which he is treated to an amiable generosity rather than an abstract preference for the task of literary resurrectionist. The eminent critic has never forgotten the days when he was himself a poet and novelist, something less than eminent.

In orthography M. Sainte-Beuve gives rather too little weight to the etymological argument, and too much to the notion of consistency. The third Dictionary of the Academy, published in 1740, marks an epoch in French spelling by the abolition of the *s* in *teste, masle*, etc., and whatever other changes it suited the Abbé d'Olivet to consecrate; but the same body, which exercised an irresponsible dictatorship over the usage of the (narrow) literary class, refused, until 1835, to adopt Voltaire's substitution of the *a* for the *o* where the former is pronounced. *Capitaliser, émotionner, baser, formuler, absolutisme*, are words which the Academy, two years ago, could scarcely bring itself to sanction. That some restriction upon the multiplication of meaningless syllables is needed, the example of a zealous official proves: like other people, he derived a verb *régler* from the noun *règle*; from *régler* comes *règlement*, and from *règlement* *réglementer*, at which the process of derivation might have stopped; but *réglementer* supplied *réglementation*, and *réglementation* swelled into *réglementationner* before the linguistic genius of M. Ducos rested from its labours.

The notice of Lamennais is less appreciative than is usual with the critic. Undue stress is laid upon the reluctance with which he originally entered the priesthood; and it is not quite clear whether he is condemned for yielding too easily to the influence of his nearest friends, or for accepting the post of guide to others while still amenable to such influence. The judgments passed on him seem the more severe because, with their author, criticism was apt to take the form of measured and judicious praise of undeniable merits which, however, would not have been discovered but for him: praise is the rule, and even urbane dissent the exception. It is difficult to say whether, as a whole, M. Sainte-Beuve's work gained or lost by this eulogistic tendency. It probably lost in breadth, the breadth of fixed principles, tried by which it is not easy for every one to be right at once; but it probably gained in variety, and perhaps in some respects in accuracy, for in so far as it is a part of the critic's function to interpret, he will not interpret the worse for assuming, chameleon-like, the colour of the work on which he rests while speaking.

60. THE Preface to Mr. Calverley's translation of Theocritus is devoted to an apology for blank verse, and for not Latinizing Greek proper names; he also says that he has never deviated from the text of Briggs, where it was possible to extract a sense from it. The text of Briggs hardly stands on the same level as the Textus

Receptus; and the suggestion that it is as easy to write satisfactory blank verse as rhyme, does not take into account that the effects of rhyme are obvious, and produced by definite means, while the effects of blank verse are subtle, and produced by complex means. It would have been as well if Mr. Calverley had explained upon what ground he has altered the sex of the beloved in two or three of the idylls, which, after all, are quite capable of an innocent interpretation, while he has gone straight through the twenty-seventh idyll, which cannot be reconciled with either ancient or modern standards of morality. Whenever any patchwork of this kind is attempted, there are sure to be traces of the join. For instance, in the twelfth idyll, the reference to Ganymede loses all its fitness; yet it was impossible to discover a substitute.

The translation is always scholarly and readable, though once or twice Mr. Calverley might have been more literal with advantage. In the fifteenth idyll, Praxinoë quotes a proverb about the man who said, "All in, ladies," and shut out his daughter-in-law; this loses a good deal of its point when translated—

"We're all in now,"

As quoth the goodman, and shut out his wife."

Again, in the song in the same idyll, the *Hours* are called soft-footed, in reference to their silent passage: Mr. Calverley calls them "dainty-footed," which is pretty, but just perceptibly false. A more serious fault is that he has not caught the tone of Theocritus's fresh feeling for nature and common life. His version of the second idyll is full of a spurious romanticism through the first part we have the following burden—

"Turn, magic wheel, and draw my hero home;"

which girlish sentimentality is supposed to be an equivalent for "You, wry-neck, draw that man to my house." There are further faults of keeping, like—

"Theucharile, the sainted Thracian nurse  
(My next-door neighbour),"

and

"On they came,  
With beards that rivalled the laburnum's gold,  
And breasts more sheeny than thyself, O moon,  
Fresh from the stern delights of tournament."

In the eleventh idyll we have the following strange piece of frigidity—

"Go, plait rush baskets, lop the olive-boughs  
To feed thy lambkins, *that were rational*."

It is curious that Mr. Calverley, with his overstrained refinement, should be most successful in the scolding-matches which form the staple of so many idylls. Perhaps there the tone is unmistakeable, or at least a matter of perception, not of feeling; perhaps also it is something that the construction of the original almost forced the translator to abandon his colourless blank verse. The following extract is the beginning of the *Bridal of Helen*—



"Whilome, in Lacedæmon,  
Tripped many a maiden fair,  
To gold-tressed Menelaus' halls,  
With hyacinths in her hair;  
Twelve to the Painted Chamber,  
The queenliest in the land,  
The clustered loveliness of Greece  
Came dancing hand in hand.  
For Helen, Tyndarus' daughter,  
Had just been wooed and won,  
Helen, the darling of the world,  
By Atreus' younger son:  
For this with woven footsteps  
They beat the floor, and sang  
Their bridal hymn of triumph  
Till all the palace rang."

These lines have merit of a kind which does not need analysis. They are perhaps the prettiest single passage in the volume, though the translator, and, it must be added, the author, maintain a more equable excellence elsewhere.

61. M. PAUL LACROIX, in his book on *Les Arts au Moyen Age et à l'Époque de la Renaissance*, again traverses part of the ground occupied by his great work in five quarto volumes, published twenty years ago in conjunction with M. Ferdinand Seré. That important illustrated publication had a more extensive field than the present single though bulky volume, limited, as it mainly is, to the material developments of the arts and handicrafts down to the age when printing, maritime discovery, and the Reformation initiated a period of new motives and methods. M. Seré died some years ago; and M. Lacroix has taken as his fellow-labourer one of the most expert chromo-lithographers now living. The illustrations are 400 engravings on wood, and nineteen coloured pictures, many of them of such excellence as to warrant the highest estimate of M. Kellerhoven, even apart from any consideration of his previous publications, *Chefs d'Œuvres des Grand Maîtres, Légende de S. Ursule*, and others. The literary part of the undertaking is nearly as able, and similar in character. As the coloured pictures are facsimile reproductions, so the historical and descriptive text, from the first subject brought before the reader, "Ameublement civil et religieux," to the last in the book, "Imprimerie," has been in great part skilfully reproduced from specific writers, Alfred Michiels, Mérimée, Riocreux, De Saulcy, and a host of others. In an encyclopædia the twenty subjects treated would have been distributed to different hands; and the result might have shown varied fields of learning and new researches in history. Here some of the subjects, which are less within M. Lacroix's tastes and line of study, are made up of comparatively hackneyed materials; while others, such as "Instruments de Musique," "Manuscrite," and "Miniatures des MSS.," are very fresh and interesting. The chapter on "Parchemin et Papier" is very meagre in the notice of the last-mentioned material; and the few dates that are known in the early manufacture of

paper, 1818, 1890 for example, are not mentioned.

In the chapter on Engraving on Wood and Copper a current mistake is repeated and carried a stage further. M. Lacroix gives a description nearly a page in length of a small print by Wincellaus of Olmütz, in which a monstrous creature, having a cloven hoof and a griffin's claw instead of feet, and a human female body with an ass's head, stands on the bank of a stream, inscribed "Tavere." Above the head is "Roma Caput Mundi," and elsewhere appears "Januarii 1496." This print is described as an etching, and is said to set aside all the artists usually brought forward as claimants for the honour of inventing at a later time this artistic species of engraving. Authority for this statement is not given; but it is Passavant who first describes the print in question in his *Peintre-Graveur*, ii. 186, and who affirms it to be an "eau forte." The print exists in the British Museum, and is not etched, but cut by the burin. And this is not the only mis-statement in the matter. The date 1496, if it were the date of the execution of the print, would have a curious importance in another way; for Wincellaus of Olmütz copied no less than seven of Albert Durer's finest inventions, and this early date would go towards proving Durer to be the copyist, as indeed some writers have suggested. In Lomazzo, *Trattato della Pittura* (4to, Milan, 1585), the monster is described as having been found in the Tiber at the date on the print: and the engraving is manifestly a blow aimed at Rome after the fermentation of the Reformation had begun. Passavant does not advance the date as of any importance. Having taken the pains to ascertain the facts, we correct this mistake in order that it may not be repeated, and without implying that M. Lacroix has been guilty of any serious laxity in his investigation. On the contrary, his handsome volume shows practised ability, and wide acquaintance with books and antiquities.

62. THE places in which ceramic art has been cultivated are especially numerous in France; and French literature is accordingly rich in works of local bearing on the subject. The most important of them which has recently appeared is a posthumous *Histoire de la faïence de Rouen*, by M. André Pottier, curator of the Library and Ceramic Museum of that city. It is adorned with chromo-lithograph illustrations of remarkable fidelity by M. Silbermann of Strasburg. The Rouen manufacture may be traced by means of specimens to the middle of the fourteenth century; the earliest example, however, which M. Pottier gives is an enamelled tile found at Ecouen, and marked "A. Rouen, 1542." The book, however, is mainly devoted to the faïence proper, which dates from the early years of the seventeenth century, and continues without interruption to the end of the eighteenth. The author shows by the text of letters-patent issued in 1673, that Louis Poterat had at that time, twenty-two years before the discoveries made at St. Cloud,



established a manufactory of porcelain in a suburb of Rouen. An excellent specimen of this early manufacture exists in the museum at Sévres. The history of Poterat's family and descendants has a place in M. Pottier's investigations, side by side with the different phases and conditions of the manufacture down to the French Revolution. From the *Documents sur les fabriques de faïence de Rouen recueillis par Hailliet de Couronne*, published in 1865, by M. Leopold Delisle, it appears that Poterat's father had a manufactory at St. Sever at Rouen, as early as 1650.

63. THE Belgian musician, M. Fétis, has just issued a second volume of his *Histoire générale de la Musique*. Like the preceding one, it is characterized by felicitous theories and clear descriptions of instruments, which throw a new light on the condition of music among different nations. It continues the author's researches on the Semitic peoples, adding some new information relative to the Aryans and Turanians; and the Preface answers some criticisms which were made on the first volume. M. Fétis disavows the opinion attributed to him, that the Arab chant proceeds by thirds of tones, and explains his real theory, namely, that the chromatic change, which with us proceeds by semitones, proceeds in Arab music by thirds of tones, so that their gamut would show intervals of three comas, if it were arranged according to our rules, which, however, are unknown to the Semitic peoples. In opposition to M. Fétis's remarks on the Arab scale, and to show the emptiness of his theory, the European scale, which was called the natural scale, was produced. M. Fétis, after remarking that the same argument was used a century ago against the Abbé Toderini, affirms that the Arab gamut, or progression by thirds of tones, and the Turanian gamut, or progression by a mixture of thirds of tones and quarter tones, are quite as natural as the European scale for the people who employ them; and he adds that the difference depends chiefly on the diversity of race. The result of this would be that a person of one race would be incapable of understanding the popular music of another race, merely because of this diversity of blood, and not because he is habituated to his own scale. But M. Fétis often takes the effects of education for those of race or nature. Again, he cannot admit the existence of any rhythmical music (and for him all music is rhythmical) which is not built upon one of the binary or ternary measures; and he regards the quinary measure ( $\frac{5}{4}$ ) of the Finns and the septenary measure ( $\frac{7}{4}$ ) of the Serbs as composite modes, which ought to be decomposed into  $\frac{3}{4} + \frac{2}{4}$  and  $\frac{2}{4} + \frac{3}{4}$ . This view seems to be an effect of the refinement of his European musical education, which prevents his abstracting himself from the measures derived from the binary and ternary systems with which his mind is entirely engrossed. He remarks the striking universality of the *la* as the initial or tonic note of a great number of musical systems; and he regards this as a point common to all human

organizations, of whatever race. He continues his researches into Arab music, assisted by the works of de Hammer, Kosegarten, Villeau, Kiesewetter, Lane, and Daniel; while his researches on the music of Hindostan and India beyond the Ganges are based almost exclusively on the works of Jones, Patterson, Willand, and Parsons. In the part of his works relating to the music of the Aryans, he resolves the question regarding the origin of the viola d'amore and the barytone. He finds the same sympathetic accord which is the vital principle of both these instruments apparent in the double disposition of the chords of two Indian sarongis used at Delhi, Benares, and Moursed. From India he supposes this principle of harmony to have passed, perhaps by means of the gipsies, into Persia, Turkey, Hungary, and so into Germany.

64. M. Caro chooses for his sphere of thought the fringes of the moral world, where the dark soul supplants the light soul, where the ordinary moral sanity, acknowledged as such by ethical philosophies founded on Aristotle, gives place to exceptional manifestations, and where reason and demonstration are lost in mysticism and the vague of the infinite and indefinite. He began with an essay on Saint Martin and the mysticism of the eighteenth century, gained a prize at the Academy for an essay on the idea of God in contemporary criticism, and has since published works on Goethe and the pantheism of the nineteenth century, and on the relations between materialism and science. His *Nouvelles études morales sur le temps présent* continue in the same realm of thought. He discusses suicide in its relations to civilisation, the moral aspect of health and the power of the will over the morbid tendencies of the body, the direction of souls in the seventeenth century, and the ethics of literary men of the present day. Two men, whose moral biographies he constructs out of their correspondence, engage his attention because they strictly belong to the ethical realms which he treats as the sphere of his studies. Lamennais is discussed not as a philosopher or a divine, but as a mystic, who from his eighth year believed he saw the infinite, and felt God, and who said of others, "They behold what I behold, but see not what I see." Heine, too, comes into his arena, not as a poet, nor as a satirist, except so far as his poetry and his satire expressed his moral qualities, but as one of those numerous Germans who about the year 1820 "by the grace of Hegel, came to know they were God." Hence the essay on him has the appropriate title of "The Calamities of a God in the Nineteenth Century." There is a fresh consciousness of rude healthiness visible in M. Caro's morbid anatomy, which makes a pleasant contrast; and he succeeds in giving admirable clearness to matters which in themselves are dark and deep. But much of this clearness is due to the shortness of his sounding-line, and the consequent inadequacy of his criticism, which rather skims the surface than reaches to the bottom. For instance, his



investigation of those characteristics of Heine which may be traced to the special influence of his race is entirely inadequate. But he writes with brilliancy and good sense.

65. THE special province of M. Henri Martin is the archaeology of cosmical science. His essay on the *Timæus* of Plato, his history of physical sciences in ancient times, his inquiry into the opinion of the ancients on thunder, electricity, and magnetism, and even his book on Galileo, are all of this class. But he has also pushed his investigation into another sphere—that of Christian philosophy, and the principles involved in Christian dogmas. He has written on the future life according to Christian teaching. He went a step nearer to modern physical science in his essay on the spiritualist conception of natural philosophy; and now, in *Les sciences et la philosophie*, he boldly attacks modern positive sciences, and criticises not only the metaphysical consequences which their adepts seem to deduce from them, but even their own physical conclusions, which are obviously within their limits. Here his special capacity and preparation seem to fail him. As a historian of the different systems of cosmology and psychology which the human mind has evolved, as an expounder of their analogies and their dissidences, he has gained a foremost place. It is impossible to read the distinct descriptions of ancient psychological systems in the essay on "the soul and the life of the body," or the criticism and brief description of various mystical systems in the essay on "superstitions dangerous to science," without admiration for both his knowledge and his expository power. But when he leaves literature and touches the positive sciences he stumbles. The design of the present volume is one which enhances his danger. It is, he says, a work of conciliation; its design is to reconcile Christian philosophy and Catholic dogmatism with the secure results of modern science and modern philosophy. For this purpose he first proposes certain canons, such as "never to give as certain anything but what is either self-evident or proved," "never to reject as false anything that is not certainly contrary to a self-evident or proved truth," and so on, with several practical axioms, whose good sense is self-evident when the subject-matter to which they relate is all within the operation of the same kind of proof. But, in the present case, he has to reconcile dogmas which rest on authority with generalizations which rest on positive induction; and, in consequence of the diversity of proof, the canons of conciliation prove inapplicable to the total mass. For instance, he says authority teaches that Adam was the first man, but palæontology decides that the human remains found in association with those of the mammoth and cave-bear are anterior to any date that can possibly be assigned to an historical Adam. And he conciliates this difference by a denial that those primitive bimanues were men at all, on the ground that their remains furnish no proof at all of distinctive human intelligence, will, or

soul. Such an argument, destructive as it is of the whole analogy of sciences, belongs to the pleading of the advocate, not to the impartial summing up of the judge. Again, as he considers it necessary to refute "Darwinism" in order to cut away the ground of materialism, he adopts with alacrity the arguments of Agassiz, although they are based on the violent geological assumption that we know the first traces of life on the earth—an opinion which is entirely a matter of controversy among geologists. In fact, then, his canons, admirable for regulating a controversy upon homogeneous subject-matters, are found to be not altogether applicable to the heterogeneous field on which he marshals them. In a work of conciliation it is necessary to be an acknowledged spokesman for both sides. The mediator rejected by even one side would be no mediator at all. But while M. Martin would hardly be acknowledged by the natural philosophers, neither would his interpretations be accepted by divines. When he settles that the Index, registering the Pope's condemnation of Galileo, is a fallible congregation, and that a proposition emanating from a Council is more authoritative than one emanating from a Pope, he uses tests of authority which are too wide for one school of Catholics and too narrow for another, and are altogether rejected as arbitrary by Protestants. In order to succeed in the work of conciliation, it is requisite first to determine with great accuracy what the things are that have to be reconciled.

66. PROFESSOR BENFZ's *Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft und orientalischen Philologie in Deutschland*, which forms the eighth volume of the History of Sciences in Germany during the more recent period, now being published by the Historical Commission of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences, covers a much wider field than might at first sight be expected from its programme. The first part of the book, comprising nearly 300 pages, gives a complete history of the Science of Language down to the beginning of the present century. After a short section on the earliest traces of philological speculation comes an admirable account of the Indian schools of philology. The merits and deficiencies of Pāṇini's grammatical system are pointed out in detail. Another section is devoted to the philology of the Greeks and Romans; and justice is done to the theories of the Sophists, Plato, Aristotle, Epicurus, the Stoics, the Alexandrians, Quintilian, and the Grammarians. Another section treats of the influence of Christianity, of the labours of mediæval writers, and of the Buddhists. A full account is then given of the Arabian and Jewish schools of philology. A sixth section, occupying more than 100 pages, gives an accurate summary of the progress of philology during the period comprised between the revival of letters and the beginning of the nineteenth century. Every writer in that period who produced an important philological work, whose efforts were directed towards philological culture, is mentioned in his proper place. The ideas of men like Scaliger, Bacon,



Relandus, the Port-Royalists, Leibnitz, Wilkins, Adelung, Court de Gebelin, de Brosse, Monbodo, Harris, Horne Tooke, and Bernhardi, which tended each in its way towards a general theory of language or languages, are described as fully as possible. Professor Benfey quotes from these writers a number of passages which are remarkable as containing in themselves the germs of important truths which were only acknowledged later on, as when Horne Tooke says: "Is not the Latin verb *Ido* an assertion? Yes indeed is it, and in three letters. But those three letters contain three words: two verbs and a pronoun." "All those common terminations in any language; of which all Nouns or Verbs in that language equally partake (under the notion of declension or conjugation) are themselves separate words with distinct meanings. . . . These terminations are all explicable, and ought all to be explained; or there will be no end of such fantastical writers as this Mr. Harris, who takes fiction for philosophy." In these remarkable words a problem is proposed which in the days of Horne Tooke was premature, and in fact was simply insoluble until the study of Sanskrit opened a new world to philological inquiry. The solution of Horne Tooke's problem is the very subject which is so successfully treated in Bopp's Comparative Grammar, and in the essays of more recent scholars. The second part of Professor Benfey's work describes the revolution produced in science through the study of Sanskrit; and his most interesting chapters are devoted to an account of the labours of Friedrich Schlegel, Bopp, Jacob Grimm, and Wilhelm von Humboldt. The more recent developments of the science are then described. In the last part of his work Professor Benfey divides the languages of the earth into their different families and groups, and briefly catalogues the writers who have contributed to the knowledge of each language. This portion of the book unfortunately suffers in consequence of the limits imposed upon it; within those limits it has all the completeness which might be expected in the work of a scholar who is not surpassed by any in the foremost ranks of the science of language.

67. THE first part of the *Icelandic-English Dictionary* which Mr. Vigfusson has arranged, chiefly from the collections of the late Mr. Cleasby, and partly from his own stores, is an instalment of what promises to be a complete glossary of the old and classical language of Scandinavia. The wide field of Icelandic literature between the years 900 to 1262 has been carefully travelled over; but the work has been chiefly founded on the prose writings of the twelfth and two following centuries. The classified list of works and authors cited shows the extent and variety of these sources; but Mr. Vigfusson is right in saying that the old literature, however rich, does not give the whole language, but requires to be supplemented and illustrated by the living tongue. The old literature of Iceland, notwithstanding the rapid decay of the commonwealth after 1262, did not

end before A.D. 1400; and supposing even the next 100 or 150 years to have been a blank as far as prose was concerned, no essential changes could have occurred in the language of an isolated community, living exclusively of its own past. The changes of other Teutonic languages were owing to circumstances altogether different from those of Iceland. In Germany, during the middle age, the language emerged from a lower stage, and rose to a more robust and definite form; while in Scandinavia all national traditions were lost sight of, foreign influences prevailed, and the language dwindled down from manifestly higher to weaker forms. Norway, however, which had taken an active part in the literary movement of the North and was also the most secluded of the three Scandinavian kingdoms, preserved its language longer than the rest, down to the thirteenth century. The modern Icelandic literature has fixed the form of the language and winnowed away the superfluous chaff from its vowel system, without essentially altering the original form. This operation began at an earlier period of the language, and accompanied its successive stages of growth. The oldest Icelandic grammarians, as Thorodd Gamlae in the beginning of the twelfth century, perceived the necessity of fixing the floating vowel system by some additional signs. These, however, grew obsolete; and Icelandic orthography is not even yet definitely settled. The modern literature, beginning about the time of the Reformation, is, with the exception of its religious branch, wholly modelled on the past. This tendency seems a growing one, and the most modern poets are often the most archaic. Hence the modern literature has little or nothing in common with that of other Teutonic languages; but it possesses its own local interest, and illustrates both the history of the language and the genius of the small community to which it owes its character.

In the outlines of Icelandic grammar prefixed to the present work, Mr. Vigfusson treats of the simple vowel change or umlaut, which he distinguishes into two chief categories, the *i*- and the *u*-umlaut. The vowel change is a characteristic feature of all Indo-Germanic languages, and not, as Mr. Vigfusson seems to think, an invention of Grimm's. Its most definite forms are certainly the Guna and Vrddhi, and the rest of the Sandhi of the Sanskrit, wherein *a* and *ā*, with the semi-vowels *i*, *r*, *l*, *u*, become *ē*, *ar*, *al*, *ō*, and *ai*, *ar*, *al*, *ie*. In Icelandic, *a*, *ā*, *au*, *o*, *ū*, *u*, *ei*, *jo*, *jā*, are changed by the *i*-umlaut into *e*, *æ*, *ey*, *y*, *ai*, *ij*; and by the *u*-umlaut *a* becomes *ō*. But even these categories are still vague and indefinite, and do not settle the orthography. Mr. Vigfusson traces seven lost vowels, or rather semi-vowels, showing how the process of amalgamation and transfusion is essential to the progress of a language, and how it may even apply to the categories above mentioned, as being, in the physiology of language, no symptom of decay or collapse, but rather one of strength and vitality. It is worth observing that not only Sanskrit, but even several



Slavonic languages, as Lithuanian and Russian, illustrate the vowel system of the Icelandic far better than many Teutonic languages.

The etymological authorities used are chiefly represented by Grimm, Dr. Bosworth's *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, the *Ormulum* for early English, and Schmeller's *Glossary to Heland* for old Saxon. However valuable Grimm's etymological remarks may be, it is possible to use them immoderately. They are always suggestive; but they often verge on the points of conflict between South-German and Scandinavian or Icelandic philology, and consequently are out of place in an Icelandic-English dictionary. Mr. Vigfusson frequently indulges in this sort of relaxation, a striking instance of which occurs in the article on the conjunction *enda* (Engl. *and*). This is a test word to distinguish the Scandinavian from the Saxon-German; but in Icelandic it bears a very wide construction, and notwithstanding a multitude of references from texts of every kind, we are still left without means of determining its true grammatical import, whether conjunctive, disjunctive, or emphatic. Notwithstanding the copious illustration of many words, others are slurred over; and the letters of the alphabet give occasion for rather prolix observations on their pronunciation, spelling, changes, and interchanges. The prepositions are admirably treated, and give legitimate occasion for interesting comparative remarks; in the case of nouns, adjectives, and adverbs, such remarks should have occurred more sparingly. The Icelandic words are illustrated by parallels from the Teutonic, Slavonic, neo-Latin, and classical languages—in a few instances also from the Sanskrit. Parallelism is useful, though it does not constitute the principle of modern comparative philology. But in the present case the parallels are mostly superfluous, besides often being loose and inexact. On the other hand, sufficient use has not been made of the sources for the dialects of Great Britain. Notwithstanding these drawbacks, however, the work is one of great importance, and deserves very high praise.

68. Mr. MURPHY's book on *Habit and Intelligence* is written with a vivid sense of the connection of sciences, and of the method of treating them according to their genetic process, which shows what things are by showing how they came to be, and tracing them from their origin through their internal development to their perfect form. But the former of these convictions should not lead to the confusion of physical and metaphysical speculations; nor does any amount of protestation that the language is popular justify a writer in allowing the latter conviction to express itself in such terms as these: "Sensation, and, I doubt not, consciousness also, are due to the mutual action of a nerve-fibre and a ganglion." It is a convenient profession that non-scientific language should be used in a book addressed to the general public; but that profession is too often only a conventional apology for non-scientific thought. It is not

difficult to find examples of this in Mr. Murphy's volumes. He refuses to define mind. "It would be plausible to define mind as conscious life; but there are mental actions which are not conscious." And then he goes on to say that mind is developed out of sensation, but that sensation alone does not constitute mind, which requires also consciousness; yet he has just said that mental acts are possible in the absence of one of the necessary constituent elements of mind. He has sufficient accuracy for the rough work of the generalizations of material science; but the objects of metaphysical thought are too subtle for his analysis.

He considers habit and intelligence to be the two great characteristics of life. Habit, he says, is an unconscious tendency to repeat all actions once performed, and is transmitted to offspring. Intelligence is also for the most part unconscious; for it comprises the organizing power, co-extensive with life, which adapts the eye for seeing, as well as that higher intelligence which first becomes active and conscious in the brain of man. What special school of philosophy he belongs to it is difficult to discover, as he does not enter into the question of personality; and it would be dangerous to affirm that he held either to any form of pantheism or to the doctrine of the secretion of life from the material organization. For although it is his system to trace the genesis of the objects he investigates, he does not go behind phenomena, or attempt to explain the residuum which does not yield to his analysis.

But he has the merit of recognising the existence of this insoluble residuum; and on this ground he criticises Mr. Darwin, with the main features of whose theory he agrees, while he differs from him inasmuch as he believes that the facts of organic adaptation required the guiding hand of intelligence for their development, and could not have been produced by unintelligent natural selection. In the same way, though agreeing in the main with the theory represented by Mr. Mill, Mr. Bain, and Mr. Herbert Spencer, he refuses to believe that all mental developments can be accounted for by the single principle of the association of ideas, but maintains that there is in them all an element not derived from habit, and not resolvable into any unintelligent force whatsoever. He is an ontologist, reasoning in the language and terms of a contrary school. There is much that is original and good in the volumes; but the author lacks the extensive cultivation which is necessary to a man who would organize all the sciences into one philosophy.

69. THE absolute co-ordination of a large number of the lines in the solar spectrum with those in the spectra of the simple bodies cannot be made until the wave-lengths of the several rays have been accurately determined. Several physicists have lately occupied themselves with such determinations. Professor Angström, in a memoir on Fraunhofer's lines, presented to the Academy of Stockholm in



1861, announced his intention of undertaking to revise the determinations made by Fraunhofer by means of the fringes or diffraction spectra produced by gratings, and to determine also those of the other remarkable lines of the solar spectrum. His object was to obtain data for the construction of what he calls a normal spectrum founded on the lengths of the waves, and not on the indices of refraction. In 1863 he published determinations of the length of the principal lines of Fraunhofer. Mr. Gibbs of Boston used these, and other determinations, to the number of 111, to construct a table, by means of which the wave-lengths of all the lines of Fraunhofer, which are given on the plates of Professor Kirchhoff's spectrum-maps, might be determined. This was the first attempt to construct a normal spectrum; but the determinations which Mr. Gibbs had at his disposal were not numerous or exact enough. Even those of Professor Angström were incorrect, the assumed size of the grating, which he had not determined himself, being incorrect. He has now, however, published a remarkable work, in which he gives the wave-length of about 1000 rays of the solar spectrum; and upon these measurements, which he considers sufficient for the purpose, he has founded a normal spectrum in which the lines from *a* to *H* are laid down. This spectrum is given in an atlas designed by Professor Thalén, consisting of six plates. The absolute determinations of the wave-lengths were made principally with two gratings traced by a diamond-point on glass; one had 4501 lines in the space of 9 Paris lines, and the other 2701 lines. The greatest care was taken to determine the distance of the lines of the gratings: a new copy of the "Métré Prototype" of the Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers, made by M.M. Brunner of Paris, and verified by Professor Angström and M. Tresca of the Conservatoire, having been procured. The measurements of the wave-lengths of all the principal lines of Fraunhofer, which were the basis of all the other micrometric measurements, were exclusively made with the grating No. 2, because, although the bars were not so numerous, it gave the lines of the spectrum more distinctly than the other; in other respects also he finds that it is not desirable to use too fine gratings. The results obtained are perhaps accurate to  $\frac{1}{10000}$  of their value, or even more. Along the margin of the spectrum in the atlas is a scale, a division of which corresponds to the ten-millionth of a millimetre of the length of the wave; so that it is possible to measure the lengths of the waves of individual rays to one hundred millionth of a millimetre. The scale gives immediately—if we omit the three ciphers which follow the decimal point—the four first decimal figures, and the fifth figure by estimation of the tenth of a millimetre. Professor Angström thinks the atlas very nearly as accurate as the tables themselves. Some errors have, however, crept into the engraving, amounting to 1-10th, and sometimes to 2-10ths of a millimetre; but, as the actual measures of the feeble lines are doubtful per-

haps to that extent, all these errors are insignificant. An attempt has also been made to express the relative intensity of the rays on the plates. All the rays between *c* and *i* given in the atlas have been measured directly; they are about the same in number as those of Professor Kirchhoff. In order, however, to make the violet end of the spectrum correspond as much as possible with the natural one, some rays have been added here and there, whose wave-lengths were not directly determined, owing to the feeble dispersion of that part of the spectrum. Professor Angström was anxious to introduce into his map every ray derived from substances whose real existence in the atmosphere of the sun had been proved. Certain lines which appear double in the refraction spectrum are so expressed on the map, although in the diffraction spectra they could not be so distinguished; as for example, the double line to the right of *B*.

Fraunhofer, in his experiments on diffraction spectra produced by gratings, used in the first instance a narrow rectangular parallelogram, the shorter sides of which were formed of screws tapped in the same die. The grating was formed by wires stretched from screw to screw, in the consecutive intervals between the threads. In order to produce finer gratings, he drew a system of parallel equidistant lines on plates of glass coated with gold leaf. Not being able to draw more than 1000 lines in an inch on such a plate, without tearing the gold leaf, he next tried an extremely thin film of grease. Lastly, he tried lines drawn on transparent glass with a diamond point. The measurements of wave-lengths which he published were made with two such gratings. One had 3601, the distance between the lines being 0.0001223 of an inch, which would give about 8200 to an inch. The lines in the second were 0.0005919 of an inch apart. In order to measure the spaces between the lines he was obliged to retrace some of the outside ones which were too faint. Professor Angström fears that in this delicate operation errors were made. The determinations of wave-lengths made by Professor Angström lie between those made by the two gratings of Fraunhofer, but approach more near those made with the second or untouched grating. The number 5888, given by Fraunhofer for the line *D*, was made with the first or retouched grating. Professor Angström says that it ought to be 5886, and that it corresponds to the middle of the two rays, and not as some physicists have supposed, to the stronger of the two lines.

The correspondence of the lines of the spectra of the metals is also indicated upon the normal spectrum. The co-ordination is based chiefly upon the observations of Professor Angström and Professor Thalén, made conjointly or separately. The number of lines of this kind amounts to about 800, of which 450 belong to iron. Professor Angström gives 118 for titanium, based upon the researches of Professor Thalén, who has, however, detected as many as 200 belonging to



that metal. The lines of iron, which are not symmetrically distributed over the whole of the spectrum, present two maxima, one of which is situated near E, and the other near G. Some appear to be common with calcium, but such a coincidence of the rays of two metals Professor Angström thinks is only apparent. He gives an example which shows that much has to be done before we can in every case positively affirm the identity between the lines of the metallic spectra and those of the solar and stellar spectra. The strong line of iron between E and  $\delta$ , the wave-length of which is given as 5226, and which is drawn as a single line, both on the maps of Professor Kirchhoff and of Professor Angström, has been shown by Professor Thalén, by using six prisms of flint glass of 60°, to be triple. One of them belongs to iron, and another to titanium.

Professor Angström has several valuable observations on the subject of the co-ordination of the metallic spectra with the solar spectrum; but an immediate interest attaches to the very important question raised by him in connection with the spectra of the metalloids, as well as another feature of his spectral map. He thinks that hydrogen is the only metalloid which spectral analysis can show to exist in the sun, and that oxygen, nitrogen, and carbon can never be really discovered in the sun by this process. In his map he gives the principal lines of the electric spectrum of air under the solar one, for the purpose of showing that there is no coincidence between them, and to bear out the view which has just been stated. He thinks, however, that the almost complete want of coincidence between the spectra does not entitle us to pronounce definitely on the absence of the metalloids in question from the sun. As the voltaic arch produced by a battery of fifty plates does not, he says, produce the true spectrum of carbon, the temperature cannot be high enough to volatilize that body. In the sun the temperature must be too high to allow of the existence of such combinations of carbon as cyanogen, acetylene, etc., and too low to vaporize carbon. He therefore thinks that the carbon exists in the solid state in the photosphere of the sun, and that, conformably to the remarkable theory of M. Faye, it is from the incandescence principally of this substance that the continuous solar spectrum is derived. Mr. Huggins, however, concluded from his spectral analysis of the comet discovered on the 13th of June 1868, independently by Dr. Wunnecke and M. Becquet, that its light was due to incandescent carbon vapour. Mr. Watts, who has been making some interesting experiments on the carbon spectrum, seems not only to agree with Mr. Huggins, but to believe that the temperature of the carbon vapour must have been 1500° Cent. The opinion that a mere cloud of matter spread through cosmical space could attain such a temperature is so startling that, before accepting it as a fact, we are entitled to ask for more evidence. Professor Angström states that the experiments which he has made with Professor Thalén,

and which are given in another memoir, now, we believe, published, completely contradict the view of Professor Plücker, that a simple body could give, according as temperature was more or less elevated, totally different spectra. As we have not seen this new memoir, we cannot judge of the evidence upon which his opinion is based; but Professor Angström admits that, in successively increasing the temperature, the intensity of the lines varies in a very complicated way, and that even new lines may present themselves, if the temperature be elevated sufficiently high. He adds that, independently of all these mutations, the spectrum of any given body will always preserve its individual character. This implies that the complicated changes in intensity are due to changes within the molecule. If this were so, the molecule must consist of many atoms; and, at a still higher temperature, why should not the molecule break up into simpler ones? The tendency of chemical science at present is certainly towards unity of matter. It may be that the bodies we now call simple are only condensed molecules of cosmical ether. We are no doubt very far from being able to test such a hypothesis; but the possibility that these several condensed molecules might be separated into simpler systems should make us cautious of coming too hastily to a conclusion respecting the absolute identity of lines in stellar and cometary spectra. The character of the iron and titanium spectra, the points raised by Professor Angström, M. Faye, Mr. Huggins, and Mr. Watt, respecting the carbon spectrum, and also the peculiarity of the spectrum of cyanogen—of all the compound radicles the one which possesses a stability not unlike a simple body,—show that much remains to be done before we can say with certainty that some at least of the lines in the solar, planetary, cometary, stellar, and nebular spectra are due to the telluric simple bodies with which we are acquainted. Professor Angström's determination of the wave-lengths is, therefore, among the most valuable contributions recently made to this branch of science. His tables supply a firm foundation. It should be remembered, however, that his determinations give the wave-lengths in air, and that the true constants wanted in molecular physics are the wave-lengths in vacuo. It is to be hoped that Professor Angström, or some one else, will supply the desideratum, which the present tables will render a comparatively easy task.

70. The great change which has taken place in notation, and to some extent in nomenclature also, in order to express the present state of chemical theory, has compelled chemists to pay so much attention to the historical development of the science that a very great defect in the teaching, not only of chemistry, but of every other branch of physical science, is likely to be remedied. Manuals of chemistry present the subject to the mind of the student as a completed whole, with no reference to the past or the future. The successive steps by which it reached its present development are not shown



him, nor is his mind trained to discern the direction in which the science is moving. The chemical student, who is likely to spend a good deal of his life in a laboratory, and to be always moving along with the current of thought in the science, may not miss this historical training. But it is otherwise with those who cultivate other sciences, such as geology or biology, which are more or less dependent on chemistry. The result is that chemistry is apt to be taken as a fixed and unchangeable doctrine. Dr. Ladenburg's *Vorträge über die Entwicklungsgeschichte der Chemie in den letzten Hundert Jahren* is an epitome which will be of use to all students who desire to understand the present condition of the science. He starts from Lavoisier; and in order to make clear the exact condition in which Lavoisier found the subject, he prefaces his account of the labours of the founder of modern chemistry with an account of the phlogiston theory, then universally believed in, and of the knowledge possessed by the phlogisticians. The publication by the French Government of all the works of Lavoisier enables us to judge better of the true position which the labours of that great man hold in the history of science. While giving Priestley and Scheele the credit of having discovered oxygen, and especially recognising the singular experimental merits of the latter, Dr. Ladenburg has brought into strong relief on the one hand the unfruitfulness of the ideas of those two last upholders of phlogiston, and on the other the new era opened up more perhaps by the views than by the experimental discoveries of Lavoisier. No mention is made of the name of Bayen in connection with the discovery of oxygen; and yet there can be no doubt that he decomposed mercuric oxide into a gas and metallic mercury before Priestley's experiments. He did not, however, examine the properties of the gas. Priestley did; and to him and Scheele, who made the gas independently, belong consequently the honour of the discovery. But Bayen's experiment must have had some influence both on Priestley and Lavoisier. It sometimes happens that important discoveries have been long foreshadowed, and almost fully anticipated, yet remain unnoticed, either because the author himself is not fully conscious of the value of his results, or because the experiments have been made too soon. It does not detract from the merit of the subsequent discovery to do justice to such pioneers. Dr. Ladenburg mentions William Higgins in connection with the atomic theory, and says that he sought to claim a share in the discovery. He refers in a foot-note to his *Comparative View*, the first edition of which appeared in 1789, and the second in 1791; but he does not appear to have ever seen the book. He is however right in saying that Higgins did not speak of atomic weights; that idea is entirely Dalton's. That Higgins had some very advanced ideas, for his time, on the subjects of combination, and that he conceived the several compounds formed by the same simple bodies to have taken place in the way afterwards expressed by the law of multiple proportion, no one who has read the original work can doubt. This does not detract from

the merit of Dalton. Another example of an important discovery having been partially anticipated is the conclusion drawn by Professor Kirchhoff from his mathematical investigation, that burning bodies only absorb rays of light of the same wave-length as those which they emit. This very important conclusion, upon which mainly rests the chemistry of the solar spectrum, had however been already clearly stated by Professor Angström in 1858. Nevertheless it is Professor Kirchhoff who must be considered as the discoverer.

Dr. Ladenburg's account of the development of organic chemistry and its influence upon chemical theory is clear and simple; and the labours of those who mainly contributed to the advancement of the latter are criticised in a calm and unbiassed spirit. The lectures devoted to the discussions concerning the doctrine of substitution, and the overthrow of the electro-chemical theory, in which Berzelius, Liebig, Dumas, Laurent, and Gerhardt were the principal champions, are very impartially written. Though the subject is briefly treated, they give a good and intelligible account of this transition period, during which so many of the seeds of future discoveries were sown broadcast.

71. PROFESSOR MICÉ, who has lately at different times brought before the Bordeaux Society of Physical and Natural Sciences notices of the principal investigations in Organic Chemistry made during the year, has at the request of the Society put them into the form of a Report, and published it among their Memoirs, as well as separately. He classifies his notices under three heads. In the first he treats of homologous series, commencing with generalities on homology, then alcohols, aldehydes, acids, conjugate sulpho-acids, tannins and glucosides, and nitrogenous compounds. The second includes isologous or condensed bodies, all those containing the same number of carbon atoms in their radicles being placed in the same group. The third is devoted to unclassified bodies, resins, special chemistry of certain plants, organized matter (e.g. cellulose), transformation of organized matters into organic matters of feeble atomicity, or saccharification, transformations into oligatomic alcohols or acids, or fermentations, physiological and pathological chemistry. This classification seems convenient for the object in view, and a good index makes it possible to find any particular body at once. The accounts of each body are almost exclusively confined to its mode of genesis, transformations, and relation to other bodies. Descriptions of the processes of preparation and the physical properties of the bodies are not given. This is a great advantage, because such a report would be rendered too voluminous by an attempt to give full accounts of the preparation and properties of the bodies. No one wanting to prepare a body ever thinks of referring to such annual reports for an account of the process; for this purpose the only authority is the original memoir. The idea of the author was to describe each new body or new reaction so that it could be



at once into its proper place in the lecture-notes of a Professor, and thus enable him to work up to the level of the subject at the moment. He has succeeded thoroughly in this object. He purposes to make such a report annually, and hopes to be able to bring it out in the month of January or February, so as to render it directly useful to Professors in their courses. He also purposes to include all chemistry in the one for 1870. All his references are to French periodicals, probably because those of other countries are not available to him. It would add greatly to the value of the report if the journal or other place where the memoir first appeared were also indicated.

72. PROFESSOR ODLING'S *Outlines of Chemistry* is unlike perhaps any other chemical text-book in the hands of students. It consists, as the title-page states, of notes, some being fully descriptive of the body or reaction, others merely mnemonic or suggestive of reference to larger books. They are all such as a Professor would use at his own lectures, or a student make. The book possesses the characteristics of the author's other works (one of which he has left unfinished so long), especially clearness and order. All important reactions are represented by equations; and graphic notation is wisely avoided. Graphic notation may be used occasionally by a Professor in his lectures, or by an author in a paper when he wishes to express the constitution of a particular compound with reference to its genesis or transformation, but not systematically, or at all in text-books; for it inevitably produces false impressions on the minds of students. It is satisfactory to find that Professor Odling no longer recognises the distinction between inorganic and organic chemistry, all the so-called organic compounds being merely regarded as carbon compounds. It is time that this unscientific distinction should disappear not only from text-books but from examination-papers, and that men's minds should not be prejudiced at the threshold of the science by an error which is especially injurious to biological students.

73. THE basin of the Mississippi and of its tributaries is so prominent a feature of North America that the study of its rocks, minerals, soils, hydrology, climatology, and flora and fauna, must possess special interest, not only for the American people, but for all students of natural and political science. To the student of natural science especially it is interesting, as affording the largest and most complete typical region perhaps in the world, wherein to study the causes which produce climate, govern the distribution of organic life, or wear away the face of the land into hills and valleys, bluffs and cañons, alluvial flats and rolling prairies. A vast amount of information has been gradually collected about this region, beginning with the accounts of early expeditions of Lewis and Clarke, Pike, Long, Fremont, Wilkes, Stansbury, and others. The geology has been well worked out in the various settled States by the State Surveys, while Meek and

Hayden have laid the foundation of a thorough knowledge of the slopes of the Rocky Mountains. In 1819 a great system of meteorological observations was instituted at all the military posts, under the direction of the Minister for War; and other persons have added to them. All these observations have been worked up by Mr. Lorin Blodget in his *Climatology of the United States*. The Smithsonian Institution has continued to collect meteorological observations on an extensive scale, and will, no doubt, get them reduced hereafter. The hydrology of the basin has been in part done by Messrs. Humphreys and Abbot, in *The Physics and Hydraulics of the Mississippi River*. The distribution of the forest-trees has been studied, among others, by Professor Asa Gray and Dr. J. G. Cooper. Dr. Foster, who has himself contributed to our knowledge of parts of the region of the Mississippi, has now endeavoured, in *The Mississippi Valley*, to summarize all that is known of the physical aspects of the whole basin, in such a form as to be intelligible to the general public.

Maury, in his *Physical Geography of the Sea*, derives the vapour which waters the North-American continent from the Pacific Ocean. In Johnston's edition of Berghaus's *Physical Atlas*, as well as in the original edition, the United States are put in great part within a belt of south-west winds. Again, Coffin has endeavoured to establish the existence of a great westerly current, north of the parallel of  $35^{\circ}$ , and about  $23\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  wide, encircling the globe. Dr. Foster, on the other hand, considers that the moisture is derived from the north-east trade-winds, which, hot and moist from the equatorial zone, as they enter the Caribbean Sea, are deflected by the lofty chain of the Andes which girds the coast, and then pass into the Gulf of Mexico, where they become inland breezes on the coast of Texas. As they penetrate the interior they are gradually deflected east, until they reach about lat.  $39^{\circ}$ , when they assume the direction of the great south-west aerial current. Volney was the first who noticed this deflection; but the facts deduced by Mr. Blodget from observation lead to the same conclusion. Mr. Redfield admits that this deflected current is the cause of the fertility of the Mississippi Valley, an opinion also shared by Mr. Russel, author of a work of considerable authority on American agriculture, especially in relation to climatology. Dr. Foster thinks that, by regarding the Gulf of Mexico as the proximate source of the rains which water the Valley of the Mississippi, a number of phenomena otherwise inexplicable may be fully accounted for, viz.: (1.) that the greatest precipitation takes place along the shores of the Gulf of Mexico; (2.) that the Llano Estacado, the Colorado Deserts, and the Great Basin, almost wholly within the zone of the south-west winds, are dry; (3.) that the Western plains during the spring and summer are nearly as profusely watered as the Atlantic slope; (4.) that the Valley of the Mississippi, during the prevalence of these winds, has an almost tropical climate; and (5.) that the Atlantic slope, instead of being the most arid,



as it would be if the south-west winds furnished the moisture, is within the region of equally distributed rains. This theory possesses considerable geological interest, first in connection with the supposed American glacial period, and, secondly, as an illustration of the effect of geographical changes on climate.

74. In the second edition of Sir John Lubbock's *Pre-Historic Times* there is not only a considerable increase of new matter, in some cases to such an extent as to have led him to recast his chapters, but also an increase of caution, and a diminution of that kind of scientific dogmatism which has latterly become common, especially in the cultivators of this department of knowledge. Indeed, considering that the author had only made, as it were, an excursion from his own special field of inquiry, biology, his first edition was a fair and candid statement of the new views of the history of man, which have resulted from the alliance of physical science and archaeology. Physicists, or, more strictly speaking, geologists and biologists, having suddenly entered the unknown land of archaeology, work on inductively from their own standpoint, not heeding in many cases what has been done by the previous occupiers of the territory. Many of these have no doubt worked in a very unscientific way; but it is also true that everything done of any real value in archaeology and ancient history has been the result of researches carried out as strictly in accordance with the principles of inductive philosophy as those of the branches which have hitherto monopolized the title. To such an extent have some of the new scientific colonists ignored the results of archaeological and historical investigations, that the commonest and best known facts seem unknown to them. But while the methods of investigation in history and geology are alike in principle, there is this difference, that the geologist carries his light with him, and can see only as far as it illuminates, while the historian, besides his own light, has often the advantage of light shining out of the darkness, and voices indicating the road to him. It is true such lights are often deceptive, and such voices lead him astray if he trusts too much to them; but he can generally find his road the better thereby. Now although Sir John Lubbock always writes in the spirit of an inquirer after truth, he undoubtedly works occasionally as a mere geologist, where he might profit by history also. This is the case chiefly in his views about a bronze age, and the contrast between it and the so-called iron age.

No one who is at all competent to speak on the subject will deny the progressive development of the arts, or that metallurgy, like the domestication of animals, the cultivation of cereal grasses, and the use of letters, is an invention which forms an era in that development. Without saying that an invention once made could not be lost, it may be admitted that the history of the growth of civilization exhibits no evidence of degradation, and that no valid reasons can be urged against the possibility of mankind making the same simple

inventions in different places independently. But, on the other hand, there is a difficulty in allowing that the iron age necessarily preceded that of bronze, a statement that it did so is a mere assertion and has not been proved. The passage of Lucretius, may or may not be an expression of the facts for Italy; it is not necessarily true of all places, or even of Italy, because it happened to have been so many years ago. Sir John Lubbock does not follow the theory of M. Wibel, that iron was made by fusing ores containing iron and copper metals, and has given in his appendix letters from persons competent to speak on the subject. Perhaps this was the best way to pursue in the interest of science, but I guess made by good archaeologists and geologists concerning things they are not competent to say about should not be elaborately discussed. It is possible that stannic oxide or red oxide of copper, might have been smelted together; but such a mixture would not be found associated in nature in such quantities as would explain the profusion of iron in ancient times. Again, it would be difficult to account for the uniformity of the bronzes found over Europe, which the bronzes found over Europe possess if they were made of various degrees of purity. The bronze directly with the usual method of making it is wholly out of the question; if it could be made, the composition of the sample would differ from every other sample, traces of other substances decomposed in the ores should be found in the bronze, but it is not the case. That the art was introduced before its introduction into Europe by the absence of specimens of the early stage of it. The so-called "Celtic" myth as far as Europe is concerned. Lubbock is quite right in his detection of any copper weapons in Western Europe free from tin. The absence of copper weapons on the Iron Age is more naturally explained by the absence of the sources of the tin.

Not only is there no proof that iron preceded that of bronze, but it is asserted that the probability of iron is greater. No argument can be drawn from the fact that the copper tools of the Iron Age were made from native copper, which might have suggested that iron was obtained from its ores elsewhere. The exception of malachite and red ochre, no doubt found here and there, but the ores of copper is a metallurgical problem than that of iron from its ores. Even in Northern Asia, and in Africa, iron is more diffused and freer than in the making of iron, which is looked upon as a special and not a general use of bronze, even in the Iron Age, is easily accounted for by the fact that with which broken swords are made. Travelling tinkers are more at paratus than fitted in their few generations ago, and



ent place in Europe can still, cast coaks and many other articles of brass on the side of the road. They would not have made the simplest articles in preceding times under the same circumstances. That this is the true position of the use of the two metals is proved by the Northern nations continuing to use bronze long after it had been discarded as a material for cutting instruments by the Mediterranean nations. The Greeks of the Homeric age still used largely, if not exclusively, bronze weapons, while there can be little doubt that they used iron in making ploughs and other agricultural implements. With the growth of cities forges improved, and iron could be used for weapons more cheaply and more effectively than bronze, which in a very short time it replaced for making cutting instruments. The facility of casting copper and bronze even led to its use for making anvils, as we find in the Kaliwala, or Finnish National Museum, that the smith Ilmarinen's anvil and tongs are described as made of copper, although Finnish mythology iron forms one of the elements out of which the world was made, and the Scandinavian Sagas always speak of the cunning of the Finns in making iron. It is indeed as if the Scandinavians got their weapons originally from the Finns. One sense, no doubt, it may be admitted in Middle and North-Western Europe was a period during which bronze was almost exclusively used for weapons and cutting instruments. That this bronze age, where it existed, succeeded a period in which stone was exclusively used, may be also admitted. But it is not been proved that there was an abrupt change from a stone age to a bronze one, and the latter to an iron one. Indeed, there is evidence of the contrary; and it is satisfactory to see that, strongly as Sir John Lubbock states "that the use of bronze weapons is characteristic of a particular phase in the history of European civilisation, and one which was anterior to the discovery of iron, or at any rate to the general use of that metal for cutting weapons on the Continent," he nevertheless freely admits that the transition was gradual. In Ireland, the "bronze age" came down certainly to the sixth century, and probably to the ninth or tenth of the tenth century. But while all the most ancient Irish tales speak of bronze weapons, iron was also used for other purposes. There is evidence in these tales of the simultaneous use of stone, bronze, and iron weapons. The people of Scandinavia had no proper bronze age; all the bronze articles found there must have been introduced from the South and West. In the twelfth century, the Scandinavians discarded their best swords, and perhaps all their defensive iron armour, from England and France. The iron manufacture is in fact almost new to the Scandinavians. Worsaae, in Asia, and in the North, supposes the bronze weapons to have been introduced to the Celts, whoever they were, who preceded the Germanic races. According to the ethnologists of this school, the Suevi, Goths, and other Germanic races, were armed with bronze weapons, with which they were able to exterminate the bronze-armed Celts—the latter, having exterminated the stone-armed people. Indeed, it is not long since the prevailing idea among amateurs of Northern archaeology was that the inventors of iron were the Germans. It is doubtful whether in north-east Germany, and among the northern Slavonians, bronze was ever in general use. There stone and iron were contemporaneous, and were in use as late at least as the eighth century. The oldest German poem now in existence, Hildebrand's Song, proves this:—"Good commoners, be judges which it is who finches in the field, and which it is who ought to have our two coats of mail." "Then they let fly their ashen spears with such force that they stuck in the shields. Then they struck together their stone axes, and uplifted hostilely their white shields till their loins and bellies quivered" (Weber's *Illustrations of Northern Antiquities: Ancient Teutonic Poetry and Romance*); or, as the Grimms (*Die beiden ältesten deutschen Gedichte aus dem achten Jahrhundert*) have more correctly paraphrased the last line, "dass ihr Gebände schütterte, aber fest standen ihre Leiber." The Bohemian *Mat* was a similar stone hammer, which in later times was made of iron. When we find an Aryan people, the East Prussians, using stone hammers, burning their dead chiefs with their horses, harness, arms, and servants, and perhaps their wives, and sacrificing their prisoners of war to their gods, so late as the thirteenth century (Alnpeke, *Reimchronik: Script. rer. Lit. Bd. i. 2. Grewingk, Das Steinalter der Ostsee Provinzen. Schriften der Gelehrten Estnischen Gesellschaft*, No. 4), we should be very cautious in drawing conclusions from the facts observed in one country as to the age of certain objects found in another. The observations of Herr Ramsauer at Hallstadt, near Salzburg, mentioned by Sir John Lubbock, show clearly that, as the Roman power and commerce advanced northward, iron began to replace bronze among the limitanean people at an early period, and only reached the North slowly, just as the commerce in bronze went eastward very slowly, and was so scarce on the Baltic that in some places it was hardly in advance of the iron from the South.

Sir John Lubbock does not favour Nilsson's theory of the Phœnician origin of North and West European bronze. Phœnician theories were at one time current in Ireland; and most people interested in ethnology have heard of, if they have not read, the absurdities of Sir William Betham on the subject. But these theories were exploded the moment the Irish language and the Irish records began to be seriously studied. Nilsson's theory looks like a revival of these exploded views in the garb of science. He has put forward and defended his views with skill, and has thus given the theory an air of plausibility. The hypothesis is nevertheless groundless. Sir John Lubbock, in discussing the Phœnician theory, treats at some length of the voyage of Pytheas to the north of Europe; and as an apology for so doing he says:—"The memory of great men is a precious legacy, which we cannot afford lightly to surrender, and not the least valuable part of Professor Nilsson's work on the 'Bronze Age'."



is the chapter in which he has rescued the memory of Pytheas from the cloud by which it has been so long and so unjustly obscured." Professor Nilsson's labours on this point are no doubt valuable; but as the attack of Sir George Cornwall Lewis was made with ancient weapons, some of which were not unfamiliar to M. Gosselin, so the defence of Professor Nilsson has not added much to what Joachim Lelewel, the Polish historian, did in the same cause forty years ago (Lelewel, *Die Entdeckungen der Carthager und Griechen auf dem Atlantischen Ocean*). Uckert and other writers of note on ancient geography also have not rejected the voyage of Pytheas.

If by Roman times Sir John Lubbock means the period when the Romans had extended their empire into the centre of Europe, the positive use of bronze weapons in Ireland down to certainly the seventh century is a sufficient answer to his statement that our bronze weapons cannot be referred to Roman times. That they were not of Roman origin is unquestionable. Although it is quite true that evidence of letters is generally absent from bronze "finds," it does not follow therefore that letters were unknown. It is more than probable that the Irish Ogham inscriptions belong to the earliest bronze period in Ireland. Of the gold ornaments found in Ireland, Sir John Lubbock says there is "as yet no evidence as to their origin, and it is more than probable that they belong to a much later period." There is, however, plenty of evidence, even written story, that gold and bronze were contemporaneous, not merely in Christian times, but at much earlier periods. In the same way, probably, his opinion that the potter's wheel and soldering were unknown during the "bronze period," should be qualified.

The "bronze age" of Europe belongs to a period which extends back at least some centuries before Homer. In Southern Europe bronze weapons and cutting instruments were wholly replaced by iron long before the Christian era. From the time of the second Punic War iron began to come into use among the southern Gauls and the Germans bordering on the Roman territories, as is shown by the remains found at Halstadt already mentioned; and very soon after it totally replaced the bronze in North Germany. The poorer persons still however continued to be armed with stone weapons down even to the battle of Hastings; and even chiefs, as has been already shown, retained their stone hammers. In Ireland the "bronze age" remained down to the seventh century, and outlived cremation of the dead, although some traces of that custom occur in Irish tales; while in Eastern Europe cremation of the dead outlived the "bronze age." Bronze weapons then appear to have been in use at an early period in Europe, and to have been characteristic of certain parts of it. But during all this period iron was known, though not much in use among people who had no towns. On the whole, then, it would not be justifiable to speak of a "bronze age," and much less to ascribe to it the antiquity and definiteness which Sir John Lubbock seems disposed to give it.

Perhaps it is due to this tendency to ascribe

a high antiquity to the "bronze age," and consequently to the lake dwellings which are assigned to that period, that writers seem to have overlooked a very simple but complete explanation of the fact that a large number of these lake villages have been found burnt, especially those in which bronze implements were discovered. This explanation is contained in the third, fourth, and fifth chapters of the First Book of Cæsar's Gallic War. We are there told that the Helvetians, finding that their country was too narrow for them—being separated from Germany by a deep river, the Rhine, from Sequania by the Jura mountains, and from the Roman province by the Lake of Geneva—were encouraged by the most powerful of their chiefs, Orgetorix, to leave it. He had plotted with two other Gaulish nobles, with a view of using his countrymen to assist in subjugating the whole of Gaul; his plot was discovered; and to avoid the punishment to which he was liable he is said to have died by his own hand. This event did not however alter their design of leaving Helvetia; so when they considered themselves sufficiently prepared they set fire to all their towns (Oppida), to the number of twelve, their villages to the number of four hundred, and all their private houses. They burned all the corn they could not carry with them, in order that, the hope of returning home being taken away, they might be the better prepared to undergo dangers. They ordered that each should carry from home with him food for three months. They also persuaded their neighbours, the Rauraci, the Tulingi, and the Latobrigi, to adopt their advice, and, having burned their towns and villages, to march with them. We do not remember to have seen these important facts mentioned in connection with the Swiss lake dwellings; and yet they afford a complete explanation of the absence of many valuable articles in metal, of the burnt corn, half-burnt piles, broken pottery, and in fact all the circumstances for the explanation of which the most ingenious theories have been invented.

75. "One eye to the caterpillar and another to the perfect insect," was the motto which Denis and Schiffermüller, Austrian officers, adopted, when, in 1776, they published an anonymous work on the Lepidoptera found in the vicinity of Vienna. With such a precedent, it might seem strange that British entomologists should have so long persisted in paying almost exclusive attention to one stage in the existence of the creature they pretended to describe. To neglect the life-history of Lepidoptera, whilst proceeding to classify them, is not to comply with the dictates of science. Hence, it is not wonderful that, when the labours of continental entomologists forced English writers to adopt a different course, some of them borrowed their illustrations, and blundered in applying them. "Every English entomologist," writes Mr. Newman, referring to the *Limenitis sibylla*, "has accompanied the perfect butterfly with the caterpillar of another species," being misled by names used diversely. In his *Illustrated Natural History of British Moths*,



Mr. Newman has aimed at scientific breadth and accuracy, and deserves the praise which belongs to a man who has laboured well, long, and successfully. Of course, a work which is an innovation to a great extent is not altogether faultless; but the defects are comparatively inconspicuous. Take, for instance, his description of the caterpillar of the Emperor Moth (*Saturnia carpini*), p. 48. He says: "The caterpillar is of the most delicate green colour, the segments being very distinct, and each being adorned by pink tubercles, each [tubercle] surrounded by a black ring, and emitting a few short black bristles. It feeds in August and September, on willow, black-thorn, heath, and a number of other plants, and before winter spins a brown, pearl-shaped cocoon, open at one end, amongst its food. The moth appears in April." With so truthful a description, it would not be easy to mistake the caterpillar, although its green is not only delicate but vivid. The cocoon, however, has but a light shade of brown; and what is the meaning of "pearl-shaped"? If "pear-shaped" were intended, the epithet would be quite accurate. It would have been well, however, to state that the opening is at the small end. But if the cocoon be really

"open at one end," what protection does it afford its inhabitants? When this apparent opening is looked into, it is found to be only an outer portal; and there is an inner closed portal, curiously contrived in a second or double wall, which is united to the exterior wall at the anterior third. The outer wall is film-like, but tough, with downy hairs surrounding it, which look like spun glass under a low power of the microscope. Bringing together the finger-tips of both hands will give the plan of the interior portal, where comparatively thick, strong, birse-like processes meet, forming an apex directed towards the exterior aperture. The young moth will be able to press out through them from within; but an enemy entering the outer portal would be misled into a cul de sac, or find entrance into the real cavity arrested by a species of *chevaux de frise*, very strong and tough. Mr. Newman, although he describes the caterpillars, gives no illustrations of them; this, and the absence of coloured figures, will be felt by beginners. But the wood-cuts are excellent; and their fidelity of shading and marking, together with the apt accuracy of the descriptions, would almost supply the place of colouring, if that could be supplied.



1. The first part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.

2. The second part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.

3. The third part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.



